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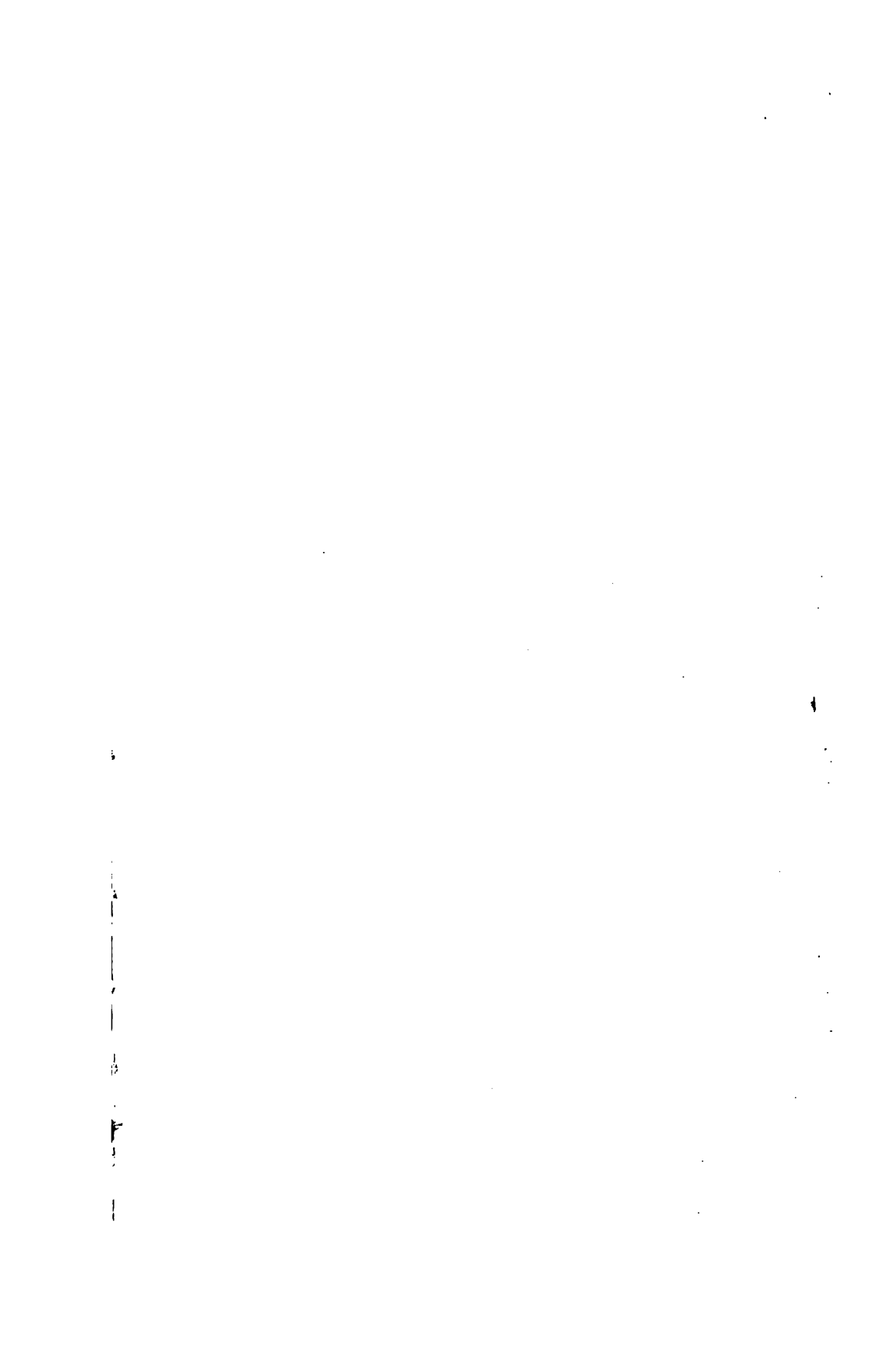


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THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES

OF

AESCHYLUS

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ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

THE  
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES  
OF  
ÆSCHYLUS

WITH INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL NOTES, COMMENTARY,  
TRANSLATION AND A RECENSION OF THE  
MEDICEAN SCHOLIA

BY

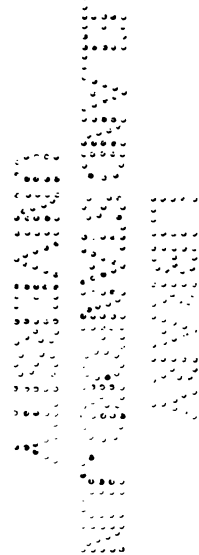
T. G. TUCKER, LITT.D. (CAMB.)

HONORARY DOCTOR OF LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN  
PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

CAMBRIDGE:  
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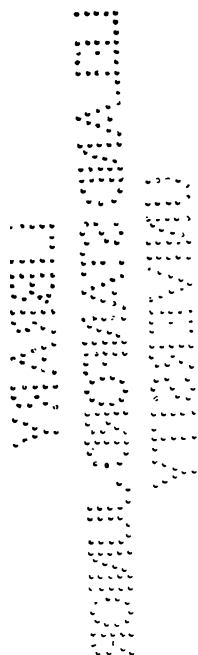
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## PREFACE.

THE present work follows the principles adopted in my edition of the *Choephori*. Its object is the conscientious interpretation of the *Septem* as a work of dramatic art and a monument of Greek literature. To this aim all else is subordinate. It has been tempting, and would often have been easy, to expand a note on a point of language, literary art, history, or archaeology until it became virtually a monograph. But whatever contributions such discursiveness might possibly make to general Hellenic study, it is not required of an editor of a play of Aeschylus that he should go beyond the elucidation of the work before him. The proposed dimensions of the volume have also to be considered.

The questions which an editor is called upon to meet appear to be these. In what circumstances and with what motives—if there are other motives than simple impulse to dramatic creation—was the piece produced? Whence did the poet derive his material, and with what effectiveness of art does he use it? How did his play ‘strike a contemporary,’ and, if it strikes us differently, what are the causes of this difference of effect? What precisely did his lines mean to those of his audience whose intelligence responded to the demands made upon it, or, to put the question otherwise, why does he select this or that word or phrase, and this or that place for it, rather than any other? And, finally, how far is the text before us presumably that which Aeschylus actually wrote?

Before attempting to answer these questions much is demanded of an editor. Textual criticism, for example, is an exceedingly subtle thing, and should indeed be πολλῆς πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπυγένημα. It is not sufficient that the critic should

be versed in palaeography and should know the Greek of the dictionaries and grammars. He must have cultivated a lively sense of the possibilities of that language in respects concerning which the grammars and dictionaries can hardly be exhaustive or definitive. He must also have steeped himself perpetually and for years in the Greek of the particular author, until, so far as is humanly possible, he gets to know and sympathise with the workings of that author's mind and his idiosyncrasies of style. He must have endeavoured to live mentally in the age and amid the ideas of the author's environment. Nor will all this equip him for the adequate comprehension of any great poetry unless he himself possesses some measure of the poetic sense and imagination.

A competent interpreter of a work of Aeschylus will return again and again to the piece (*nonum in annum*), until he possesses it thoroughly and is keenly alive to all its suggestions and problems. He will, thus prepared, read with alertness all Greek writing of repute, to see if perchance he may be able to illustrate those suggestions or solve those problems. It is astonishing how often this practice will supply the complete vindication of a suspected text, parallels to doubted phrases and meanings, elucidations of puzzling expressions and figures. Nor should the student stop at Greek. The mind of a Shakespeare or a Dante is frequently found to work with a startling similarity to that of Aeschylus. Bold figures, often traduced as 'grotesque,' occur sometimes identically, sometimes with close analogy, in such great moderns.

It is after at least a fair degree of such preparation, and in this spirit, that I have endeavoured to interpret the *Septem*. The result is perhaps what may be called a 'conservative' text. This, however, does not mean that emendation is avoided, or previous conjectures rejected, where a passage is demonstrably corrupt, or where its interpretation defies the last effort of conscientious research and meditation and the last exercise of such poetic sense as one may happen to be blessed with. Moreover there is all the difference in the world between, on the one hand, restoring a missing stone in an ancient building or filling up a defective place in an injured tracery whose pattern is manifest,



and, on the other, chipping off an architectural ornament and substituting another (in a kind of critical putty) which happens to be more to one's fancy.

Dr Wecklein has observed that our respective manners of dealing with Aeschylus differ widely in 'Geschmack.' I am desirous of speaking with all due respect of a scholar who has done such laborious service for students of the poet. He is, however, himself the challenger, and I feel that some answer is due. Perhaps there would be little profit in disputing about 'Geschmack' if the question were purely aesthetic. When, in vv. 321 sq., for the perfectly intelligible and entirely apposite *διαμεῖψαι δωμάτων στρυγερὰν ὁδόν*, Wecklein writes *διαμεῖψαι ὀμφάκων τρυγερὰν δρόσον* and so alters three words out of four and substitutes a new metaphor, I not only find the conjecture technically improbable, but my own 'Geschmack' instinctively recoils from the expression itself. Probably, however, no amount of disquisition on such a question could prove very convincing. It is more a matter for feeling than for demonstration. But the question here goes much deeper than that of aesthetic taste. We are compelled to ask whether any editor can claim the moral right to cast out three excellent words, to present us with three others, suggested by superficial considerations and very questionable taste, and to print them in an educational text as the writing of the poet. The same editor acknowledges a similar difference between our notions of what is 'nützlich.' To me the 'useful' is that which helps to a luminous comprehension of the poet. What it is to Dr Wecklein appears from the foregoing instance as well as from the following passage: 'Die Sage, dass zwei Brüder sich gegenseitig töten, kann sehr wohl auf den Wechsel von Tag und Nacht bezogen werden. Der eine Bruder, Eteokles, erscheint als der unholde, finstere, der andere, Polynikes, als der milde.' In what way this remarkable application of the discredited 'solar myth' interpretation can help us to understand Aeschylus I cannot conceive. Nor can anyone have read the *Septem* very intelligently if he deduces from it this particular distinction between the brothers. While, therefore, there is every reason to be grateful to Wecklein for various subsidia highly valuable to an editor, one may not

regret that there is room for the exercise of a 'Geschmack' and a sense of 'Nützlichkeit' differing widely from his.

Of previous editions of the *Septem* I have chiefly consulted those of Hermann, Paley, Weil, Wecklein, Verrall and Sidgwick, and I have found profit in Dr Headlam's pamphlet *On Editing Aeschylus* as well as in sundry other contributions of his to the study of Aeschylus. It is increasingly difficult, especially in this part of the world, to make acquaintance with all the notes or articles which have appeared only in periodicals, but I have carefully studied such as have been accessible to me. Extremely helpful have been the monograph *Theben* by Fabricius and the notes and references in Frazer's *Pausanias* which deal with Thebes and its story. It will, I trust, be found that due acknowledgment has been made in all cases in which I am conscious of appreciable assistance.

Had Dr Way's admirable verse translation been in my hands while I was preparing this work, I should have been tempted to make a very free use of it, and should have been indebted to it for frequent inspiration.

In selecting for mention various critical conjectures which I have not seen fit to place in the text I have been guided partly by the degree of their technical excellence, and partly by a desire to show that a note is not superfluous. The fact that a number of conjectures have been made upon a passage which I believe to be sound is sufficient evidence that it requires discussion and support.

I have to thank my friend Dr Leeper, Warden of Trinity College in this University, for his usual scholarly criticism of my work in proof. To him I owe the parallel passages quoted in Appendix B, some of which come from his own ripe reading, others from the collection of illustrations by Boyes. I am also especially indebted to the staff of the Cambridge University Press for the scholarly vigilance exercised during the printing of the book.

MELBOURNE,

December 1907.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### A. PRIMITIVE THEBES, ARGOS AND THE THEBAN SAGAS.

§ 1. It was natural that the plains about Thebes should have been a centre of conflict from the earliest times. The *πεδίων Βοιωτίων* was Ἄρεως ὀρχήστρα for untold ages before Epaminondas so described it<sup>1</sup>. Primitive struggles are for food-supplying lands and key-positions. Men seldom fight for mere fighting's sake or for idle sentiment; their purpose is to secure the means of subsistence<sup>2</sup> or points of vantage. The historical wars for the Thyrean<sup>3</sup> and Lelantine plains are but the counterpart of many others which were prehistoric. The levels of Boeotia were famous for their fertility<sup>4</sup>. Though not large in extent for another country, they are large for Greece and exceptionally well watered. Not Argos with its Inachus, nor Sparta with its Eurotas, nor Calydon<sup>5</sup> with its Euenus, could fairly rival the territory of the city of Ismenus and Dirce. In size the Boeotian plains were second only to those of Thessaly, while in point of central position they were superior. Lying in the trade route between Chalcis and the Corinthian Gulf, and directly in the midway of all land-transit from Northern Greece to the Peloponnese, it was inevitable that such a region should be a bone of contention. It was inevitable also that it should be one of the most populous parts of prehistoric Greece.

Antiquity  
and im-  
portance  
of Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Marcell.* 21.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod (*Opp.* 161 sqq.) is probably much nearer the truth than the *Thebais* when he makes the ἥρωες fall at Thebes fighting μήλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου, Luc. *Char.* 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 643 πεδία πυροφόρα, *Hymn. Apoll.* 228 Θήβης πεδίων πυρηφόρον.

<sup>5</sup> Euripides (*fr.* 515) speaks of the πεδία εὐδαίμονα of Calydon.

In 'Mycenaean' or pre-Hellenic times Thebes was already strongly fortified. From the earliest Hellenic date it was famous for its walls<sup>1</sup>. Only by supposing them to have been built in times beyond the memory of man can we account for the myth which attributed them to the miraculous lyre of Amphion<sup>2</sup>. It is only when a structure is of unusual form or strength, and when the record of its building is lost in the immemorial past, that its origin calls (as at Thebes and Troy) for a miracle, or (as with the Athenian Acropolis<sup>3</sup>) for the work of Giants or (as at Tiryns) of Cyclopes<sup>4</sup>. In Teutonic lands the builder is apt to be the Devil. Early Thebes must also have been a place of exceptional size, otherwise its 'seven gates' would not have existed in Homeric times<sup>5</sup>, nor would the description have been applied at all, if there had been no special admiration for an unusual fact. Thebes possessed seven gates because it was extensive enough to make them convenient. Nothing could better illustrate the importance of the place than the fact that, in the historical period, eight roads are known to have led from it towards different points of the compass. It is no wonder, therefore, that various tribes contended for it, nor that it passed through many hands. Moreover, since Thebes was the centre for a northern group of 'Mycenaean' communities, while Argos was the centre of a southern group, it is easily understood that contests of strength might chiefly occur between these two predominant cities even in pre-Hellenic days.

The Phoenicians.

§ 2. We cannot hope to convert the legends of Thebes into rational and systematic history. That it was thus ancient and important is certain. That it in some way received a Phoenician

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4. 378 *ἑρὰ...τείχεα Θήβης*. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 55, Pind. *I.* 5. 76, Bacchyl. 11. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 823 sqq., Apoll. Rhod. 1. 736 sqq., Paus. 9. 5. 7, Apollod. 3. 5. 5, Hor. *Od.* 3. 11. 2, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Harrison *Primitive Athens* pp. 22 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Bacchyl. 11. 77, cf. Paus. 2. 16. 5, 25. 8. Eur. (*Tro.* 1087) has "*Ἀργος, ἵνα τείχη | λάνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται*."

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 4. 406, *Od.* 11. 260. To dispute the existence of seven gates appears to be a perversity of scepticism. See §§ 14, 16.

settlement is now scarcely to be doubted<sup>1</sup>. Its position is one upon which the trading and exploiting Phoenicians would be eager to seize if they could, and there is nothing laudable in the positiveness which would brush aside all the tradition concerning 'Cadmus' as if it were empty imagining. Modern research is but making us the better aware of the width of Phoenician activity and settlement. Those who doubt whether Phoenicians would proceed inland to Thebes have perhaps rather looked at the map than realised the distances. The enterprising people who could establish colonies and develop a powerful empire in the Western Mediterranean, who could occupy profitable regions of Thrace and islands at all points of the Aegean, and who certainly made some sort of settlement in the Attic Melite, were not likely to shrink from entering a tempting land to the extent of a dozen miles from the coast and grasping a site which commanded the trade route from Chalcis to the Gulf of the Western Sea. That they should have traded across that isthmus (as Strabo rightly calls it) was practically inevitable. That a body of them should have established themselves in its midst—whether after conflict with the natives<sup>2</sup> or in amity—is entirely natural. When a consensus of ancient tradition asserts that the Phoenicians did a certain thing, it is surely no answer to retort that the story sounds romantic, and that one would not have thought the thing *a priori* likely. In point of fact nothing could be more likely. The only argument against the Phoenicians seizing upon the

<sup>1</sup> Poets would naturally conceive of a time when there was no Thebes, and when the region was a forest (*Hymn. Apoll.* 225). Of the founding itself there were two versions. Thus Homer (*Od.* 11. 260) makes Amphion and Zethus 'the first' who ἐκτίσαν and πύργωσαν (cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* 1. 736). Others (e.g. *Eur. Bacch.* 171) attribute the work to Cadmus. Strabo (9. 2. 3) has it that Cadmus with his Phoenicians τὴν Καδμείαν ἐπέλχισε while his issue τὰς Θήβας τῇ Καδμείᾳ προσέκτισαν. The truth seems to be that the notion of Cadmus 'founding Thebes' (whereas he probably only founded a new polity with a mixed people) was naturally regarded as incompatible with the old tradition of Amphion and Zethus. Some left the contradiction, others attempted to remove it by placing the brothers later than Cadmus.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps no unlikely guess that when Cadmus 'cast stones' among the 'earthborn' Sparti (*Pherecyd. ap. Apollod.* 3. 4. 1) and set them killing each other, he was but stirring up feud among the autochthonous tribes and taking advantage of the situation.



attractive site of Thebes would lie in their manifest inability to do anything of the kind. But there is no more reason why they should be unable to occupy the Cadmean hill than why they should be unable to occupy Mt Eryx. Whether their leader was actually named 'Cadmus' and the Cadmea was named after him, is not perhaps a question of much moment; but there is nothing improbable in such a tradition. The modern world is apt to scorn the mention of the ἐπώνυμος of antiquity, although names like Tasmania or Bolivia contain nothing surprising. In the absence of recorded evidence the statement that Rhodesia is named after a certain Rhodes, who lies buried at a certain spot on the Matopo Hills, might be matter for scepticism in the fifth millennium A.D.; nevertheless the statement would be literally true. Those who have made most study of local traditions are least inclined to deny them some sort of foundation, and investigation or accidental discovery often proves them to be surprisingly near the truth. At a time when 'Minos' is becoming almost a historical personage, and when the traditions recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides are being in a large measure converted into historical fact, it may be hoped that there will be some stay to the facile dismissal of Cadmus and his Phoenicians. Most of the details concerning them may have won their way εἰς τὸ μυθώδες, and the legends of Cadmus may be garnished with much pre-Phoenician and post-Phoenician circumstance, but we have little right to cast aside contemptuously the main item in the tradition itself. That Thebes did not remain Phoenician, nor even become in any marked degree Phoenician in character, is not to be wondered at. Probably Phoenicians never formed any large part of the population. The dominant families were always Sparti, that is to say, natives of the soil. Even a considerable Phoenician element would soon be merged, especially if there is a basis of fact to the story that Thebes fell to the 'Epigoni,' who were Achaeans. Nor can we disregard the legend that Cadmus 'withdrew' to Illyria. The 'Boeotians,' who entered later from Thessaly, were true Hellenes<sup>1</sup>. Whether or not Κάδμος has to do with *Qedem*, or Ἴσμηνός with *Eshmun*,

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. I. 12.

may be beyond decision, but the worship of the Cabiri and the *special* prominence of the oriental Sphinx at Thebes are strong arguments for the Phoenician occupation. It is also some excess of audacity to deny that "Ογκα (or "Ογγα) was the name of a Phoenician goddess, when writers who could have been confuted out of the mouth of living Phoenicians assert it<sup>1</sup>. Important too is the prominence of Aphrodite among the Theban deities<sup>2</sup>.

§ 3. If the relations between the Phoenicians of Cadmus and the earlier inhabitants are uncertain<sup>3</sup>, no less uncertain are those between the Cadmean Thebans and the various Hellenic septs who contended on this dancing-ground of Ares. The one conclusion which stands out clearly is that between Thebes and Argos there were intimate relations and acute rivalries, followed by more than one war. At a time when Athens was of comparatively little account—however much, at a later date, her poets may have attempted to glorify her past by exaggerating the influence of a Theseus or a Demophon—the districts of Argos and Thebes were the two dominant and rival<sup>4</sup> centres of Greece. The city on the Inachus, with an empire including Corinth, commanded the passage from the Corinthian to the Argolic and Sunian gulfs, as well as that along the Corinthian isthmus. The city on the Ismenus held a similarly commanding position further north. Though con-

Legendary relations of Argos and Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 12. 2 "Ογγα κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται (sc. Ἀθηναῖα). See note to v. 149 of the *Septem*, and Frazer's *Pausanias* Vol. v. p. 49 for bibliography on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 16. 3 Ἀφροδίτης δὲ Θηβαίους ξοανὰ ἔστιν οὕτω δὴ ἀρχαία ὥστε καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἀρμονίας εἶναι φασιν, ἐργασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροστολίων ἃ τοῖς Κάδμου ναυσὶν ἦν ξύλου πεποιημένα. She had three forms Οὐρανία, Πάνδημος, Ἀποστροφία. Frazer refers to the Phoenician πάταικοι (Hdt. 3. 37) or sailors' gods at the prows of ships. See also Farnell *Cults of the Greek States* II. p. 635.

<sup>3</sup> See further § 7.

<sup>4</sup> The rivalry extended to military equipment. To Thebes was credited the invention of the war-chariot (Crates *el.* 1. 10 Θήβη δ' ἄρματένοντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη), while Argos invented the better shield (Pind. *fr.* 83. 5 ὅπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἄρμα Θηβαίων). For the Theban chariot (which naturally does not appear in the *Septem*, since the Thebans are πυργηρούμενοι) cf. Pind. *I.* 7. 22, Soph. *Ant.* 148, 844, Eur. *H. F.* 46. Both regions were famous for their horses, cf. Pind. *P.* 9. 90, Eur. *Phoen.* 17 with Eur. *Suppl.* 365.



licts were certain to ensue, and though it is naturally these which figure in saga and epic, other and more peaceful relations existed. There was rivalry, but there was evidently also much passing to and fro and frequent inter-marriage. Around Argos centre various cycles of events, around Thebes centre other cycles. To compare these cycles is to discover many points of contact<sup>1</sup>. With the legends of Argos the legends of Calydon also tend to associate themselves<sup>2</sup>. We cannot but recognise that at the date when the sagas arose there were widespread relationships and clan-leagues between the Hellenic petty kings or feudal chiefs.

Of whatever stock—mixed Hellenic and pre-Hellenic—we are to suppose the earliest Cadmeans to have been, it is clear that the dynasty of the Labdacidae is regarded by old poetry as thoroughly Hellenic, in line with the rulers of Argos or Calydon. The 'Cadmeans' of their day are not indeed 'Achaeans'<sup>3</sup>, but it is evident that in pre-epic times some branch of the Hellenic stock had found its way into what was afterwards called Boeotia, and had Hellenised the Thebans<sup>4</sup>. Their town is still 'Cadmea,' and they call themselves 'Cadmeans,' but they are Hellenic in their rulers and in their speech and civilisation. Those rulers have their inter-marriages with Achaeans of the

<sup>1</sup> Thus Niobe, sister of Pelops, marries Amphion of Thebes. Amphitryon had withdrawn from Mycenae to Thebes, where he had married his son Heracles to Megara, daughter of Creon; subsequently Heracles (Eur. *H. F.* 15) 'Ἀργεῖα τεῖχη καὶ Κυκλωπῖαν πόλιν | ὥρξατο' οἰκεῖν. (The service of Heracles to Eurystheus looks suspiciously like a period of vassalage for Thebes.) Further intercourse is shown by the harbouring of Laius by Pelops as well as of Polyneices by Adrastus.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Tydeus came to Adrastus, and Diomedes is assisted by Sthenelus of Argos in an invasion of Calydon in order to restore his grandfather Oeneus. Cf. also the league of the Calydonian boar-hunt.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *S. c. T.* 28.

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 72, where the Cadmeans use the φθόγγον 'Ἑλλάδος. I draw from this a different conclusion to that of Verrall (Introd. p. xviii). He takes 'Ἑλλάδος in its narrower ethnological sense, and considers that it distinguishes the true Ἕλληνες from the Achaeans, to whom the word does not originally apply. I feel that this would have been unintelligible to the audience. Rather the point is that, though Cadmus was Phoenician, the Cadmeans are now as 'Greek' as the Achaeans. [The true 'Boeotians' are said by Thucyd. (1. 12) to have come into the land 'formerly called Καδμηΐς' from Arne in Thessaly 60 years after the Trojan war: i.e. three generations later than the war of the *Septem*.]



Peloponnese. They also have their feuds and jealousies with them, and these form excellent pretexts for wars and invasions. There is no reasonable ground for doubting that one such war, fought on a larger scale than usual<sup>1</sup>, is the basis for the bardic poetry of which the cyclic *Thebais* and thence the *Septem* are an outcome. However much of romance and prodigy may have gathered about it, there is probably this nucleus of historical fact. The war in question is so far like the war against Troy that it began with a large and organised invasion. The king of Argos evidently once held suzerainty over an extensive region<sup>2</sup>, and a number of chiefs were amenable to his orders. Others may have been induced to join with a view to a share in the winnings.

§ 4. The history of the war would be fairly recent when the minstrels of Argos or Thebes began to compose their lays concerning it. In the course of very few generations the sagas which had gathered about it would be numerous, would both deliberately and unconsciously accumulate τὸ θαυμαστόν, and would embrace many incompatible elements, exactly as a very few generations were sufficient to develop from the historical nucleus the Carolingian cycle of *chansons de geste* with all their chronological and other huge impossibilities. The early bard was something of a novelist.

Not only were there Boeotian sagas concerning the great war; there were other cycles of Theban story<sup>3</sup> connected with (1) Cadmus and the Sparti, (2) Amphion and Zethus, with Antiope and Dirce, (3) Heracles, (4) Dionysus and Pentheus, (5) Niobe,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paus. 9. 9. 1 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Ἀργεῖοι, νομίζω πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἐπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, γενέσθαι λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον—a view which is probably correct, although we may not put the same simple trust in legends as did Pausanias.

<sup>2</sup> See § 11 and note 6.

<sup>3</sup> Among tragedies connected with Theban stories the following are recorded. Aeschylus—*Alcmena*, *Argea*, *Epigoni*, *Laius*, *Nemea*, *Niobe*, *Oedipus*, *Pentheus*, *Semele*, *Sphinx* (satyric); Sophocles—*Alcmeon*, *Amphitryon*, *Amphiaras* (sat.), *Antigone*, *Epigoni*, *Eriphyle*, *Niobe*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*; Euripides—*Alcmeon*, *Alcmena*, *Antigone*, *Antiope*, *Bacchae*, *Cadmus*, *Hercules Furens*, *Hypsipyle*, *Oedipus*, *Phoenissae*, *Supplices*; Theodectes—*Alcmeon*, *Oedipus*; Achaëus—*Alcmeon*, *Adrastus*; Meletus—*Oedipodea*; Astydamas—*Parthenopæus*.

(6) Oedipus. It was inevitable that there should be confusions between these, and more or less ingenious attempts to combine and relate them in some intelligible order. During the saga-period of the Hellenic world Boeotia was doubtless specially fertile in bards. We are so accustomed to see Boeotia through Athenian spectacles as *ἀναίσθητος* that we too often forget the significance of 'Helicon,' 'Aonian' Muses, and the legend of Amphion. Hesiod, Pindar and Corinna are not the only poets who sang in Boeotia, and it is apparently to that region that we should look for the earliest stock of those Grecian *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* which were to take a fuller epic shape in the 10th—8th centuries. The saga-cycle of Thebes was in existence before that of Troy<sup>1</sup>. In the Homeric poems it is presupposed. It was the fathers who fought for Argos against Thebes; it is the sons who fight at Troy. Nor is this knowledge of Theban story confined to the 'Catalogue'<sup>2</sup>, where it might be somewhat suspicious, as coming from a Boeotizer.

The  
Thebais.

§ 5. From the Theban lays and legends, or from the Argive lays and legends relating to Thebes, there emerges the *Thebais* of the epic cycle. Though, as part of the *κύκλος*, this is later in taking organised shape than the *Iliad*, its materials were manifestly older. As in the *Iliad*, the antique atmosphere must have been preserved with remarkable fidelity. So far as the indications go there must have been comparatively little that the shaping poet—the "*Ὅμηρος*" in this case—actually invented in the light of contemporary civilisation and manners. There is no mistaking the remoteness of the period to which we are

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Ven. A on *Il.* 1. 5 says (with a reference to the *Cypria* of Stasinus) that the earth was overpopulated and called for relief, and that Zeus *πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον* and afterwards the Trojan. Similarly Hes. *Opp.* 161 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 4. 370 Agamemnon, addressing Diomedes the son of Tydeus and Sthenelus the son of Capaneus, says that Tydeus came with Polyneices to Mycenae *λαὸν ἀγείρων*, but no contingent was sent because of unfavourable signs. The king of the *Καδμείωνες* was then Eteocles. Diomedes retorts (405 sqq.) that the sons are better than the fathers, since *ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἔδος εἰλομεν ἑπταπύλοιο*. In *Il.* 5. 801 *Τυδεὺς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητὴς*: *ibid.* 6. 222 Diomedes was but a little child when *ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἀπώλετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν*. In *Od.* 10. 490 sqq. Teiresias is the seer, *ibid.* 11. 260 sqq. Amphion and Zethus are the builders of Thebes. Cf. *ibid.* 260 (Alcmena), 271 (story of Oedipus and Epicaste).



carried back. The age of Oedipus is the age when iron was new and somewhat uncanny<sup>1</sup>; it is the age when skill in artistic metal-work was so wonderful a thing that poets asked it to perform miracles. It is also the age before the divinity of the Theban Dionysus or Heracles was recognised<sup>2</sup>. The whole suggestion is at least pre-Dorian.

The cyclic *Thebais* must be distinguished from the *Thebais* of Antimachus of Colophon, whose work is later than the *Septem*<sup>3</sup>. He of course drew upon previous *Thebaica*, but such fragments as remain have no value for the elucidation of Aeschylus<sup>4</sup>. Concerning the cyclic *Thebais*<sup>5</sup> there are doubtful points. The whole Theban story includes the war of the 'Septem' and that of the 'Epigoni.' In a narrower sense *Θηβαῖς* may perhaps have described the former, but it appears to have certainly possessed a wider meaning including the latter<sup>6</sup>. The poem is mentioned by Pausanias (9. 9. 5 ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον καὶ ἔπη *Θηβαῖς*). He evidently knew it well, since he considers it next in merit to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Indeed (says Pausanias) Callinus, the elegiac poet of the early 7th century, attributed it to Homer himself<sup>7</sup>. Besides the *Thebais* we hear of *Οἰδιπόδεια* 'by Cinaethon'<sup>8</sup>, of τὰ *Οἰδιπόδια* ἔπη (Paus. 9. 5. 11), of ἡ *Οἰδιποδία*<sup>9</sup>, and of an Ἀμφιαράου ἐξέλασις εἰς *Θήβας*<sup>10</sup>. How far the various ἔπη

<sup>1</sup> See § 9 *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> This is surely the natural explanation of the omission of these names from the invocations in the *Septem*.

<sup>3</sup> Antimachus was an elder contemporary of Plato. It is he of whom Horace is thinking (*A. P.* 146) in his *nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri* &c. (see Acron and Porphyryon *ad loc.*).

<sup>4</sup> The schol. on *S. c. T.* 149 tells us that Antimachus names the Ὀγκαῖαι πόλιν.

<sup>5</sup> The fragments have been collected by Kinkel, to whom many of the accompanying references are due.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 308 οἱ δὲ τὴν *Θηβαῖδα* γεγραφότες φασὶν ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων ἀκροθίνων ἀνετέθη Μαντῶ κ.τ.λ. Leutsch thinks the *Epigoni* was joined to the *Thebais* at a later date.

<sup>7</sup> This ascription was to be expected. Both *Thebais* and *Epigoni* are credited to Homer in Pseud.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* § 9, *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* p. 323. So Herodotus (4. 32) mentions the *Epigoni* with doubt εἰ δὴ τῷ ἐόντι γε Ὅμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

<sup>8</sup> Tab. Borg. in Naples Museum, CIG 6129.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1760.

<sup>10</sup> Suid. Ὅμηρος, Pseud.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* § 9.

Θηβαϊκά are apt to be all quoted under the title Θηβαῖς is scarcely ascertainable. The *Thebais* itself is said<sup>1</sup> to have begun with "Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες. This, if true, would suggest that the poem was written from the Argive standpoint<sup>2</sup>. Since, however, there could be no glory to Argos in the first expedition, it would be necessary to regard the *Epigoni* as from the first an intended part or sequel of the *Thebais*. This view is not contradicted by its first line, as quoted by Aristophanes (*Pac.* 1270), νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι<sup>3</sup>.

The information to be gathered from and concerning the cyclic *Thebais* is meagre, and may be summarised as follows. We learn (through Athenaeus)<sup>4</sup> that Oedipus cursed his sons for offering him the cup which he had tabooed, and (through a scholion to Sophocles<sup>5</sup>) that he cursed them for sending him an inferior joint from the sacrificial victim. By a scholiast to Pindar<sup>6</sup> we are told that the utterance of Adrastus over the pyres of his fallen chiefs ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, | ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι was (according to Asclepiades) taken from the cyclic *Thebais*<sup>7</sup>. Pausanias (9. 18. 6) says that in the *Thebais* Parthenopaeus was killed by Periclymenus, but in the Theban account by Asphodiscus. He also quotes (8. 25. 8) a line telling how Adrastus fled back to Argos εἴματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρείῳ κυανοχαίτῃ. Beyond this we can only be sure that the epic gave descriptions of the champions and their accoutrements, that it gave the names of the Theban gates, and that the boasts of Capaneus in particular were worded similarly to those in Aeschylus. In no other way can we account for the close agreement between Aeschylus and Euripides in respect of these several points.

<sup>1</sup> *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> The Theban accounts often differed (Paus. 9. 18. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Μοῦσαι is supplied by a scholion, which wrongly attributes the line to Antimachus.

<sup>4</sup> 465 E. Eustathius *Od.* p. 1684 is manifestly copying Athenaeus.

<sup>5</sup> *Oed. Col.* 1375. (The reference is in each case to the κυκλική Θηβαῖς, and it is quite possible that Oed. repeated his curse for similar offences. But it may be doubted whether one of the references should not rather be to Antimachus.)

<sup>6</sup> *Ol.* 6. 15 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> The change of μάρνασθαι to μάχεσθαι probably gives the actual hexameter.

## B. CADMUS, THE LABDACIDAE AND THE SEPTEM.

§ 6. The relative antiquity of the various Theban legends is beyond ascertainment, nor is the question of immediate moment to the comprehension of the *Septem*. That piece begins with a reference to Cadmus and ends with the disobedience of Antigone to the order of the Theban provisional government. Our concern is with the mind of Aeschylus when writing the play, with the material of tradition which its contents imply, and with the conception of legendary Thebes and of the whole Oedipodean story which it displays.

To Aeschylus the city is the 'city of Cadmus' and its people are 'Cadmeans.' Neither 'Thebes' nor 'Thebans' are to be met with by name. The extant title, though old as Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, was almost certainly not that assigned by Aeschylus. This persistent avoidance of the contemporary name can scarcely be due to mere artistic cult of antiquarian accuracy. It is by no means to be pressed into showing that in the poet's conception the ancient city was simply identical with the 'Cadmea' citadel of his own times. Other poets, epic, lyric and dramatic, use the names 'Cadmean' and 'Theban' without discrimination; they place their 'Cadmeans' in 'Thebes.' The cyclic epic was apparently always known as the *Thebais*, and both Homer and Hesiod speak of 'Thebes' or the 'city of Thebe.' It would have been inevitable for Aeschylus to drop into a mention of 'Thebes,' if he had not been alert and resolute to keep the word out. The cause was political. Thebes and Thebans were in ill odour at Athens, especially since the Persian struggle of twelve years before. At the battle of Plataea it was against the Medizing Thebans that the Athenians were pitted. The use of 'Cadmea' and 'Cadmeans' comes of the tact of the artist. It threw the events back to a time when there were Cadmeans rather than Thebans. The Athenians could spare to these remote *ἥρωες* a sympathy which was necessary for the poet's purpose, but which they would not grant to the Thebans of B.C. 467. Doubtless Aeschylus, as artist, carried his imagination.

<sup>1</sup> *Ran.* 1021.



as completely as possible into the past, but the same might be said of other writers who nevertheless do not avoid the word 'Theban.' In his *Phoenissae* and *Supplices* Euripides is no friend of Thebes, and is not dramatically concerned to present a part of its history in a sympathetic light. To him and his audience the Cadmeans are therefore also 'Thebans.'

Cadmus  
and the  
Sparti.

§ 7. According to the legend commonly received<sup>1</sup> Cadmus, son of Agenor, had come into Boeotia by way of Thrace and Delphi from Phoenicia (whether Tyre or Sidon). Led by a cow with moon-shaped marks<sup>2</sup> upon its flanks, and bidden by the oracle to settle with his *σπατός* at the place where the cow wearied and lay down, he found that spot on a spur of the Teumessan range, where he proceeded to found 'Cadmea.' When he sought to draw water from the neighbouring well of Ares<sup>3</sup>, some of his men were killed by a serpent guarding the water. Having slain the serpent, Cadmus, at the bidding of Athena, sowed its teeth in the ground. From these there sprang up a crop of armed men (the *Σπαρτοί*), who, upon his casting stones among them (or else from mutual suspicion), slaughtered each other till only five remained. These 'Ares spared'<sup>4</sup>, and from them, as some writers loosely express it, the people of Thebes<sup>5</sup> were descended. The names assigned to the survivors<sup>6</sup> sufficiently indicate that they were manufactured to fit the story, just as the precise shape of the story itself was in all probability due to the otherwise unexplained word *Σπαρτοί*. To

<sup>1</sup> For the narrative see Apollodor. 3. 4. 1, Eur. *Phoen.* 638 sqq. (with schol.), Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1177, Plut. *Sull.* 17, Ov. *Met.* 3. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 12. 1. Some interpret these marks as symbols of the Phoenician moon-goddess. Io is the horned ancestress of the Phoenician Thebans in Eur. *Phoen.* 248.

<sup>3</sup> Various identified in later times, either (as by Euripides) with the Dircaean fountain (Paraport, S.W. of Cadmea) or (as by informants of Pausanias) with the Ismenian spring. See Frazer on Paus. 9. 10. Ares apparently represents the local deity, who resists the worship of the foreign 'cow.'

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 399.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *H. F.* 4 ἐνθ' ὁ γηγενὴς | σπαρτῶν στάχυς ἐβλασταν, ὦν γένους Ἄρης | ἔσωσ' ἀρθμόν ὀλίγον, οἱ Κάδμου πόλιν | τεκνοῦσι παίδων παισί, Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1184 Κάδμος Ἀγνηρορίδης γαιγενῆ εἰσατο λαόν, Soph. *O. C.* 1533.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐχίων, Χθόνιος, Οὐδαῖος, Πέλωρ, Ἰππερήνωρ (Paus. 9. 5. 3, Apollod. 3. 4. 2, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 942). These were the names in the cyclic *Phoronis* (see Kinkel *Epic. Graec. Frag.*).

the mind of Aeschylus the Sparti are manifestly the ancestors of only a portion or aristocracy<sup>1</sup> of the Thebans. Whatever the Σπαρτοί may have been in sober fact, it can be gathered that they represent a non-Phoenician element in the early Cadmean-Theban population<sup>2</sup>. That population would seem to have been formed by an amalgamation of the Phoenicians with the αὐτόχθονες (or γηγενεῖς) whom Cadmus had craftily set at feud with each other.

Cadmus himself married Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and all the great Olympians came to the marriage in the Cadmea<sup>3</sup>. The children of the marriage were Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, and Polydorus, who also play their larger or smaller parts in Theban saga. As leader of the Phoenicians Cadmus might be called figuratively their 'father.' As founder of the ξυνοικισμός he was the 'father' of Thebes. From him also was traditionally descended the royal line. For these reasons it was a habit of poetry to speak of the Thebans as 'sons of Cadmus' (Καδμείωνες) or 'descendants of Cadmus' (Καδμογενεῖς)<sup>4</sup>. If logically there is a contradiction between this expression applied to the whole people and Σπαρτῶν γένος applied to a portion of it, poetically the contradiction is scarcely worth regard<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *S. c. T.* 399. So *Eur. Suppl.* 703, *I. A.* 258, *Plut. Mor.* 563. They were traditionally body-marked with a λόγχη (*Ar. Poet.* 16, *Dio Chrys.* 4. 23).

<sup>2</sup> The account of Pausanias (9. 5. 1) is probably not far from the truth. The Theban territory, 'they say,' was first occupied by Ἐκτῆρες, whose king was ἀνὴρ αὐτόχθων Ὠγυγος, whence 'the majority of the poets' apply the title Ὠγύγαι to Thebes (*S. c. T.* 308, *Soph. O. C.* 1769, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1177). Subsequently came the Hyantes and Aones. Cadmus and his Phoenician force came and conquered, but permitted the Aones to remain and ἀναμυχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν. The Aones had formerly lived κατὰ κώμας, but Cadmus founded τὴν πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Καδμείαν (*i.e.* he founded the new polity there).

<sup>3</sup> The legend probably means that the claims of the local Ares and the Phoenician Aphrodite were adjusted, and that all the chief deities recognised in the Hellenic Pantheon were received into Cadmean-Theban worship. The story of this visit of the gods (*Apollod.* 3. 4. 2) must have been well known, cf. *Theogn.* 15.

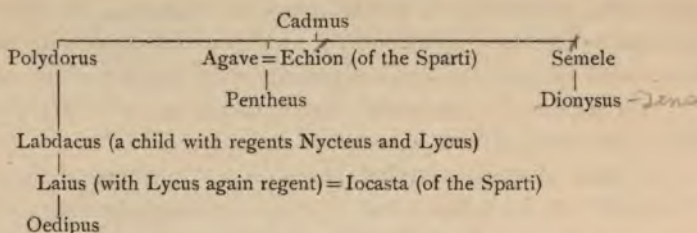
<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 290, cf. 127 (n.). *Eur. Phoen.* 809. So in *Soph. Trach.* 116 Heracles is styled Καδμογενής.

<sup>5</sup> Whether the subsequent withdrawal or ejection of Cadmus (*Apollod.* 3. 5. 4, *Paus.* 9. 5. 3) is based on an actual migration or ejection of a large part of the Phoenician element, is scarcely to be decided, but the notion is far from improbable.



Confusion  
in the  
legends.

§ 8. From Cadmus it was natural to derive the royal line which led to Oedipus and his sons. The accepted pedigree<sup>1</sup> was—



Simple as the arrangement thus becomes, it is made so only by selection. We can force into a place connected with Cadmus the story of the birth of Dionysus and of the impiety of Pentheus. The later logographers also found some kind of place for Amphion and Zethus<sup>2</sup>, but no such room can be made for the story of Heracles, although the convenient epoch of 'Lycus' is once more called into requisition. Thebes evidently changed its dynasty repeatedly<sup>3</sup>, and (apart from the case of Eteocles and Polyneices) there are many indications of dual or divided sovereignty, which so far perplexed the later bards or logographers, that one such sovereign is commonly turned into either a regent or a usurper. Fortunately the question as to how much Wahrheit may be contained among the mass of Dichtung<sup>4</sup> is not essential to an adequate understanding of the *Septem*. Aeschylus treats Cadmus as the 'father' and founder of Thebes, though there are Sparti among the nobles. For the rest he deals only with events in the Oedipodean family.

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 3. 4. 2, Eur. *Phoen.* 8 sqq., Paus. 9. 5. 3 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The account in Paus. 9. 5. 6 makes Amphion and Zethus overcome Lycus during the early days of Laius. He then makes them add to the Cadmea τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω and give the place the name of 'Thebes.' Laius is restored after their death. (Similarly Apollodorus.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 27 sqq., where a Lycus Καδμείος οὐκ ὦν comes from Euboea and κτείνει Κρέοντα καὶ κτανῶν ἀρχεὶ χθονός.

<sup>4</sup> How entirely any chronology is disregarded in the poets may be judged from the appearance of Teiresias as contemporary with Cadmus (Eur. *Bacch.*), with Amphitryon (Pind. *N.* 1. 60), with Oedipus (Soph. *O. T.*), with the Septem (Soph. *Ant.*), and with the Epigoni (Apollod. 3. 7. 3). Creon is another standing figure.

§ 9. The Labdacidae are thus by tradition descended directly from Cadmus. If some dynasty of Labdacus<sup>1</sup> actually existed in the dark period before the dawn of history proper, it was probably a new one beginning with Labdacus himself<sup>2</sup>. If, as is probable, there is a basis of truth to the saga, the epoch of the Labdacidae represents some notorious time of trouble to Thebes—trouble within the royal house, and external trouble with 'the Sphinx' and with the Argive league. Disaster began in the reign of Laius, son of Labdacus.

Labdacus,  
Laius and  
Oedipus.

Where there existed so many variant versions of the whole legend of Laius, Oedipus and his sons, it is not to be presumed that Aeschylus adhered consistently to the same details in each and all of his Theban dramas. It is enough to trace his conception as embodied or reflected in the *Septem*. According to that play<sup>3</sup>, the curse upon the house of Laius began with his disobedience to the Delphian oracle, which thrice bade him die without children, if he would 'keep the country safe.' The motive for the prohibition is not recorded by Aeschylus<sup>4</sup>. From other sources we are informed that Laius was already under the curse of Pelops, whose son Chrysippus he had carried off<sup>5</sup>. It would not appear from Aeschylus that he had (as one account goes) consulted the oracle because of his childlessness. Laius and Iocasta were newly married<sup>6</sup>, and the oracle seems rather to have been given by the god in timely warning<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The shape of his name (cf. Spartacus, Pittalacus) suggests Thracian affinities. Thracian connection with Southern Greece, and especially with Thebes, was evidently considerable in prehistoric times. The story of Amphion recalls that of Orpheus; Cadmus himself had come by way of Thrace; Dionysus of Thebes is a Thracian divinity.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the meaning of the break after Polydorus, when regents (Nycteus and Lycus) ruled. Nor must we forget the withdrawal of Cadmus from Thebes.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 728 sqq. -

<sup>4</sup> The attitude of Aesch. towards the divine is that, when oracles are given to men, 'theirs not to reason why.'

<sup>5</sup> Ath. 602 F sq. The curse was that he might die childless, or else he slain by his own child.

<sup>6</sup> νύμφιοι (S. c. T. 742).

<sup>7</sup> The oracle to Laius (found in the Laurentian Sophocles, prefixed to *Oed. Tyr.*) was in one version: *Λαίε Λαβδακίδη, παίδων γένος ὀλβιον αἰτεῖς. | δώσω τοι φίλον υἱόν· ἄταρ πεπρωμένον ἐστίν | παιδὸς ἐοῦ χεῖρεσσι λιπεῖν φόος· ὥς γὰρ ἔνευσε | Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, Πέλοπος στυγεραῖς ἀραῖσι πιθήσας, | οὐ φίλον ἤρπασας υἱόν· ὁ δ' ἠῤῥατό σοι τάδε πάντα.* A variant of the second line was *τέξεις μὲν φίλον υἱόν· ἄταρ τόδε σοι μόρος ἐσται*, and from this (apparently) was derived the *ἐγγέλαιτο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ* of S. c. T. 735, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 18 sqq., Apollod. 3. 5. 6.

Laius, however, yielded to the temptation of passion<sup>1</sup>, and Oedipus was born. What version the poet adopted of the career of Oedipus till the slaying of his father, does not appear. The story of his exposure<sup>2</sup>, of his sojourn with Polybus at Corinth, and of his journey to consult the oracle at Delphi was probably the same for him as for Sophocles and Euripides. But there existed a somewhat different account of the place and time at which Laius was met and slain by his son, and this account was apparently recognised and (in one of his plays) adopted by Aeschylus<sup>3</sup>.

The  
Sphinx.

The story of the Sphinx necessarily finds its place in his version<sup>4</sup>, and his conception of the monster<sup>5</sup> is apparently the customary one. He moreover wrote a satyric *Sphinx* to complete the tetralogy to which the *Septem* belonged<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *S. c. T.* 734, *Eur. Phoen.* 21. Apollodorus (3. 5. 7) says *οἰνωθεῖς*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *χυτρίσσειν* is quoted from the *Laius* of Aeschylus.

<sup>3</sup> The schol. on *Eur. Phoen.* 1760 relates that Oedipus, on his way from Sicyon to Thebes by way of Cithaeron, meets and slays Laius, who is proceeding to Cithaeron to sacrifice; and schol. *Soph. O. T.* 733 makes Aesch. also place the *τρίδος* near Potniae and not in Phocis.

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 761.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 528 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> For the Sphinx-legend see Milchhoefer *Athen. Mittheil.* iv. (1879), Jebb App. to *Soph. O. T.* 508, Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 2. The riddle of the Sphinx is to be found in Apollod. 3. 5. 8, Ath. 456 B (quoting Asclepiades), and in the Laurentian Sophocles. A solution is given by the schol. on *Eur. Phoen.* 50. (These hexametrical compositions have no authority for the epic, but are mere efforts of literary practice and ingenuity.) It is impossible to distinguish the Oriental elements in the character of the Sphinx from those of the local (1) earth-oracle, (2) malign power or Kêr in general (see Harrison *Prol. to Gk. Rel.* pp. 207 sqq.). In Theban legend the Sphinx plays the part of the mediaeval 'dragon.' For descriptions see Apollod. 3. 5. 7, *Eur. Phoen.* 806 sqq., 1019 sqq. (*ὦ πτεροῦσσα, γὰρ λόχενμα | νεπτέρου τ' Ἐχίδνας, | Καδμείων ἀρπαγά... | μειζοπάρθενος... | φοιτάσι πτεροῖς | χαλαῖσι τ' ὠμοσίτοις κ.τ.λ.*), *frag. trag. adesp.* 541. The Oriental Sphinx brought by the Phoenicians was identified with the local demon Φίξ, daughter of Echidna (*Hes. Theog.* 326), connected with the Φίκειον ὄρος near Onchestus. According to Apollod. (3. 5. 7) this bane to Thebes was sent by Hera; according to schol. *Eur. Phoen.* 1031, by Dionysus. We may not be far from the mark in guessing that some hostile power (probably of a piratical or brigand nature) harassed Thebes for a time. Paus. 9. 26. 2 says *οἱ δὲ κατὰ ληστείαν σὺν δυνάμει ναυτικῇ πλανωμένην φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀνθήδονι σχεῖν θάλασσαν, καταλαβοῦσαν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρπαγαῖς χρῆσθαι, πρὶν ἐξεῖλεν Οἰδῖπους αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλόμενος πλῆθει στρατιᾶς, ἣν ἀφίκετο ἔχων ἐκ Κορίνθου*. Similarly Heracles delivered Thebes from the Minyae (*Eur. H. F.* 220). The boar of Calydon and the fox of Teumessus are analogous. In the *carmen populare* ap. Hiller (50. 22) the Aetolian oppressor is called a Sphinx requiring an Oedipus.



After his victory over the Sphinx Oedipus was accepted by the Cadmeans as their deliverer, and married the widowed queen, his own mother<sup>1</sup>. Her name does not occur in extant lines of our poet, though it was in all probability Iocasta<sup>2</sup>. That to Aeschylus, as to Sophocles and Euripides, the two sons and two daughters are the children of Iocasta herself, and not of the Euryganeia of another account<sup>3</sup>, appears from v. 738 of the *Septem*. The subsequent prosperity of Oedipus was pre-eminent<sup>4</sup>, until he discovered the miserable truth<sup>5</sup>, whereupon he blinded himself<sup>6</sup>. There is nothing said as to any plague falling upon the country, nor as to any other indication of pollution such as leads to the *dénoûment* in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles. We are simply told that Oedipus learned the truth<sup>7</sup>. Nor do we know precisely what, according to Aeschylus, happened after the revelation<sup>8</sup>. We gather only that Oedipus became the ward of his sons<sup>9</sup>, who ruled in his stead, and who maintained him in his blindness.

At this time they both incurred his anger, and, in his hot temper<sup>10</sup> and distraction<sup>11</sup>, he launched his curse upon them.

The curse upon the sons.

The exact nature of their wrong-doing as conceived by Aeschylus is not clear, inasmuch as the reading of v. 770 is uncertain. Whether it lay in offering him food which was *tabu*, or in 'scanting his sizes' (as did the daughters of King Lear in the case of their father, whom Oedipus so strangely resembles

<sup>1</sup> For a parallel story in Finland see Frazer *Paus.* Vol. v. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Homer (*Od.* 11. 271) calls her Epicaste. Cf. Apollod. 3. 5. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias (9. 5. 11) gives this variant from the verses ἀ Οἰδιπόδῃα ὀνομάζουσι. Cf. schol. *Phoen.* 53 (from Pherecydes), Apollod. 3. 5. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 757 sqq. (n.).

<sup>5</sup> *S. c. T.* 763.

<sup>6</sup> v. 769. The self-blinding is given also in Soph. and Eur., but it can hardly be 'an Attic invention.' Hellanicus of Mytilene (circ. 450 B.C.) has the same story (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 61), and it is not to be assumed that he borrowed it from Aeschylus.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 274 ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάνυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι.

<sup>8</sup> In Hom. *I. c.* Epicaste hanged herself, while Oedipus continued to rule ἀλγεα πάσχων.

<sup>9</sup> The natural conclusion from *S. c. T.* 770 sq. In Eur. *Phoen.* 64 the sons κληῖθροις ἐκρύψαν πατέρα to cause oblivion.

<sup>10</sup> *S. c. T.* 711, 771.

<sup>11</sup> *S. c. T.* 712, Eur. *Phoen.* 66 νοσῶν.

in temper) depends on an accent (*ἀραιάς* or *ἀραιῶς τροφᾶς*)<sup>1</sup>. Though the latter notion seems the more probable, the two wrong acts would easily become confused. In any case it was the *wrong* food which was offered. In the Cyclic epic<sup>2</sup> the sons are said to have caused Oedipus to use a tabooed cup.

Form of  
the curse.

The curse, as known to Aeschylus, evidently took the cryptic shape usual with oracles and prophecies<sup>3</sup>. The wording must

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus (3. 5. 9) makes the curse due to the sons lending no help to the father when he was being banished from Thebes after blinding himself. In Eur. *Phoen.* 874 sqq. the sons ἤμαρτον ἀμαθῶς· οὔτε γὰρ γέρα πατρὶ | οὐτ' ἐξοδὸν διδόντες ἀνδρα δυστυχῇ | ἐξηγρίωσαν· ἐκ δ' ἔπνευσ' αὐτοῖς ἀρὰς | δεινὰς νοσῶν τε καὶ πρὸς ἡτιμασμένους. In Soph. *O. C.* 1354 sqq. there is ill-treatment on the part of the sons.

<sup>2</sup> Two references to the κυκλικὴ Θηβαῖς conflict with each other (unless we suppose Oedipus to have uttered more than one such curse). (a) Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 1375 says that the two sons δι' ἔθους ἔχοντες τῷ Οἰδίποδι πέμπειν ἐξ ἐκάστου ἱερείου μοῖραν τὸν ὦμον, ἐκλαθόμενοι ποτε, εἴτε κατὰ ῥαστώνην, εἴτε ἐξ ὀνουῦν, ἰσχίον αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν· ὁ δὲ μικροψύχως καὶ τελῶς ἀγεννῶς, ὅμως γοῦν ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατ' αὐτῶν, δόξας κατολιγωρεῖσθαι· ταῦτα ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδα ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ οὕτως

ἰσχίον ὡς ἐνόησε χαμαὶ βάλεν εἰπέ τε μῦθον·

ὦ μοι ἐγῶ, παῖδες μὲν ὀνειδίοντες ἔπεμψαν.

εὖκτο Διὶ βασιλῆϊ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι,

χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καταβήμεναι Ἄιδος εἴσω.

He then quotes *frag. trag. adesp.* 458 (N), where the subject is 'ridiculously' treated; (b) Athenaeus (465 E, copied by Eustath. *Od.* 1684) has ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους δι' ἐκπώματα τοῖς υἱοῖς κατήραστο, ὡς ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαῖδα πεποιηκώς φησιν, ὅτι αὐτῷ παρέθηκεν ἔκπωμα ὁ ἀπηγορεύκει, λέγων οὕτως

αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς ἥρως ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης

πρῶτα μὲν Οἰδιπόδῃ καλὴν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν

ἀργυρὴν Κάδμοιο θεόφρονος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

χρῦσεον ἐμπλησεν καλὸν δέπας ἠδέος οἶνου.

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὡς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατρὸς ἐοῖο

τιμῆντα γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεσε θυμῷ,

αἶψα δὲ παισὶν ἐοῖσι μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαράς

ἀργαλέας ἡρᾶτο· θεῶν δ' οὐ λάνθαν' ἐρινύν·

ὡς οὐ οἱ πατρί' ἐνῆεί ἐν φιλότῃ

δάσσειντ', ἀμφοτέροισι δ' αἰὲ πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε.

[πατρίαν εἴη φιλότῃ MSS, corr. W. Ribbeck: δάσσαντο MSS, corr. W. Headlam. Perhaps also we should read ἀμφὶ δ' ἔσονται αἰὲ κ.τ.λ. If these suggestions are not correct, we must take οὐ as belonging to ἐνῆεί ἐν φιλότῃ alone, and read ὡς... δάσσαντ', ἀμφὶ δ' ἔρις τ' εἴη πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε. It must be admitted that αἰὲ is scarcely in point.] The ingenious suggestion of Verrall (Introd. pp. xxx sq.) that we should read χρυσότεχνων πωμάτων ἐπλάγχθη in *S. c. T.* 769 is vitiated (so far as his interpretation goes) by the impossibility of rendering καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ κ.τ.λ. by 'that they too with iron-wielding hand etc.,' since σφε cannot be emphatic.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 195 Ἄλλ. πῶς δῆτά φησ' ὁ χρησμός; OI. A. εὐ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς | καὶ ποικίλως πως καὶ σοφῶς ἡνιγμένος, and the parody on such style in Antiphon. ap. Ath.



be gathered from the allusions in the *Septem* itself, where the Chorus offers the explanation of what had been a dark riddle, that is, where the terms used in the curse, or their equivalents, are accompanied by the interpretation. Such are vv. 714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾶ | Χάλυβος Σκυθᾶν ἄποικος | κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας πικρός, ὠμόφρων σίδαρος, 924 sqq. πικρός λυτήρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος | ξείνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθεῖς | θακτὸς σίδαρος κ.τ.λ., 892, 869. As is pointed out in the commentary on these passages, we may conclude that the enigmatical language actually used was approximately πικρὸς ἔσται χρηματοδαίτης ξένος πόντιος πυριγενής, of which the true interpretation is discovered to be ὁ θηκτὸς καὶ ὠμόφρων σίδηρος, ὁ ἐκ Πόντου (i.e. Χάλυβος) ξένος (i.e. Σκυθῶν ἄποικος), ὁ πυριγενής καὶ σφυρήλατος (v. 801), τὰ χρήματα διανεμεῖ<sup>1</sup>.

§ 10. From the utterance of the imprecation till the opening of the *Septem* there is a gap to be filled in the Aeschylean tradition. We discover incidentally that Oedipus is dead<sup>2</sup>, whereas in Sophocles and Euripides he is alive<sup>3</sup>, at the date of the invasion. He lies buried in the royal tomb at Thebes<sup>4</sup>, not in Attica. We learn also that the brothers have quarrelled through aspirations to μοναρχία<sup>5</sup>, and that Eteocles has ejected his brother<sup>6</sup>, who has sought help from Argos and now claims that Justice will restore him<sup>7</sup>. Nothing is said of the marriage of Polyneices with Argeia the daughter of Adrastus<sup>8</sup>. Nor is there any definite statement of the rights of the case as regards

Cause of  
the war.

449 B. In Soph. *Tr.* 1159 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόφαντον ἐκ πατρὸς πάλαι, | τῶν ἐμπνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὕπο, | ἀλλ' ὅστις Ἀίδου φθίμενος οἰκήτωρ πέλοι (i.e. by the shirt of Nessus). In Sophocles and Euripides the curse is explicit enough (Eur. *Phoen.* 67 οἷας ἀρᾶται παῖσιν ἀνοσιωτάτας, | θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν, but this is the interpretation itself).

<sup>1</sup> While interpreting, we have to remember (1) that iron was still a novelty and a stranger (Hes. *Op.* 150 χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος, Ov. *Fast.* 4. 405 *aes erat in pretio, Chalybeia massa latebat*); (2) that iron was credited with a magical power of malevolence (cf. αὐτὸς ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος). This appears also from Eur. *Phoen.* 350 ὄλοιο τὰδ', εἴτε σίδαρος, | εἴτ' ἔρις, εἴτε πατήρ ὁ σὸς αἷτιος.

<sup>2</sup> S. c. *T.* 963.

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 64 sqq. In the *Oed. Col.* he dies at Colonus when the Argives have already reached Thebes.

<sup>4</sup> S. c. *T.* 995. In Hom. *Il.* 23. 679 Oedipus was buried in Thebes after being killed in battle (δεδουπότος) prior to this war.

<sup>5</sup> S. c. *T.* 868.

<sup>6</sup> v. 624.

<sup>7</sup> v. 633.

<sup>8</sup> Hes. *fr.* 62, Diodor. 4. 65. 3.

the sovereignty of Thebes. There is no reprehension (except in his brother's mouth) of the conduct of Eteocles, nor, on the other hand, is there any explicit argument against the claims of Polyneices (except in so far as Eteocles himself disparages his brother's sense of justice<sup>1</sup>). Throughout it would appear that the brothers could claim an equal share<sup>2</sup>. They have been equally cursed by their father, and hence they must, at the moment, have been in equal power. The fact that the desire of *μοναρχία* is deprecated as it is<sup>3</sup>, shows that *μοναρχία* was not the legitimate position. It is therefore to be concluded that the brothers should have been joint rulers, perhaps somewhat after the manner of the two kings of Sparta. Nor is it easy to resist the impression that, to the mind of Aeschylus, the brothers were twins<sup>4</sup>. This is nowhere positively stated, but, if it be assumed, much more point is gained for the passages in which their relationship is emphasised<sup>5</sup>. A different account is given by Sophocles, who represents Polyneices as being the elder and as having been deposed by Eteocles<sup>6</sup>. Euripides on the contrary makes Polyneices the younger, and supposes an arrangement by which the brothers were to reign alternate years—a compact broken by Eteocles<sup>7</sup>. This divergence of the dramatists may most naturally be taken as indicating that the epic gave no information on the point. Each tragedian offers his own solution, and, if Aeschylus chooses to consider Polyneices and Eteocles as twins, the situation becomes simpler than with the other poets. To the epic writer the dual sovereignty probably offered no difficulties; it was a later age which found a dual *τυραννίς* perplexing.

<sup>1</sup> vv. 649 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 714, 773, 801, 891 sq.

<sup>3</sup> v. 867.

<sup>4</sup> Verrall takes the same view (Introd. p. x note).

<sup>5</sup> S. c. T. 916 sq., 874. Cf. 563 (n.).

<sup>6</sup> Soph. *O. C.* 1292—1325. As elder Polyn. claimed the *πάναρχοι θρόνοι*, but Eteocles expelled him *οὔτε νικήσας λόγῳ, | οὔτ' εἰς ἔλεγχον χειρὸς οὔδ' ἔργου μολών, | πόλιν δὲ πείσας*. From the reply of Oedipus (1354 sqq.) it would appear that Polyn. actually was for a time king of Thebes.

<sup>7</sup> Eur. *Phoen. prol.*: cf. Apollod. 3. 6. 1. In *Suppl.* 149 sqq. Polyn. comes to Argos *ἀραῖς πατρώας μὴ κασίγνητον κτάνοι*. The flight was voluntary, but *οἱ μένοντες τοὺς ἀπόντας ἡδίκουν* (the *Supplices* is pro-Argive throughout).



§ 11. The quarrel has taken place; Eteocles is sole sovereign, and the Argive (or 'Achaean') league has invaded Thebes in support of Polyneices. Aeschylus apparently adopted the usual account of the relations between Adrastus, Polyneices, Tydeus, Amphiarus and the other chieftains. The league is composed of a number<sup>1</sup> of Achaean chiefs either actually under Argive suzerainty<sup>2</sup> or else invited from other parts of the Peloponnese<sup>3</sup>. The leader is naturally Adrastus, king of Argos. The only dissentient and unwilling member of the expedition is the seer Amphiarus, who knows 'how the matter will end'<sup>4</sup>. According to the received account Amphiarus had learned the mind of the Delphian god<sup>5</sup>, but had nevertheless joined the expedition *βίᾳ φρενῶν*<sup>6</sup>. This conduct—of which Aeschylus is not concerned to give the explanation in the *Septem*—was due to the influence of his wife Eriphyle, sister of Adrastus, who had been bribed by Polyneices with the necklace of Harmonia.

The story  
of the  
campaign.

The cause was the cause of Polyneices, of which—at least in its method—Amphiarus does not approve<sup>7</sup>, but the most vehement supporter of the cause, and the prime influence upon Adrastus, had been Tydeus<sup>8</sup>, to whom Amphiarus is in consequence specially hostile.

Aeschylus apparently adopts the account according to

<sup>1</sup> Though seven chiefs besides Adrastus are named, this is not necessarily the total number (see *S. c. T.* 42 n.). Pausanias (2. 20. 4) is in error in saying that Aeschylus first reduced the number to seven (cf. Pind. *O.* 6. 15). Schol. Hom. *Il.* 4. 404 gives nine leaders, and, if we include Adrastus and Menoeceus (Apollod. 3. 6. 3), this represents the full list of names recorded. The differing lists are evidently so many attempts to *make* seven. In Soph. *O. C.* 1305, 1311 (οἱ νῦν σὺν ἑπτὰ τάξεσιν σὺν ἑπτὰ τε | λόγχοις τὸ Θήβης πεδίου ἀμφεστᾶσι) there are neither more nor less than seven, but this is not stated nor implied by Aeschylus.

<sup>2</sup> The width of such a pre-historic suzerainty may be gauged from *Il.* 2. 569 sqq., where Agamemnon's kingdom includes Mycenae, Corinth, Cleonae, Sicyon and Pellene, and *ibid.* 2. 559 sqq., where Diomedes and Sthenelus rule over Argos, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troezen, Epidaurus and Aegina.

<sup>3</sup> Soph. *O. C.* 1302 (Polyn. loq.) ξυνωμόςτας | ἔστησ' ἐμὰντῷ γῆς ὁσοῦπερ Ἀπίας | πρῶτοι καλοῦνται: Paus. 9. 9. 2 ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐξ Ἀρκადίας καὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων συμμαχικὰ ἤθροισεν (cf. 2. 20. 4); Eur. *Phoen.* 430 Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἄκροι.

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 604.

<sup>5</sup> *S. c. T.* 604 sq.: cf. Bacchyl. 9. 10 sqq. Favourable signs were also lacking (Pind. *N.* 9. 44, Eur. *Suppl.* 155, Hom. *Il.* 4. 406 sqq.).

<sup>6</sup> *S. c. T.* 599.

<sup>7</sup> *S. c. T.* 567 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *S. c. T.* 558 sqq.



which Adrastus returns in safety to Argos<sup>1</sup>, and also the view that all the chiefs except Amphiaraus are guilty of ὕβρις and thereby incur divine vengeance<sup>2</sup>. Amphiaraus himself is guilty only of taking up a cause in which he does not believe, and of invading a foreign land unjustly<sup>3</sup>. Otherwise he is σῶφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ<sup>4</sup>. This, as we gather from Homer<sup>5</sup>, was the conception of the character of the expedition current in the sagas, and if Euripides in the *Supplikes* chooses to present a philo-Argive view of the matter, there were doubtless contemporary motives for the innovation.

The details of the expedition previous to the grand assault of the *Septem* are not to be derived from extant work of Aeschylus. Whether he knew of the reputed mission of Tydeus to Thebes<sup>6</sup> is not apparent; but the story of Archemorus<sup>7</sup> was known to him and was told in his own *Nemea*.

Concerning the events of the fighting and its results there is a general agreement<sup>8</sup> among the various versions, although there are many points of difference in detail, some due to existing differences in the legend, some to the deliberate invention of the various poets. Aeschylus simply tells us that, whereas at the seventh gate Polyneices and Eteocles are both slain, at the other six καλῶς ἔχει<sup>9</sup>. This would most naturally imply not only that the Theban champions are victors, but that they also survive. A hint, but no more, of the fate of Amphiaraus in particular is given in the words ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πλανῶ χθόνα | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολέμιας ἐπὶ χθονός<sup>10</sup>. For the rest we are told

<sup>1</sup> *S. c. T.* 50 (n.). The cyclic epic or the legends must have given many details concerning Adrastus. He was manifestly the Nestor of the expedition in point of eloquence: cf. Tyrt. 10 (8). 7 εἰ... | γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδράστου μελιχόγηρυν ἔχοι, Plat. *Phaedr.* 269 A τὸν μελιχόγηρυν Ἀδράστον (after his favourite Antimachus). Adrastus' horse Arion is known to Homer (*Il.* 23. 346). Cf. Paus. 8. 25. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *S. c. T.* 538, 598 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *S. c. T.* 596 sq., 616 (n.).

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 597.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 4. 405 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4. 370 sqq., Apollod. 3. 6. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Bacchyl. 9. 10 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Thus the list of the Argive champions is the same for the *Septem*, Eur. *Supplikes*, and Soph. *Oed. Col.* In Eur. *Phoen.* and Apollodor. 3. 6. 3 Adrastus is substituted for Eteocles. The descriptions also tally. Thus Parthenopaeus is γοργός to both Aesch. and Eur., and Hippomedon is to both poets a large and showy man (γαῦρος... γίγαντι προσόμοιος says Eur.).

<sup>9</sup> *S. c. T.* 784.

<sup>10</sup> vv. 574 sqq.

nothing<sup>1</sup>, except the resolution of the Theban *πρόβουλοι* refusing burial to Polyneices and the defiance of that resolution by Antigone and a part of the Chorus<sup>2</sup>. Her coming punishment is threatened (v. 1035), but of course has no further place in the *Septem*.

§ 12. The later war of the Epigoni was well-known to Aeschylus<sup>3</sup>, who, like Sophocles, wrote a drama with that The Epigoni.

<sup>1</sup> In Paus. 9. 9 the Thebans were first worsted in a battle *πρὸς τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ*, but the Argives attacked the walls unskillfully and met with much loss. The Thebans then sallied, *ὡς τὸ σύμπαν στρατεύμα πλὴν Ἀδράστον φθαρῆναι*, but the loss on the Theban side was so great that *Καδμεία νίκη* (cf. Suid., Phot.) became a proverb for *ἡ σὺν ὀλέθρῳ τῶν κρατησάντων*. In 9. 5. 12 he makes Polyn. fight with Eteocl. in a *μονομαχία κατὰ πρόκλησιν*. Euripides (*Phoen.* 1223) makes Eteocl. utter such a challenge after the first repulse of the assault. After the death of both brothers, while the question of victory is in dispute, the Thebans make a sudden attack and defeat the invaders. The story of the self-sacrifice of Menoeceus, son of Creon, is told by Eur. (*Phoen.* 911), Apollodor. (3. 6. 7) and is referred to by Paus. (9. 25. 1). Aeschylus omits all these varieties of the legends. The fate of Capaneus is narrated in Eur. *Phoen.* 1172, *Suppl.* 496, Apollod. 3. 6. 7, Paus. 9. 8. 7, that of Amphiaræus in Pind. *N.* 9. 24 sqq., Eur. *Suppl.* 500. The place where the earth opened to swallow him was not agreed upon. Some showed a spot *ἐκ τῶν Ποινῶν λούσιν ἐς Θήβας* (Paus. 9. 8. 3), others at Harma (9. 19. 14). Adrastus alone returns to Argos (Pind. *I.* 6. 10). We may assume that Aeschylus was fully acquainted with the stories in vogue, but to introduce them would have been to lengthen his play and to spoil its artistic purpose. For the same reason he is not called upon to mention the refusal of burial to the Argive chiefs (the theme of Eur. *Suppl.*); nor was there entire agreement on that subject. Thus the Theban account (cf. *Il.* 14. 113) placed a tomb of Tydeus at Thebes (Paus. 9. 18. 2). Nevertheless Aeschylus was well acquainted with the story, which was connected with his own Eleusis (cf. Hdt. 9. 27, Paus. 1. 39. 2), and he actually treated of it in his *Eleusiniôi* (Plut. *Thes.* 29).

<sup>2</sup> The Euripidean story makes Creon give the order; but 'Creon' is manifestly a generic name (at Thebes) for 'regent.' In *Phoen.* 775 sqq. the same poet puts the order in the mouth of Eteocles before the *μονομαχία*. Though Homer, Hesiod and Pindar have nothing to say of Antigone and Ismene, it is difficult to understand why Jebb calls the refusal of burial 'an Attic addition.' It is certainly implied in the Theban story of the *Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης* (Paus. 9. 25. 2). Athenaeus (277 E) remarks that Sophocles rejoiced in the *ἐπικὸς κύκλος* and drew whole dramas from it, 'following the accounts there.' Salustius (Arg. to Soph. *Ant.*) says that the tragedians follow *ἡ κοινὴ δόξα*. Statius also used epic models, and he brings Argeia and Antigone together in secretly burying Polyneices by night. The fact that Pindar (*O.* 6. 15, *N.* 9. 24) speaks of 'seven funeral pyres' is no contradiction. These are not for seven leaders only, but for the seven *λόχοι* or *τάξεις*. Amphiaræus is one of the seven and yet has no pyre.

<sup>3</sup> As to Homer (*Il.* 4. 406 sqq.).



title<sup>1</sup>. The legend went<sup>2</sup> that Laodamas, son of Eteocles, succeeded to the throne under the regency of Creon. While he was growing up, there were also growing at Argos the sons of the fallen chiefs of the previous invasion<sup>3</sup>. Among these was Thersander, son of Polyneices, and in support of his claims the new generation formed a second expedition which was crowned with success. The Thebans were overcome; Laodamas retired to Illyria; and Thersander remained king of Thebes. Whatever account Aeschylus may have adopted when writing his *Epigoni*, it is certain that in the *Septem* he cannot have contemplated a war between the 'sons' of Eteocles and Polyneices, since both die 'childless.' Nor is one supposed reference to the 'Ἐπίγονοι' to be so interpreted in this play<sup>4</sup>.

#### C. CADMEA AND THE SEVEN GATES OF THEBES.

'Cadmea'  
as con-  
ceived by  
Aeschylus.

§ 13. In historical times Cadmea is the name of the Theban upper city or acropolis, corresponding closely to the situation of the modern town. There can be no doubt that, like the Acropolis (with the Pelargikon) at Athens, it was the original town round which the lower city gradually grew. It was the Cadmea that possessed the prehistoric walls—answering to the Cyclopean structures of Tiryns—and that Amphion and Zethus fortified by the same miraculous process which had fortified

<sup>1</sup> The iambic verse quoted so often by Cleanthes, which Cicero (*Tusc.* 2. 25. 60) renders by *audisne haec, Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite?* is evidently from a tragedy.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 5. 13, 9. 9. 3, Apollod. 3. 7. 2 sqq., Diod. 4. 66. In Eur. *Suppl.* 1143 the children of the Argive leaders promise retribution on Thebes, and Athena foretells (1213) their success, adding 'Ἐπίγονοι δ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα | κληθέντες ὧδας ὑστέροισι θήσεται.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐπίγονοι is not the Greek for 'sons,' and the story which furnishes each leader with a son is evidently of later growth among the saga. The list is given in Apollodorus. 3. 7. 2. The nominal leader was Aigialeus, son of Adrastus, but the most important figure was Alcmeon, son of Amphiaraus. (This fact, connected with 'Ἀμφιαράου ἐξέλασις as the name of part at least of the *Thebais*, might suggest that the whole poem was of Argive construction and in special honour of the Melampodidae.)

Thersander is recognised by Pindar (*O.* 2. 42 λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνέκῃ) who uses the word 'Ἐπίγονοι in reference to this second war (*P.* 8. 39).

<sup>4</sup> *S. c. T.* 886 (n.).

Troy. The walling of the larger city itself was evidently ancient also, but could not have been sufficiently so to create a myth. If, however, in later times the walls of Amphion were confused with the walls of wider Thebes, the occurrence would be natural, especially with those who saw Thebes mainly through literary tradition. 'Cadmea' as an expression for the citadel in particular was necessarily familiar to the Athenians in that sense; but it has already been explained<sup>1</sup> why Aeschylus—apart from epic tradition—would prefer to use the name 'Cadmeans' for Thebans. Though he might know the citadel itself by the title 'Cadmea,' he would hardly, in speaking of his heroic Cadmea-Thebes, think away all the rest of the town. In his day Thebes was—as for generations it had been—a larger city, including the lower town surrounding the acropolis. The mental picture of Aeschylus would naturally be that of the extended city, even if he could have been archaeologist enough to reduce it by an effort to a conception of the Cadmea proper. By the 'Cadmean city' he means simply the town of Cadmus, that is to say, an ancient Thebes. What precise notion he entertained of the city in the days of the Argive siege we cannot tell, since the question would largely depend upon the extent to which he was personally acquainted with Thebes<sup>2</sup>. It is safest to believe that he possessed considerable general information concerning the contemporary town, but that for the most part he is reproducing the language of the epic and of other literary or oral tradition.

§ 14. In the epic, as in tradition generally, Cadmean Thebes <sup>The</sup> was manifestly described as possessing seven gates, which bore <sup>'seven-gated.'</sup> distinctive names. 'Seven-gated' is an epithet of ancient standing<sup>3</sup>. Though seven is a mystic number<sup>4</sup>, and might

<sup>1</sup> See § 6.

<sup>2</sup> He may have been at Thebes with the army after the battle of Plataea, if at no other time. There would at least be plenty of Athenians capable of describing the place.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4. 406, *Od.* 11. 260, Hes. *Opp.* 162, *Scut.* 270 sqq. (Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 100, 118.) Later poets sought to vary the expression with e.g. *ἑπτάπυργος* (Eur. *Phoen.* 245), *ἑπτάστομον πύργωμα* (287), *πύλας ἑπταστόμους* (Soph. *fr.* 701).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 85 *ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων* (to guard the camp).



possibly be taken as symbolic, it does not appear why Thebes in particular should have been credited with that number. It is the case also that Thebes was the meeting-point of eight ancient roads, viz. those to Plataea (and thence to the Isthmus), to Eleutherae (and thence to Eleusis and Athens), to Tanagra and Delium (with a branch to Phyle), to Harma and Chalcis, to Anthedon, to Hyle (and thence to Opuntian Locris), to Haliartus (and thence to Phocis), to Thespieae (and thence to points on the Corinthian Gulf). It does not, of course, follow that each of these roads possessed a separate gate, but it is entirely probable that seven different outlets were in ordinary use. The gates of historical Athens were much more numerous, and the circuit of historical Thebes was but little less than that of Athens<sup>1</sup>. Pausanias says distinctly *Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι*, and it is scarcely conceivable that he would venture upon such a statement, if his contemporaries could have proved it untrue. He proceeds to name them.

Whether so small a place as the original Cadmea, or Cadmea proper, would itself possess seven gates, is another question. It is by no means impossible. The Cadmea was of larger area than the Athenian Acropolis and was accessible from all sides, while the Acropolis could only be approached from the west. But there is an alternative sense in which 'seven-gated' might be understood for even a small fortress. When the primitive city of Athens (consisting of Acropolis and *Πελαργικόν*) is spoken of as *ἐννεάπυλος*<sup>2</sup>, or as possessing *ἐννέα πύλαι*, we are to think not of nine separate entrances, but of nine successive portals along one road of entrance<sup>3</sup>. It might be the case that the original fortress had an approach guarded by seven successive portals, or by a number traditionally spoken of as seven; that these were the *ἑπτὰ πύλαι*; that, as the lower city grew round the Cadmea and was in turn provided with a wall, its gates

<sup>1</sup> In Thuc. 2. 13. 6 the circuit of Athens minus the space between the Long Walls is 43 stadia, and the circuit of Thebes is given as 43 stadia in a metrical description by a certain Dionysius (*Geog. Graec. Min.* I. 241. 95).

<sup>2</sup> Cleidemus *ap.* Suid. *ἀπεδα*. (9 is another mystic number.)

<sup>3</sup> See Harrison *Primitive Athens* pp. 32 sqq. (after Dörpfeld).

were placed where they were needed for the several roads; and that these were actually seven in number, either because convenience so dictated or because the traditional title of 'seven-gated Thebes' led to that honourable and mystic number being deliberately retained. Nevertheless, even if such a guess happens to be anywhere near the truth, the seven actual and distinct gates of the larger wall must still be ancient, inasmuch as already in cyclic epic times they are so situated that a champion can stand outside before each and attack it. Moreover the names, as recorded, are not descriptive (as they would probably be, if of more recent origin) of the places to which they lead. They all bear the unmistakable stamp of ancient coinage. For the *Septem* at least it is clear that Cadmea-Thebes possessed seven gates, neither more nor less. Nor is it likely that, in naming them, Aeschylus would ignore all the facts of contemporary Thebes.

§ 15. Concerning the topography of Thebes there has been much discussion. Though the identification of the Cadmea, <sup>Topo-  
graphy of  
Thebes.</sup> Dirce, Ismenus and one or two of the gates may be considered as settled, it must be acknowledged that more or less uncertainty attaches to almost every other detail. Though after the destruction of the wider city by Alexander it was restored by Cassander (B.C. 315), it was apparently destroyed again, at least in part, by Mummius (B.C. 146). In the time of Pausanias only the Cadmea was inhabited, although there were evidently many conspicuous traces of the larger town. Nor was the state of the city more flourishing in the days of Strabo (B.C. 20). Subsequent demolitions and decay have left the lines of the walls very disputable. Such evidence as there is, has been best put together by Fabricius, in his admirable monograph *Theben* (1890)<sup>1</sup>. Before giving, with certain omissions and slight modifications adapting it to the *Septem*, his chart of ancient Thebes, some words of description and argument are necessary.

The original settlement, or Cadmea, was planted on a site <sup>The  
citadel.</sup> which met the two chief requirements of a primitive stronghold.

<sup>1</sup> See also Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. v. pp. 31 sqq. and the literature there mentioned. Forchhammer's plan of Thebes (*Dict. Geog. Thebae*) is superseded.



These were, first, an elevation easily defensible, second, an adequate supply of water. A spur of the Teumessus range supplied the one; the stream and fountain of Dirce supplied the other. To the Cadmean it was Dirce, rather than Ismenus, that held the first place<sup>1</sup>. Ismenus in fact lay well outside the early town, while Dirce was close to the wall and one of its supplying springs was in all probability enclosed within the fortifications. On a northward spur or ridge from the range, offering a space of some 750 yards in length by about half that distance in breadth, the primitive town appears to have been built in a pear-shaped form, the southern and higher end being at an elevation of about 200 feet, the northern and lower at that of 150 feet. On the southern side the spur is connected with the hills; on the east and west there are gullies of the Dirce and the Strophia, but (except to the S.W.) the sides are in no way precipitous. As compared with the *κάτω πόλις* which subsequently grew up, the Cadmea may be described as lofty<sup>2</sup>, but the expression must be taken in this relative sense.

The larger town.

To east, west, and north of this primitive stronghold there gradually attached itself a larger town of 'Thebes'<sup>3</sup>, known in contradistinction as the 'lower city,' while the Cadmea, besides bearing its proper names, was also styled the 'upper city' (*ἡ ἄνω πόλις*) or *ἀκρόπολις*. As a natural result there were in historical Thebes two *ἀγοραί*<sup>4</sup>, the older one in the Cadmea, a later one in the lower town. The exact circuit of the walls of the extended city—which could hardly have been the same at all historical times—can scarcely be decided. Fabricius drew his conclusions from the lines of tiles and occasional patches of masonry which he took to mark the course of the *περίβολος* and its towers. The evidence of the tiles is disputed, but the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *S. c. T.* 259 (n.), *Pind. I.* 1. 29, 5. 74. In *Eur. Phoen.* 823 sqq. Amphion's wall rose *διδύμων ποταμῶν πύρον ἀμφὶ μέσον Δίρκας* (where the reference is apparently not to Dirce and Ismenus, but to Dirce and Strophia, the latter being regarded as a component of the former).

<sup>2</sup> *Paus.* 3. 17. 1 *ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα*. Fabricius quotes *Pind. fr.* 196 *λιπαρὰν Θηβᾶν μέγαν σκόπελον*. For primitive times it was roomy. In *Plut. Mor.* 598 F we hear of 5000 men being in the Cadmea.

<sup>3</sup> *Strabo* 9. 2. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Soph. O. T.* 20 *ἀγοραῖσι θακεῖ* and Jebb's note.

results obtained by Fabricius answer very closely to the 43 stades named by Dionysius<sup>1</sup>. It is generally agreed that no extension occurred to the south, where the old wall of the Cadmea continued to be part of the wall of greater Thebes. It is also agreed that both Dirce and the less important Strophia now flowed through<sup>2</sup> the city; in other words, that the lower town spread beyond the gullies of those streams. As to whether it also spread beyond the Ismenus there has been a difference of opinion, but it appears certain that, to the mind of Aeschylus, this stream ran—as Fabricius decides on other grounds—outside the Proetid gate<sup>3</sup>. There is, however, nothing to show that the city was not further enlarged on that side after the date of the *Septem*, the most likely occasion being in the year B.C. 457, when the Lacedaemonians assisted the Thebans<sup>4</sup> in strengthening their town. In point of fact, recent excavations have revealed the foundations of walls to the east of Ismenus. Nevertheless this extension at least may be disregarded for Aeschylus. Whether he thought of the Thebes of his own day or imagined a still smaller Cadmea-Thebes, whether he was simply drawing upon his epic and legendary sources or blending their language with his own information, the truth remains that for him the eastern wall of the Cadmeans is on the near side of Ismenus. In general his town would be considerably smaller than that outlined by Fabricius. This would manifestly not affect the *relative* positions of the gates. The enlargement of the *περίβολος* would simply place a newer gate further out along the road which led from the older one.

§ 16. Of the gates themselves three are tolerably certain. Positions  
of the  
Gates.  
The *Proetid* gate is placed by Aeschylus on the side towards Ismenus, and Pausanias tells us distinctly that through it passed

<sup>1</sup> Dicaearchus, or rather Heracleides Criticus (quoted by Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 19), gives 70 stades as the circumference circ. B.C. 250 (*Geog. Gr. Min.* 1. p. 102).

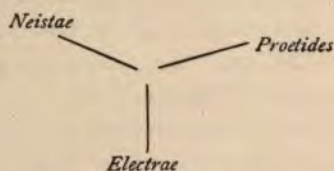
<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Antiope* fr. In Paus. 9. 25. 3 the house of Pindar is across the Dirce, but there is nothing to make us suppose that it was outside the walls. Eur. *Phoen.* 823 sqq. διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσον Δίρκας is indefinite; *ibid.* 730 βαθύς γέ τοι Διρκάιος ἀναχωρεῖν πόρος (*i.e.* in re-entering Thebes) may very naturally refer to that part of Dirce which runs across the plain below Thebes.

<sup>3</sup> *S. c. T.* 364 Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προιτίσιν | βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ περᾶν | ὁ μάντις.

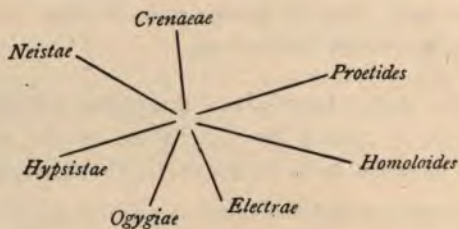
<sup>4</sup> Diodor. 11. 81.



the road to Chalcis<sup>1</sup>. The *Neistae* were on the road to Thespieae and the sanctuary of the Cabiri<sup>2</sup>. The name itself would imply that the situation was low. The *Electrae* were entered from Plataea<sup>3</sup>. According to Euripides they led to Cithaeron<sup>4</sup>, were on high ground, and were in the quarter from which the Athenians would approach<sup>5</sup> Thebes. Arrian<sup>6</sup> tells us that they led to Eleutherae and Athens. Pausanias, in his method of enumerating the list, appears to have been insufficiently understood. After giving the three names above mentioned, he proceeds to the other four, viz. *Crenaeae*, *Hypsistae*, *Ogygiae*, *Homoloides*<sup>7</sup>. It is commonly assumed that there is no indication of the order in which these come. In reality what Pausanias does is to name first the three chief entrances, situated somewhat thus



He then begins for the remainder at the north (*Crenaeae*), comes round W. (with *Hypsistae*), makes the explicit statement that to these the *Ogygiae* are 'next,' and last he names the *Homoloides*. We thus get approximately



This arrangement agrees with all the hints that can be gathered from other sources. Thus Aeschylus names no

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 18. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 9. 8. 7.

<sup>6</sup> An. 1. 7. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 25. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bacch. 780.

<sup>7</sup> 9. 8. 4 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Suppl. 651.

*Ogygian* gate (probably for metrical reasons<sup>1</sup>) but substitutes 'neighbours to Onca Athena'<sup>2</sup>. The situation of Onca's shrine appears to be fairly ascertained as 'about 200 paces S.W. of Cadmea'<sup>3</sup>. The title *Hypsistae* is manifestly antithetic to *Neistae*, and it is natural to think of the two gates as in line, one being at the highest point and the other at the lowest on that side. It then follows that the *Crenaeae* of other writers are the *βoppaîai* of Aeschylus, and this gate is therefore to the north, where in point of fact there exists a spring in the suburb of Pyri by the Dirce<sup>4</sup>. We discover from both Euripides and Aeschylus that the tomb of Amphion and Zethus lay outside the walls<sup>5</sup>, and from Aeschylus (who implies the same) that it was near the *βoppaîai πύλαι*<sup>6</sup>.

The list of the seven gates must have been ancient, and the various writers who supply it differ little from each other. Aeschylus, Euripides, Pausanias, Apollodorus and Statius agree in regard to the *Electrae*, *Proetides*, and *Homoloides*. For the rest the correspondences and divergences are:

Aesch.	Eur.	Paus.	Apollod.	Stat.
<i>Neistae</i>	<i>Neistae</i>	<i>Neistae</i>	[corrupt]	<i>Neitae</i>
ἔβδομαι	ἔβδομαι	<i>Hypsistae</i>	<i>Hypsistae</i>	<i>Hypsistae</i>
'Neighbours to Onca'	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>	<i>Ogygiae</i>
<i>βoppaîai</i>	<i>Crenaeae</i>	<i>Crenaeae</i>	<i>Crenides</i>	<i>Dircaeae</i>

The dramatists differ as to the particular gate allotted to each champion, but for Aeschylus the arrangement may be represented somewhat as follows, although it would be absurd to consider the poet as having any very clear-cut outline in his mind. He had studied no charts of Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> He clearly avoids the anapaest which other tragedians allow themselves in a proper name. See note to v. 24.

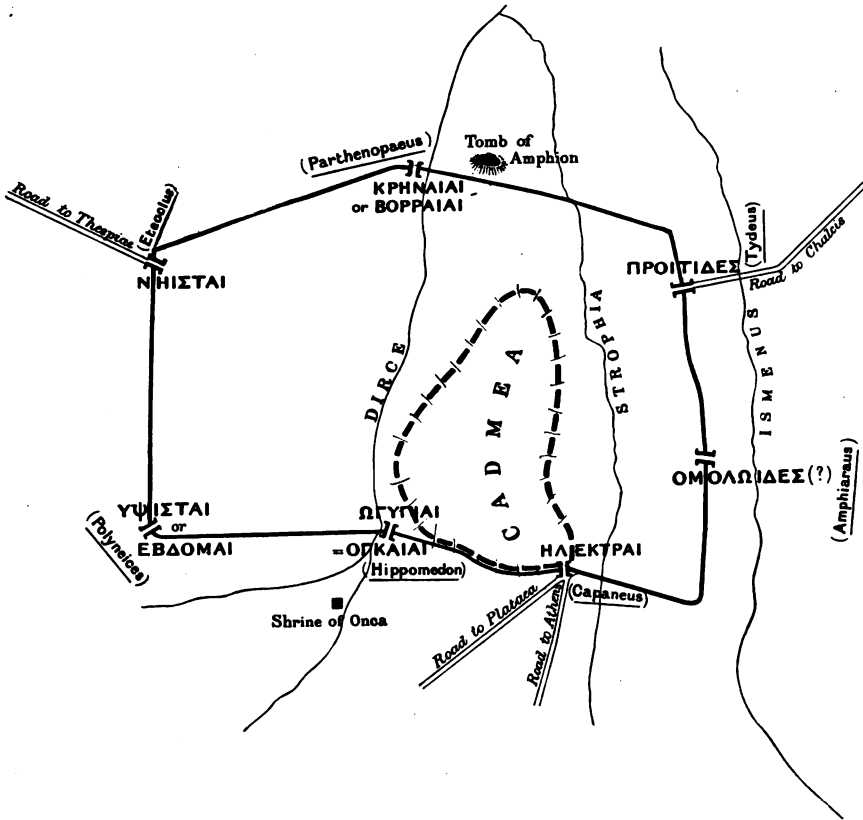
<sup>2</sup> Hesych. has "Ογκας Ἀθάνας· τὰς Ὠγκίας πύλας λέγει. Nonnus only names two gates, the *Electrae* and the *Oncaeae*.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer on Paus. 9. 12. 2. 'There is said to have been a village Oncae on the spot (schol. Pind. *O.* 2. 48, Tzetzes *Lycoph.* 1225).' See note to v. 488.

<sup>4</sup> Statius (8. 353 sqq.) substitutes *Dircaeae* in his list. Pindar (*I.* 5. 74) in his πῖσω σφε Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ...κόραι | Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτειλαν παρ' εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις should be understood to imply that he himself lives near a gate and that Dirce has a fountain near it. This would be the *Crenaeae* or *Dircaeae*.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 145, *Suppl.* 662.

<sup>6</sup> *S. c. T.* 514 sq.



## D. THE PLAY OF AESCHYLUS.

Political  
purpose in  
dramas.

§ 17. Though we do not demand of a modern drama that it should convey a definite moral or political lesson, and though we should not be too exacting in this respect when we deal with the corresponding form of art in antiquity, it is nevertheless a notorious truth that the early Greek poet, and not least the dramatic poet, was commonly regarded—and regarded himself—as an exponent of religious, ethical, and political wisdom. In its primary purpose a tragedy was doubtless a composition of art, intended for the public entertainment on its more serious side; but it was meanwhile expected of the tragedian that he should ‘improve the occasion’ and play the part of teacher to



the audience<sup>1</sup>. The stage Euripides is not expressing simply his individual opinion, when he maintains in the *Frogs*<sup>2</sup> of Aristophanes that poets can only claim admiration

δεξιότητος καὶ νουθεσίας ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιούμεν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

The traditional σοφία of the poet is to show itself not merely in the varied lore for which he has to thank Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, but also in the γνῶμαι and παραινέσεις which are to be expected of his more profound thought and keener insight. His function is not only τὸ ποιεῖν, but also τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν<sup>3</sup>. Most obviously valuable, and most readily appreciated, was wise admonition applied to contemporary circumstance. When Athens was in sore straits just before the end of the Peloponnesian war, Dionysus seeks to bring back a tragic poet from Hades

ἴν' ἡ πόλις σωθεῖσα τοὺς χοροὺς ἄγῃ.  
ὁπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειν  
μέλλῃ τι χρηστόν, τοῦτον ἄξειν μοι δοκῶ<sup>4</sup>.

And, when Aeschylus has been chosen and is departing to the upper world, the prayer is made that he may be the means of suggesting

τῇ...πόλει μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὰς ἐπινοίας<sup>5</sup>.

§ 18. In writing the *Septem* Aeschylus duly performs this The function of admonisher. But while the general and permanent moral lesson involved in the fate of the sons of Oedipus is obvious, there was also conveyed a special political lesson with a contemporary reference, a lesson so little obtruded that it has apparently escaped the notice of commentators. When Dionysus asks in the *Frogs*<sup>6</sup>

καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας,  
Αἰσχύλε, λέξον

<sup>1</sup> Ridgeway (*Praelection on the Supplices of Aeschylus*) rightly concludes for the *Supplices* and the *Eumenides* that Aeschylus was 'the apostle of a new and loftier religion, the proclaimer of a nobler and purer humanity, and the advocate of a more advanced and stable social system.'

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1009 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ran.* 1057.

<sup>4</sup> *Ran.* 1419 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ran.* 1530.

<sup>6</sup> vv. 1018 sqq.



the poet is made to reply

δράμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν,

that drama being

τοὺς Ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας,

ὃ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἂν τις ἀνὴρ ἡράσθη δάιος εἶναι.

And doubtless something might be caught of that *aura* of valour which so peculiarly pervaded the piece, and which suggested to Gorgias this apt description 'full of martial spirit'. Besides dramatically enforcing his invariable warning against ὕβρις and τὸ ἄγαν in any shape, Aeschylus does indeed stimulate Athenian manhood with the desire δάιοι εἶναι. But he meanwhile 'improves the occasion' in behalf of a debated public policy, or one which at least required the spur. This was the policy initiated by Themistocles, continued by Cimon, and accomplished by Pericles; namely, the policy of fortifying Athens with such completeness that it might thenceforth be secure against assault, whether from barbarian or from hostile Greek. To suppose this purpose included in the 'wisdom' of the play is no idle fancy. The date of the *Septem* is B.C. 467. The date of the commencement of Cimon's wall of the Acropolis is B.C. 468. Themistocles had previously built the new (if hasty) περίβολος of Athens, had fortified the Peiraeus<sup>2</sup>, and had probably devised a larger scheme, which was delayed, and doubtless in part discredited, by his fall and exile in B.C. 472. There were no doubt financial difficulties also. The spoils of the battle of Eurymedon supplied Cimon with the means to accomplish the work upon the Acropolis which is associated with his name. According to Plutarch<sup>3</sup> he also commenced the building of the Long Walls, although the actual carrying out of that supremely important work was left for Pericles (B.C. 460—458)<sup>4</sup>.

It is manifest that for some time before and after the production of the *Septem* the question of the nature and extent

<sup>1</sup> The phrase Ἄρεως μεστόν is attributed to Gorgias by Plutarch (*Mor.* 715 E). The adjective contains the notion that the spirit is contagious.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. i. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Cim.* 13.

<sup>4</sup> The actual year is not to be gathered from Thuc. i. 107 κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους (see Poppo-Stahl).

of the fortifications of Athens was one of chief public prominence. Nor could it be otherwise. In B.C. 480 not even the Acropolis, much less the larger city, had been defensible against the Persians. The Athenians had been compelled to take refuge within their 'wooden walls.' In the following year Mardonius had completed the destruction of the city. No one knew when such an experience might be repeated. Nor was assurance against the Peloponnesians much greater than that against Persia. Far-sighted statesmen with the large conceptions of a Themistocles or a Cimon perceived what was necessary. But, as on similar occasions ancient and modern, the more far-sighted the conception, the more difficulty may be found in persuading the body politic to adopt it comprehensively. Especially is this the case when the execution involves heavy financial burdens. That the Athenians required no little pressure of persuasion is manifest, first, from the delay in carrying out the full scheme (whether it be due to Themistocles or to Cimon), second, from such indications as that afforded by Plato<sup>1</sup>, who refers to a speech delivered by Pericles in favour of building the Long Walls. For the sake of brevity historians speak of Themistocles or Cimon or Pericles as doing this or that; yet these greater men were but agents of the will of the people, even though they may first have been the moulders of that will. It was but human nature that the eagerness displayed immediately after the Persian invasion should diminish as the wounds of that invasion healed.

In the *Septem* Aeschylus is indubitably lending his aid to the formation of public opinion in support of the Cimonian policy of fortification<sup>2</sup>. He is insisting upon the text 'Trust in the gods, but see to your walls.' Though the scene of the action is in Cadmea, the language is carefully adapted to Athens. If Athena Onca is implored to hold her protection over the Cadmea<sup>3</sup>, it is easy to grasp the allusion to Pallas Athena of the Acropolis, who *χείρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει*. If she is to

<sup>1</sup> *Gorg.* 455 E.

<sup>2</sup> It may even be suspected that he also intends a good word for Themistocles in the lines *φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας* | *Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι* (436 sq.). The chosen guardian deity of Themistocles was Artemis Aristobule.

<sup>3</sup> *S. c. T.* 149 (n.).



guard her *ἐπτάπυλον* ἔδος, the Athenian would at once think of the *ἐννεάπυλον*<sup>1</sup>. These are occasional reminders, but at frequent intervals throughout the play the importance of the defences is emphasised. The Cadmeans are bidden to man the *πυργώματα* (*ἐπάλξεις, θωρακεῖα*) and there to take their stand,

μηδ' ἐπηλύδων  
ταρβεῖτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός<sup>2</sup>.

The Scout bids Eteocles (62)

σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος  
φράξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταγίσαι πνοὰς  
Ἄρεως.

To the Chorus the tutelary gods are *γᾶς τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες* (153); they are besought not to 'betray the bulwarks' (237). When the Chorus surrenders itself on the Acropolis to a helpless passion of supplication, Eteocles bids it (202) offer a prayer more to the purpose,

πύργον στέγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.

The Chorus itself in a *στάσιμον* of some length describes vividly the fate of a captured city; how it is enslaved, befouled with smoke, and reduced to ashes (307 sqq., 329). The allusion to the burning of Athens by the Persians is unmistakable. And this havoc, it is said, occurs when 'the defences fail' (332). The boasts and threats of the Achaean champions are addressed to the *πύργοι* of the besieged town<sup>3</sup>, and, in answer, the Chorus prays that the enemy may never get within gate or wall, but may perish *πρόσθε πυλᾶν, πύργων ἔκτοθεν*<sup>4</sup>. After the failure of the assault the Scout reports (780)

πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε, καὶ κλυδωνίου  
πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο·  
στέγει δὲ πύργος.

It would have been impossible for the poet to communicate his lesson more plainly without violating (as Euripides is so apt to do) the canons of dramatic art.

<sup>1</sup> See § 14.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 30 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> By Capaneus (413), Eteocles (454), Parthenopaeus (536).

<sup>4</sup> vv. 512, 616. Cf. 300 *ἐξω πύργων*.



§ 19. The action of the play is simple, and requires no further analysis than that which is supplied in the commentary. The play as 'action.' Whereas Homer infused into his epic *μυμήσεις* a dramatic life, on the other hand the dramatic *μίμησις* of Aeschylus, especially in its earlier stages, is wont to retain much of the epic character. Apart from its choruses the *Septem* is in a large measure epic put upon the stage. There is much description, there would be considerable scenic effect, but there is little action in the modern sense. As a study of *πράξεις*, *πάθη*, and *ἥθη* the play is apt to strike the reader as somewhat slender. Of the *μελοποιία* we have no information, but it would necessarily count for much. In *ὄψις* it may be readily imagined that the play would not be lacking. We have the burghers in the opening scene, the distracted Chorus amid the images, the armed champions, the funeral procession and the dirge, besides the dancing and acting. When we have supplied these to the best of our ability, we are called upon to allow for sundry differences between the Greek point of view and our own in regard to a dramatic creation and its performance. Our own conception of 'action' is not the same as the Greek conception of *πρᾶξις*. A passage of *ἐλεγχος*, or a scene of argument in which a certain mental *πάθος* is produced, removed, or changed, is sufficient in its 'action' for the Athenian, who loved these altercations, so long as the degree of *διάνοια* exhibited on either side was sufficiently keen or solid to maintain his intelligent admiration. Meanwhile he experienced a lively appreciation of the dexterity or beauty of the language employed. 'Action' also is the 'keening' over the bodies of the slain brothers. To the Greek, with his lively sympathies and his ready response to a call upon his emotions, this formed an interesting chapter in the *βίου μίμησις* of the stage. It was not merely that he took—as one modern sarcastically remarked of another—'a melancholy pleasure in the contemplation of a funeral.' It was that the attendant ceremonial of death and burial was to him a thing of real significance, for the simple reason that he entertained strong views of the vital importance of such duty to the dead.

§ 20. If the function of tragedy is to evoke keen sensations of *ἔλεος καὶ φόβος*, we must estimate the success of a piece, not by the standard of our own social, moral and religious concep- The motives of 'pity and fear.'

tions, but by that of the Athenians in regard to the same matters. If it seems easy for us to realise the tremors which might pass through an audience when the Chorus depicts the miseries of slaughter, desolation, and enslavement in a captured city, we still can hardly experience them with the same liveliness as a people who recognized their literal truth and to whom they were more or less imminent possibilities. If we can understand a shudder of horror at the impending slaughter of brother by brother, we nevertheless cannot experience it with precisely the same acuteness as a people who regarded the tie of blood from a far more superstitious standpoint, and to whom the Erinyes were dreadful and ever-present realities. The curse of a father is to us a deplorable and shocking thing from the point of view of sentiment, but we cannot regard it, like the Athenians, as an embodied and operative power which can work madness in the brain and relentlessly and irresistibly achieve its dire object. To a people accustomed to the enigmas of oracles and prophecies, prone to look for their fulfilment with awe, and keen to feel the irony when the language was interpreted by the event, there were thrilling sensations of apprehension and premonition which are scarcely realisable by a sceptical modern reader, to whom such riddling rede is apt to present itself in a less venerable light. The refusal of burial to Polyneices is to us a cruel and disgusting action, possible only to a stage of civilisation from which we have emerged. To the Athenian such a prohibition came nearer home; it moreover amounted to perpetual damnation of the departed spirit, and the situation is therefore one of much more crushing grief to Antigone and her sympathisers than we can now realise without considerable effort. To us therefore, who have little regard for Erinyes or Curses or cryptic utterances, who have minimised the interest and importance of obsequies, and who have shifted to a different plane our conceptions of the claims of kinship, the *Septem* must lose much of its tragic force. The particular motives of pity and fear which it employs, though not without their effect upon ourselves, have lost not a little of their edge. They have at least lost the peculiar quality of poignancy which they would possess for a Greek of the early part of the fifth century B.C. Not only do we miss much that the piece actually contained, together with



the acting, the ὄρχησις, the μελοποιία, and the ὄψις; we have also been taught by the romantic drama to look for something at which classical tragedy does not aim, to wit, rapidity of action in a plot more 'complex,' and subtlety of characterisation probing to greater depths of 'philosophy,' than even the writer of the *Poetics* would have contemplated. One thing, however, which no competent reader can miss is the Aeschylean power of language, with its extraordinary specific gravity, its magnificent compression, and its brilliant figurativeness, by means of which the poet brings into the modest compass of a little over a thousand lines enough matter to have furnished forth as many more in many another writer.

§ 21. The epic character of the play appears especially in the descriptions of the several Achaean champions with their accoutrements and their utterances. It is chiefly here that modern criticism, proceeding on *a priori* principles as to what is or is not dramatic, raises some question. Have these descriptions a legitimate place in drama? If so, are they seasonable in the mouth of the Scout? Is it, moreover, possible for the Messenger to have seen and heard all that he reports? It is not easy to act the λυτικός to these προβλήματα, if we are to apply to ancient drama the strictest canons of modern realism. But though we are not called upon to undertake this impossible task, in view of the accepted conventions of the Greek stage, it may at least be answered that the criticism is largely misconceived. It is an entirely false notion that the Scout and the King are wasting time in talk while the enemy may be taking advantage of the situation. A point so obvious is not one which would escape so experienced a playwright as Aeschylus. At the very beginning of the Messenger's report we are told that the operations of the enemy are suspended

The descriptions by the Messenger: their dramatic fitness.

πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔᾱ περᾶν  
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλὰ<sup>1</sup>.

It is characteristic of Aeschylus that he does not elaborate this excuse. He is too good a dramatist to add 'and therefore I may proceed to give my account at leisure.' We may, if we choose,

<sup>1</sup> vv. 365 sq.



regard the device itself as not particularly convincing. Yet Aeschylus believed it to be sufficiently so for his audience. Here, as elsewhere, he credited that audience with the quick intelligence which accepts few words in place of many. Doubtless he often took that intelligence too readily for granted. But whether the device be an entirely natural one or not—and there is at least nothing irrational in it—if it is once granted, criticism falls to the ground. For how long, after all, does it take the Messenger to make this report and for Eteocles to answer it with his dispositions? The whole scene until Eteocles himself departs occupies 345 lines. Comprised in these there is no interval, and the time thus 'wasted' amounts to neither more nor less than it would take to deliver that number of lines upon the stage. It is not even the space of time which a modern critic spends in reading and pondering the lines, but the time which he might take, as a Greek of the date of Aeschylus, in uttering and acting them. This would be measured in minutes. To the spectators almost no time would appear to elapse. There are several single scenes in Shakespeare which are as long, and some which are longer. It can hardly be contended that the delay is rationally out of proportion to the justification offered for it.

Of two passages of Euripides which are supposed to be aimed at this scene in the *Septem*, one will be found on examination to have no such reference whatever. In the *Supplices* (846 sqq.) Theseus says to Adrastus

ἐν δ' οὐκ ἐρήσομαί σε, μὴ γέλωτ' ὄφλω,  
 ὅτῳ ξυνέστη τῶνδ' ἕκαστος ἐν μάχῃ,  
 ἢ τραῦμα λόγχης πολεμίων ἐδέξατο.  
 κενοὶ γὰρ οὔτοι τῶν τ' ἀκονόντων λόγοι  
 καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅστις ἐν μάχῃ βεβῶς  
 λόγχης ἰούσης πρόσθεν ὀμμάτων πυκνῆς  
 σαφῶς ἀπήγγειλ' ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀγαθός.

But what application has this passage to the Messenger's descriptions in our play? Euripides is simply ridiculing the man—probably too frequently in evidence at Athens—who pretends to know the full details of a fight in which he has been himself engaged. As every veteran acknowledges, the field of observation in a battle is limited to the soldier's own immediate

neighbourhood, and sometimes he can render no very clear account even of his own experiences. But the Scout in the *Septem* has nothing to tell of any fight in which either he or anyone else has been concerned. It should be obvious that to force the lines into a criticism of his fellow-dramatist is to do an injustice to Euripides.

More relevant might seem the passage in the *Phoenissae* (748 sqq.), where Eteocles says

ἔσται τὰδ'· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν<sup>1</sup>  
 τάξω λοχαγούς πρὸς πύλαισιν, ὥς λέγεις,  
 ἴσους ἴσοισι πολεμίοισιν ἀντιθείς·  
 ὄνομα δ' ἐκάστου διατριβὴ πολλὴ λέγειν  
 ἐχθρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τείχεσιν καθημένων·  
 ἀλλ' εἰμ', ὅπως ἂν μὴ καταργῶμεν χέρα·  
 καὶ μοι γένοιτ' κ.τ.λ.

Though this particular ῥῆσις is rightly suspected to contain a number of interpolations, and though it might be hoped, for the artistic credit of Euripides, that the dramatically unnatural—because obviously forced—passage ὄνομα...χέρα is one such, we need not avail ourselves of that suspicion. It is enough to remember that the *Phoenissae* is of exceptional length, and that the poet has crowded into it (if it is all his) an unusual variety of matter. His lines here are no reflection whatever upon Aeschylus; they are a defence of himself. If anyone is criticised, it is the audience, which looked for such detail and description<sup>2</sup>, but which Euripides does not this time propose to satisfy. The playwright is aware that he cannot spare room for this matter, and he accounts to the audience for the omission. The tone is not one of sarcasm, but of apology: 'I cannot name them now; it would take time, and the enemy are pressing us.'

It is sometimes further objected that the descriptions themselves are merely picturesque, and therefore undramatic. The same criticism would sweep away many a fine passage of Greek appreciation of fine craftsmanship.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have either this or ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν μολών. Since Eteocles is inside the city, and means that he will go to the walls, Musgrave and Porson read ἐς κύκλον. This is doubtless the sense (=περίβολον), but it does not account for the corruption. I should suggest πόντον ('circumference') as the source of both πόλιν and μολών.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. has already given such a description of the leaders (119 sqq.) and offers more at vv. 1104—1140.



Shakespeare. Aesthetic dogmatism is of little value unless founded on the facts of experience. That the Athenian audience was intensely interested in such descriptions pure and simple might doubtless be put down to that ἀσθένεια to which it was subject. The keen interest itself is beyond doubt. The same taste is met by Euripides<sup>1</sup>. And if the strangeness to the modern reader lies not so much in the descriptions of the warriors as in the details of their shields and blazons, it is precisely here that the Greek appreciation was especially lively. How deeply ingrained in the Greek constitution was the love of skilful workmanship and of the contemplation of masterpieces in any kind, can scarcely be more conclusively shown than in the prominence given to verbal pictures of such things from epic times downwards. The shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* and in the *Electra* of Euripides; the shield of Heracles in the *Scutum* of the pseudo-Hesiod; the sculptures of Delphi in the *Ion*; the breastplate of Agamemnon<sup>2</sup> in Homer, the bowls in Theocritus, the τάλανος of Europa in Moschus, the δίπλαξ of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius, the chest of Cypselus in Pausanias, are a few of the instances in point. It was part of epic convention that a shield of more or less miraculous workmanship should be described, with a combination of sheer joy in decorative art and naive wonder at the marvel of craftsmanship. The earliest Hellenic invaders of Greece could never sufficiently admire the technical productions of their 'Aegean' predecessors or of oriental workmen. As warriors they would be especially concerned with such work upon shields, breastplates, and daggers. They would be eager to possess, and, if they possessed, they would hugely prize, accoutrements so distinguished. Their bards would magnify the possibilities of skill and dream dreams of wonderful inlaying and colour-toning. They would vie with each other in equipping their heroes with a shield of which, as of Nestor's, κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει<sup>3</sup>. Of the shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, Leaf remarks that 'though of course beyond the power of early Greek, as of any human art, to execute, it yet requires to explain it only such works of art and technique as we know to have been accessible

<sup>1</sup> *Phoen.* 1104 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 11. 24 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 8. 192.



to the Greeks, at least in foreign imports, in pre-Homeric times.' He illustrates by the dagger-blades found by Schliemann at Mycenae.

Exquisite inlaying<sup>1</sup> was realised in fact, and so far there is nothing unreal in such instances as *Il.* 18. 474, where Hephaestus blends bronze, gold, silver and tin, or [Hes.] *Scut.* 141 *πᾶν μὲν γὰρ λευκῷ τιτάνῳ λευκῷ τ' ἐλέφαντι | ἡλέκτρῳ θ' ὑπολαμπές ἔην, χρυσῷ τε φαινῷ | λαμπόμενον, κνάνου δὲ διὰ πτύχες ἡλλήλαντο.* Nor is the *tour de force* in *Scut.* 233, of the Gorgon's head in a net, beyond execution. Greater marvels, such as of moving reliefs, belong to the fancy of a later age<sup>2</sup>.

Above all it was the shield which lent most scope both for the execution and the display of such work, and hence no epic is complete without its highly-wrought 'shield.' Vergil cannot fail to supply his Aeneas with one of the type<sup>3</sup>. It is practically certain therefore that both Aeschylus and Euripides are led to their descriptions primarily by the *Thebais*. Pindar had evidently found similar matter in the *Epigoni*<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless the artistic and technically wonderful emblazoning of shields was no mere convention of epic. Later times knew and admired such accoutrements among contemporaries<sup>5</sup>, although miracle had been compelled to give place to more sober possibilities. We should take the sense literally when Mamercus writes

τάσδ' ὁστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους  
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἴλομεν εὐτελέσιν.

The contemporaries of Aeschylus were connoisseurs in work of the kind glanced at by Pindar<sup>6</sup>: *Μοῖσά τοι | κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἐν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἀμᾷ | καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφελοῖς' ἑέρσας.* If therefore Aeschylus takes the hint for describing the shields from the epic *Thebais*, he is by no means to be charged with introducing matter into his play for no better reason than that it happened to exist in the epic. Rather he introduces it for the same reason which led the epic writer to employ it first,

<sup>1</sup> Such as is imagined in *S. c. T.* 480 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See *S. c. T.* 527 sqq. (n.).

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* 8. 626 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *P.* 8. 45 *θαέομαι σαφές | δράκοντα ποικίλον αἰθᾶς Ἀλκμᾶν' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος | νωμῶντ'.*

<sup>5</sup> The shield of Nicias is historic (*Plut. Nic.* 28).

<sup>6</sup> *N.* 7. 77 sqq.

Shields in  
poetry.

namely, because to the audience of the drama, as to the audience of the epic, it caused a whole-hearted delight.

Dramatic  
intention  
of the de-  
scriptions.

Doubtless the question of dramatic fitness is not settled by this consideration. Though the descriptions may please the audience, are they sufficiently in place when addressed by the Scout to Eteocles? In other words, would a messenger in ancient Greece conceivably render a report in such manner and kind? We may venture to hold that Aeschylus is incapable of a gross irrelevance. It is not merely that the Scout is himself carried away by the characteristic Greek gusto for the technical wonders which he has seen (although no Greek would be surprised at such behaviour on his part); it is also that his descriptions of the blazonry are part of his descriptions of the men. They mark the special temper and character, the insolence or self-assertion, which Eteocles is to confront. In effect the Messenger says in each case 'Such is the man; such are his boasts in word or blazon; it is for you to choose his antagonist'. In each case the king proceeds to select the opposing champion, and he either chooses him with some special reference to the blazon or draws some augury of victory from the temper which it betrays.

The  
Scout as  
informant.

§ 22. In one point we are apparently asked to accept a physical impossibility. It is difficult to convince ourselves that any scout could possibly see and hear all that the ἄγγελος reports. There are seven champions at seven different gates, and the Scout has observed them all at close quarters, heard their words, and even noted their expressions<sup>2</sup>. He would presumably do this in making a circuit of the walls. In the *Phoenissae* Euripides employs the rather crude device of making his ἄγγελος the bearer of the ξύνθημα to the various λόχοι concerned with the several gates. To name such a procedure is, however, only to bring out its difficulties. Aeschylus, with more tact, glides over the exact proceedings of the κατάσκοπος. We may be sure that, during the time of the performance, scarcely anyone among the audience would raise the question. It is one which only occurs after consideration or to the critical

<sup>1</sup> See 382 sq., 422 sqq., 457 sq., 486, 532 sqq., 582 sq., 637.

<sup>2</sup> *S. c. T.* 564 ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα.

student. For the practical playwright this acceptance for the time being was sufficient. But while admitting that there is some violation of strict probabilities, we must again remember that pause in the assault which affords the Messenger time for observation. We must also remember the comparative smallness of the epic city. Nor are we, of course, to regard all the reported actions and utterances of the champions as synchronous. The Scout began his observations with the first approach of the Argives, and they would not all reach their gates at the same moment. These considerations do not indeed achieve an entire rationalising of the situation, but they go no little distance towards removing any very gross or palpable irrationality. As to the mere hearing and seeing of the besiegers by the besieged there is no difficulty whatever. When Sulla was besieging Athens taunts were hurled upon him from the walls<sup>1</sup>. The same thing occurred to Maximinus before Aquileia<sup>2</sup>. A proximity possible at such dates and in the siege of such cities was still more possible at the siege of a smaller town in epic days<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Sull.* 13. ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκάστοτε γεφυρίζων.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian 8. 5. 2 ὡς καὶ ἀποσκόπτειν ἐς αὐτούς, ἐνυβρίζειν τε τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ περυστοῦντι κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> Add the instance in *II Kings*, c. xviii.



## E. THE TEXT.

The *Septem*, being one of the three Aeschylean plays commonly read during the Middle Ages, must have been repeatedly copied by the professional writers or by private persons. The piece was well suited to use in the schools, and not only copies, but comment also, must have been abundant. This continual reproduction, while it would ensure the play against large lacunae (such as might occur from accidental damage to a single copy), was not wholly good for the maintenance of an authentic text. The more copies produced, the more risk of the existence of careless or otherwise inaccurate texts. The greater also the danger of interpolation, whether through deliberate 'editing,' or through the accidental incorporation of what was meant for interlinear or marginal note. While, therefore, the preservation of a full text was secured, the preservation of a genuinely Aeschylean text was less certain. A peculiar danger of school copies was that of transposition, especially of particles from less usual to more regular places in the sentence, and of this form of corruption there is frequent evidence in the extant texts of the *Septem*.

Though, as elsewhere, the Medicean MS with its διορθώσεις is by far our chief authority, value must nevertheless be set upon occasional indications of other MSS and of the scholia.

The MSS. The MSS which contain the *Septem* are:

1. Mediceus (or Laurentianus), in the Laurentian Library (xxxii. 9) at Florence, written on parchment in 10th—11th century<sup>1</sup>. The *Septem* is in the same hand (11th century) which wrote all the rest of Aeschylus except *Pers.* 1—707. (= M.)
2. Marcianus, in the Library of St Mark at Venice (468 = xci. 4), once the property of Bessarion, written on paper in 13th—14th century. (= B, or Ven. A; quoted by Wecklein as a.)

<sup>1</sup> For description and history of this MS see Introd. to *Choephoroi*, pp. lxxx sqq.

3. Guelferbytanus, at Wolfenbüttel (88), on paper, of 15th century, the *Septem* (with *P. V.* and *Pers.*) being in an earlier hand than the rest. (= G, or b.)

4. Parisinus, in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (2886), on paper, of later 15th century, commonly said to have been written by John Lascaris. (= P, or c.)

5. Florentinus, in the Laurentian Library (xxx. 8), on paper, of earlier 14th century. (= Fl, or f.)

6. Venetus, or Marcianus (616 = xci. 5), on parchment, 15th century. (= V, or Ven. B, or g.)

7. Farnesianus, in the Naples Museum, formerly in the Farnese Library, edited and perhaps written by Demetrius Triclinius, on paper, early 14th century. (= Fa, or h.)

8. Various *recentiores*, many of them being Parisini.

Of these it is agreed that 5, 6, 7 (Fl, V, Fa) are derived from a common source, since, apart from other agreement, they contain not only the same plays, but also the same lacunae<sup>1</sup>. No. 4 (P) is so consistently near to M that M. Haupt is apparently right in regarding it as a copy from that text. In No. 3 (G) the divergences from M are greater in the three school plays than in the rest, and in these it is almost certainly not<sup>2</sup> derived from M. It cannot, however, be said to lend much assistance for the ascertainment of the text of the *Septem*. It is full of elementary orthographical blunders, unmetrical readings, and glosses substituted for the original words (*e.g.* δειλῶς for κακῶς in the last foot of the iambic senarius 209). In its most important differences from M it differs generally for the worse: *e.g.* 18 προσδοκῶσα for πανδοκῶσα, 226 ἐς σκοπὴν for ἐς ἀκρόπολιν, 519 δορός for Διός, 663 πτερῶν for πέτρων, 788 παρόν for πλέον. In many places its readings are due to conjectures (not necessarily on the part of the writer himself) of superficially obvious sort: *e.g.* 594 ἐνδίκως for ἐκδίκως, 577 εὐκυκλον νέμων for εὐκῆλον ἔχων. Scarcely any of these commend themselves after due consideration.

Among the inferior MSS some special attention might perhaps be claimed by Par. B, a paper MS of the 15th century, on which a scholar of rather unusual alertness must have been engaged. He has collected or made a number of conjectures which are at least acute. Thus he notes:

<sup>1</sup> In the *Eumenides*.

<sup>2</sup> I have elsewhere disputed the notion that it is a copy of M in the *Supplices* (see *Introd.* to that play, pp. xxvii sq.).



616 γρ. γὰς ἐπιμόλους χωρὶς τῆς πρὸς.

649 φρενῶν] γρ. φρενί (*i.e.* reading συμφοίτω).

700 μακράν] γρ. μακρά.

748 πύργος] γρ. πύργον (probably a true correction).

899 ἀχάεσσα] γρ. ἀχίεις (*v. loc.*).

1000 στυγῶν] γρ. εἴργων.

1033 τάδε] γρ. τόδε, τὸ τοῦτον θάψαι.

The  
Medicean:  
M, 1st  
hand.

In M itself the text is written in a good hand, and the copyist was evidently conscientious, though not learned. That he could make frequent mistakes of transcription is clear from the instances in which he is his own corrector. His original must have been in minuscules (*cf.* 268, where he first writes καλλων and then corrects to μάλλον). The larger proportion of the errors into which he was led were due to contemporary pronunciation, the symbol written by his pen being true to the sound conveyed to his mental ear, but untrue to the written copy before him. Thus he is constantly led into confusion of ω and ο (a point in which he is peculiarly weak), αι and ε, ηι and οι, ει and η. These errors he endeavours to remove: *e.g.* 27 τοιῶνδε corr. to τοιῶνδε, 268 καλλων to μάλλον, 698 δωτήριοι to δοτήριοι, 879 δώμοισι to δόμοισι, 345 ἀλγύνη to ἀλγύνει, 456 ἐκβάλῃ to ἐκβάλοι, 709 παναληθεῖ to παναληθῇ, 809 ῥύεσθαι to ῥύεσθε. We can, however, hardly be so sanguine as to believe that he removed all the mistakes which he had committed in this kind. His pronunciation must also bear the blame of the numerous instances in which (assuming his original to have been correct in this respect) he substitutes double letters (especially λλ, σσ) for single or vice versa. Other errors which he corrects for himself are of a kind easy to commit, *e.g.* 427 παρασκευασμένος, 949 προσκείμεται (*for* προ-).

The *dior-*  
*thotes* (m).

After these corrections we have the work of the διορθωτής (m). This hand supplies the ὑπόθεσις to the play, writes (in small uncials) marginal scholia and interlinear glosses, and emends many of the readings of M. He not only reviewed the work in M, comparing copy with original, but he evidently had before him at least another copy from which he derives other readings. This makes it impossible to tell how many of the errors in M, uncorrected by the first scribe, were actually due to him, and how many were due to an original already faulty. It appears usual to treat m as a person of learning, who was permitted to exercise his judgment. In reality, so far as the *Septem* is concerned, the indications are rather to the contrary. Some of his alterations (probably taken from his other copy or copies) are for the



worse: e.g. 304 καὶ τὰν ῥύσπολον for κατάρύσπολον, 393 μαντεύσεται for μαντεύεται, 527 κύκλω τῷ for κυκλωτῷ, 687 οὐτ' ἄν for δὲτ' ἄν. Some are of the most obvious sort possible. Some, while going a step in the right direction, are left incomplete or unscholarly in form: e.g. 367 λελιμένος for λιμένος, 426 γλωττ'. It needs little observation to show that his learning was either not very extensive or not very vigilant. Thus he leaves e.g. 6 Ἐτεοκλῆς (unmetrical), 49 θ' αὐτῶν, 215 κριμναμέναν, 259 Ἰσμινοῦ, 274 ὑπνώσει, 604 ὦ σφε, 680 ἀνδρογλασίαν, 749 συμβαλεῦσι, 867 ἐρρυψίταχοι. It may be concluded that he was a professional corrector, of fair education and with a neat pen, who worked according to certain prescribed methods of διόρθωσις; and that, if he corrects, he does so on the warrant of either the original of M or else his own text or texts, while if he superscribes e.g. γένος to τόκος (792) or φόβου to φόνων (124) or the like, he is doing so on the authority of some record. His ζτ in the margin means that he is either dubious of the text or cannot find the place to which a scholion belongs.

Of more critical value are the corrections and superscriptions of sundry later hands, two being of the 14th century. Though three of these *manus recentiores* have been distinguished ( $m^1$ ,  $m^2$ ,  $m^3$ ), the discrimination is not always certain, and it is sufficient to employ the symbol  $m^1$  for all alike.  $m^1$  also adds scholia, written in a very minute and abbreviated form, sometimes barely legible, and in a few instances not legible at all. It is evident that the matter of  $m^1$  implies the possession of other copies than the original of M or the auxiliary text used by m. It implies also more watchful scholarship. Sound corrections, e.g. v. 238 φθόρον for φόνον, 698 δατήριοι for δοτήριοι, can hardly fail to have come from some good MS, and it is probable that all the more satisfactory alterations were taken directly from such a source. Some corrections may be due to the writers of  $m^1$  themselves. There is nothing to shake the belief that on the whole the scribe of M had been faithful to his own original. We must rather gather that that original was itself faulty. The writers of  $m^1$  probably never saw the particular copy which served as the archetype of M, but only other MSS of at least equal, if not superior, value. It is not, indeed, the case that all the corrections of  $m^1$  are sound. Thus it is wrong in 13 ἑκαστον, 203 οὐκοῖν (for οὐκουν), 596 οὗτος δ', 741 συνάγαγε, 753 τελόμεν', and in the superscribed suggestions 334 καίνεται, 402 ὁ δαίμων, 423 κομπάζοντα, 799 δακρύσεσθαι. On the other hand it does correct many faults of M (left by m) which were due to ignorance: e.g. κρημναμέναν (215), Ἰσμηνοῦ (259), λελιμένος (367). It also supplies truer readings, e.g. 223 τιθῆς

Later correctors ( $m^1$ ).

(i.e. τιθής), 249 πείσομαι (for σπείσ-), 338 διαδρομᾶν (for -ᾶν), 806 γαῖ' (for γᾶν), 867 -τοιχοι (for -ταχ-), and fills lacunae, e.g. 833 προῦπτος. For the *Septem* the contribution of **m**<sup>1</sup> is very considerable.

The  
Scholia.

The scholia of M are given in detail in the Appendix, together with such comment as appears necessary. They sometimes agree with M (particularly when corrected by **m**<sup>1</sup>) as against other copies, sometimes with other copies<sup>1</sup> as against M, and sometimes they imply a reading found in no copy. Where two scholia occur on the same passage they may refer to variant texts. As was pointed out in the Introduction to the *Choephori*, it does not follow that, where a scholion indicates a variant, that reading is necessarily an older or better one than the reading which appears in M. All depends, first, on the date of the scholion and, second, on the date of the text upon which it is based. It is a frequent, but quite indefensible, assumption that when a scholion supports another text than that of M, the case against M is practically proved. All that is proved is that the original writer of the scholion in question was writing it upon such other text, which may quite possibly be less sound than that of M. Thus the schol. on 654 shows that the writer read προσείδε, not προσείπε. But this only proves that at the time of the scholiast there existed another reading προσείδε; it does not prove it to be the true reading. At 687 the scholiast had οὔτ' ἄν (i.e. οὔτ' ἄν) in place of ὄταν (ὄτ' ἄν M), but οὔτ' ἄν is entirely unmetrical, and the existence of οὔτ' ἄν merely shows that other MSS could be corrupt in places where the archetype of M was sound. More valuable are those scholia which show a reading different from that of any existing text. When these are written in our margin by **m**, if we can be quite certain of the reading which they denote, we are in the position of so far possessing a different tradition to that of M coming from a date prior to M itself (though not, of course, necessarily prior to its archetype). When **m** copied them into the margin of M in all good faith, he was in reality writing upon one text a comment which referred to another. If the comment happened to be an old one, derived from the best period of Alexandrine criticism, we thus arrive at a reading which, in point of early date and classical acceptance, is superior to that now extant in any copy. It may reasonably be concluded that most of the scholia which represent no extant text were actually thus old. The presumable reason why *no* copy corresponds to the scholion is that the text on which it was written had become obsolete before either our copies or their archetypes were made. If the comment had been a comparatively recent production of

<sup>1</sup> See 437, 654, 671, 769.

Byzantine times, it is probable that the text to which it referred would have been still commonly in use, and would therefore appear somewhere among the copies extant.

In keeping with this view is the fact that when a scholion indubitably indicates a reading existing in no extant MS, the reading has a striking appearance of being right. Thus

98 πότ' εἰ μὴ νῦν MSS πότ' ἢ νῦν schol.

401 Ἄρης MSS Ἄρεως schol.

759 πολύβοτος αἰών MSS πολύβατος ἀγών schol.

Unfortunately it is not always certain that we can reconstruct the text from the scholion. Thus in 868 a schol. appears to have had ἰδόντ', ἴση δὴ in place of ἰδόντες ἤδη; in 722 αὐτοκτόνοι σιδαροδάκτοι is indicated in place of αὐτοκτόνωνσιν (sic) αὐτοδάκτοι. But these cannot be called in any way certain, and we are only justified in using the language of the scholiast in support of such emendations if we feel otherwise called upon to make them. (See further the scholl. on 93, 105, 725, 741, 976.)





# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ





# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ<sup>1</sup> ΤΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ<sup>2</sup>.

Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup> Θήβαις ὑπόκειται· ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> The *Septem* begins in M at the middle of the page, following the conclusion of the *Eumenides*. Above it m has written the words *ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*, but not the *ὑπόθεσις* itself, the room being insufficient for both this and the *dramatis personae*. The *ὑπόθεσις* itself (first made known by Franz, although clear enough in the MS) is written at the foot of the page, preceded by the same words *ὑπόθεσις τῶν ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*. Its matter was in all probability derived, though not verbatim, from Aristophanes of Byzantium (see *ὑπόθεσις* to *Eumenides*), who gathered his information, so far as it was not contained in the play, either from the *διδασκαλίας* of Aristotle and his school, or from a work of the grammarian Callimachus, who himself went directly to the Aristotelian source.

<sup>2</sup> In MSS *ἐπὶ Θήβας* is occasionally found in place of the accus., although all good authorities (e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 1021, Plut. *Mor.* 715 E, Longin. 15) agree in *Θήβας* (see the opening notes of Blomfield and Hermann). Alexis, it is true, wrote (Ath. 294 A, 295 E) a comedy styled *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας* ('at Thebes'), but the title is naturally as much a parody as the plot. There is nothing surprising in an occasional use by a later writer of an expression equivalent to *ad Thebas* in place of that for *adversus Thebas*. οἱ *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*, though unusual in form, is the name of the play as early as Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1021) and is that given in Ath. 22 A, Plut. *Symp.* 7. 10. The title is probably not due to Aeschylus, who avoids all mention of 'Thebes' and 'Thebans' (see Introd. § 6). With the article we may either take the expression as grammatically = οἱ *ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύσαντες* ('those who came against Thebes to the number of seven') or (much better) we may regard *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας* as the grammarless irreducible minimum forming the title of the play, and, when the article was prefixed to that title, it was naturally οἱ, by the customary attraction in place of τὸ (sc. τὸ δράμα τὸ...).

<sup>3</sup> *ἐν* is written over *ἐπὶ* by the same hand. This may be for interpretation, or it may represent a truer reading. The confusion of EN and EΠΙ is very common; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 19 *ἐθύετο ἐν τῇ διαβάσει* (CF) for *ἐπὶ* (cett.), Bacchyl. 11. 24 *ἐπὶ ἰαθέοις* (A) for *ἐν* ζ. (A<sup>2</sup>). [So I should emend *Hymn. Hom.* 24. 4 (Sikes and Allen) *ἐπέρχαιο θυμὸν ἔχουσα* το *ἐν* *ἐρχεο*.]

Θηβαίων ἐστι παρθένων<sup>4</sup>. ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις στρατεία<sup>5</sup> Ἀργείων πολιορκούσα Θηβαίους τοὺς καὶ νικήσαντας, καὶ θάνατος Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγένους<sup>6</sup>, Ὀλυμπιάδι σῆ. ἐνίκα Λαίῳ<sup>7</sup>, Οἰδίποδι, Ἐπτά ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ. β Ἀριστίων<sup>8</sup> Περσεῖ, Ταντάλῳ, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς<sup>9</sup> τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. γ Πολυφράσμων Λυκούργεια<sup>10</sup> τετραλογία.

<sup>4</sup> This statement concerning the Chorus, though commonly accepted without question, is incorrect, and is derived only from a false generalisation from vv. 107, 156. That ancient authority had not settled the point is manifest from cod. Guelf., which gives among the *personae choros γυναικῶν ἐπιχωρίων*, and also from schol. to v. 107 *σαφές ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐκ παρθένων ἐστὶν ὁ χορός*, an observation which is in itself sufficient to prove that the matter was discussed. It has been strangely overlooked that at v. 673 the Chorus calls Eteocles τέκνον. See commentary at vv. 78 sqq. The knowledge and experience displayed throughout are those of elderly, or at least mature, women (see vv. 308—355). Young maidens could not serve as 'ideal spectators' to warn and advise Eteocles.

<sup>5</sup> There is no need to substitute *στρατιά*. The sense is 'military operations forming the siege of Thebes.'

<sup>6</sup> The true name of the Archon of B.C. 467 (1st year of 78th Olympiad) was Theagenides. But if we alter (with Franz) to *Θεαγενίδου* we are correcting too far—not the text, but the facts of some writer perhaps long antecedent to m.

The play is thus placed five years later than the *Persae* (ἐπὶ Μένωνος). Assuming the information of the *ὑπόθεσις* to be correct, there might seem to be a contradiction to Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1026), who, after speaking of the Ἐπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας (1021), remarks *εἴτα διδάσας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα | νικᾶν αἰετὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους*. But (as I have pointed out at that place) we need not regard Aristoph. as an infallible or even as a responsible authority, especially in speaking of a literary event of sixty or seventy years before. Moreover neither *εἴτα* ('and then again') nor *μετὰ τοῦτ'* ('as a consequence,' to be joined to *ἐπιθυμεῖν*) need refer to time; their application may be purely argumentative, not chronological. All that we know further of the play is (Ath. 22 A) that a certain Telestes (ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστής) was a most expressive exponent of the action by his *ὀρχησις*.

<sup>7</sup> For the Oedipodean legend in Aeschylus see *Introd.* pp. xxv sqq.

<sup>8</sup> The real name of the winner of the second prize was Ἀριστίας, which Franz would again substitute. Fragments from his *Antaeus*, *Atalanta*, *Kêres*, *Cyclops* and *Orpheus* are given in Nauck, *Frag. Trag. Graec.* pp. 726 sq. Pausanias (2. 13. 5) says *ἐνταῦθα* (at Phlius) *ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀριστίου μῆμα τοῦ Πρατίνου· τοῦτ' ἔφ' Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνῳ τῷ πατρὶ εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμώτατα*. Pratinas being especially gifted in satyric drama, the son appears to have exhibited his father's compositions, as Iophon, the son of Sophocles, was said to do in tragedy (*Ar. Ran.* 78 sq.). The name of one play of his trilogy has been omitted, whether by m or a predecessor. It is rather idle to guess. Bergk suggests <Ἀνταίω>.

<sup>9</sup> Though the appositional *σατύροις* (Dind.) would be the more strictly technical term in naming the satyric play (cf. Argum. to Eur. *Med.* *Θερισταῖς σατύροις*, Poll. 10. 186 &c.), the adjective is too natural to be suspected with reason. With the singular, e.g. *Πρωτῇ σατυρικῇ* (Arg. to *Agam.*), *Σισύφῳ σατυρικῇ* (Ael. *V. H.* 2. 8), we may of



## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ).

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΧΩΡΙΩΝ.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

ΙΣΜΗΝΗ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ.

This list, as given in cod. Guelf., is correct in substance and in order of appearance. The same order is given in *Vit. Aesch.*, but with χορὸς παρθένων. (On the Chorus see note 4 to ὑπόθεσις.) In the Medicean under the words τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα m has written the *personae* across the page in two lines in the order Ἐτεοκλῆς, Ἀντιγόνη, Ἀγγελος κατάσκοπος, Ἰσμήνη, | χορὸς παρθένων, κῆρυξ. The reason of this arrangement has not been explained, but it may be conjectured with some confidence that it is because Ἐτεοκλῆς and Ἀντιγόνη were understood to be played by the protagonist and Ἀγγελος and Ἰσμήνη by the deuteragonist, the tritagonist playing the κῆρυξ. In point of fact it is more probable that the deuteragonist was the κῆρυξ and the tritagonist Ἰσμήνη. That 'Eteocles' should become 'Antigone' is natural, since the impassioned acting of the protagonist is required for her part. On the other hand the chief quality required for a κῆρυξ is εὐφωνία (Dem. 19. 338) and his function is analogous to that of the ἄγγελος. The rôle of Ismene is scarcely an actor's part, but consists simply of the short responses in the θρήνος. Anyone capable of responses similar to those assigned to prominent members of a Chorus would be capable of sustaining this otherwise κωφὸν πρόσωπον. She is in effect, as

course supply δράματι; but though we cannot supply δράμασι, the analogical plural adj. would almost certainly follow from the sing. use. If the satyric play is properly called σάτυροι, a strictly formal expression would also require Πρωτεῖ σατύροις as much as Παλαισταῖς σατύροις (cf. Strab. 1. 3. 19 Ἴων... ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ σατύροις).

<sup>10</sup> Λυκουργία m<sup>1</sup>. The subject was apparently favoured by dramatists because of the opportunities which it afforded. Aeschylus himself wrote a *Lycurgea*, consisting of the Ἠδωνοί, Βασσάραι, Νεανίσκοι and the satyric Λυκουργός.



Wecklein says, a *παραχρήγημα*. Hence, assuming that Aeschylus was unable to employ more than three actors (not merely simultaneously, but at all), the natural distribution of the parts will be

*Protagonist*: Eteocles, Antigone.

*Deuteronist*: Messenger, Herald.

*Tritagonist*: Ismene.

The Chorus probably consisted of twelve persons, although the exact number (12 or 15) is one much disputed (see note in *Introd. to Choephori*, p. xxxv). The clearest indication of twelve in Aeschylean tragedy is perhaps to be found in *Ag.* 1347–1370. We must not argue in a circle by first making twelve divisions of the opening lyrics in the *πάροδος* of the *Septem* and then using such division to prove that there were twelve speakers.

*κωφὰ πρόσωπα* include townsfolk and attendants in the *πρόλογος*, the selected Theban champions in armour, and the corpse-bearers.

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## TECHNICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PLAY.

- 1—77 πρόλογος.  
78—164 πάροδος.  
165—273 ἐπεισόδιον α'.  
274—355 στάσιμον α'.  
356—706 ἐπεισόδιον β'.  
707—776 στάσιμον β'.  
777—806 ἐπεισόδιον γ'.  
807—940 στάσιμον γ' (perhaps with κομμός).  
(941—995 θρήνος.)  
996—1044 ἐπεισόδιον δ'.  
1045—1070 ἔξοδος.

## ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια  
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως  
 οἶακα νωμῶν βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ.  
 εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,  
 Ἔτεοκλῆς ἂν εἰς πολὺς κατὰ πόλιν

5

M=the first hand of the Medicean ms. M<sup>a</sup>=that MS as first written, though subsequently corrected or altered. m=the διορθωτής. m'=later hands, quoted without further distinction. recc.=later MSS, rec.=one such MS (G standing for Guelferbytanus). The letters in small uncials in the text are those which differ from

Scene: *The Agora* (δεξιόστροφον ἀγοράν Bacchyl. 15. 43) of the old city of Thebes, then called Cadmea. The palace of Eteocles is probably supposed to be near, but is not likely to have been represented in the scene. Gathered about are citizens of various ages. To them Eteocles enters in the attire of a king, but not in full armour (see 663). He will naturally have attendants, but all except himself are κωφὰ πρόσωπα. The king is in his full, but young (673), manhood.

The time must be early morning (see 29 and 66). The city is in a state of siege, but, though the walls are necessarily defended, things have been going well (21) and there has been no need of a summons to the people *en masse*. It is a change of circumstances (explained in 24 sqq.) which brings Eteocles thus into action and opens the play. vv. 1—77 constitute the Prologue.

In the absence of play-bills or adequate scenery the opening lines, as in all the extant plays of Aeschylus, name the place of action and the character or characters speaking and addressed. This is generally effected in an eminently simple and natural way, avoiding any of the confessedly explanatory prologizing to be found in Euripides. Only in the *Suppliants* (the earliest piece) is there any apparent approach to crudity in the manner of conveying the information necessary for the audience; and even there the statement of the case may fairly be regarded as one which would naturally be included in the plea of a foreign suppliant to the local deities.

1 Κάδμου πολῖται. In speaking throughout of Cadmea and the Cadmeans Aeschylus is probably not merely following the epic, but also diverting the thoughts of the audience as much as possible from contemporary Thebes. For dramatic purposes the sympathy of the audience must go with the cause of the besieged. The hostile or contemptuous sentiment evoked (at least since τὰ Περσικά) by the mention of 'Thebes' would not be aroused for the less familiarly named city of heroic times.

With Κάδμου πολῖται cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1399, *ibid.* 1466 Κάδμου λαός, Soph. *O. T.* 144. *Inf.* 289 they are even styled by a figure of speech στρατὸς Καδμογενῆς (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 808). The thought is not 'fellow-citizens of Cadmus' (in the sense of 'sharing in the city which once was that of Cadmus'), but, strictly, 'made by Cadmus to possess a πόλις' (somewhat similarly Eur. *Andr.* 1089 λαὸς οἰκῆταιρ θεοῦ of the Delphians). In Soph. *O. T.* 1 ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή the sense is not 'descendants of Cadmus' but 'fostered care of Cadmus.' The burghers are not addressed as ἄστροι, but with an implied appeal to their privileges and responsibilities.—τὰ καίρια: the excuse for his peremptory orders. The two senses of καιρός coalesce, and 'home to the mark' is combined with 'as the moment needs'='briefly and to the point' (Eur. *I. A.* 829 ἐν βραχεί τὰ καίρια). With λέγειν or its equivalent the article is a regular part of the phrase: cf. 606, *Cho.* 580 (n.), Soph. *O. T.* 808. It stands on the same footing with that in



## ETEOCLES.

BURGHERS of Cadmus' town, a man must speak home, if he hath the cause in charge and tends the tiller at the country's stern with eye alert and sleepless. For should it go well with us, 'tis thanks to Heaven; but if—which God forbid—mischance befall, 'tis Eteocles who would be the one burden of many

M or the corrector m. ↓ = see Commentary below. \*ed. = correction or suggestion by the present editor.

2 In *δοσις* there is an erasure at *στ*, apparently without significance.

4 *θεός*

Blomfield. 6 'Ετεοκλῆς M with *έ* superscript (m'). πολὺς is added above the

255 (n.), Tyr. 2. 9 μυθεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κ.τ.λ.

2 φυλάσσει πρᾶγος: 'watches the cause.' For πρᾶγος (or πρᾶγμα) = *causa*, cf. *Suppl.* 239, ὅπως ἂν ὑμῖν πρᾶγος εὖ νικᾷ τόδε, *Ag.* 1537 ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα... βλάβης, *Pind. I.* 1. 1 τὸ τεδν...Θήβα | πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον | θήσομαι. Strictly 'the matter in hand,' whence e.g. *Suppl.* 733 πρὸς πρᾶγμ' ὁρώσας practically = *id agentes*. [Not 'watches for the time of action,' which makes πρᾶγος too distinctly verbal.]

It is a matter of indifference whether ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως be rendered with the preceding or the following words; so far as the Greek goes, they belong to the whole sentence. πόλεως is the customary gen. identifying the metaphor (see 64 n.). The metaphor itself (of ship and state) is of the commonest (schol. *Ar. Vesp.* 29 αἰεὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις πλοίοις παραβάλλονσι). Cf. *inf.* 62, 109, 192, 202, 743, 780, 1068, *Eum.* 16 χῶρας πρυμνήτης ἀναξ, *Plat. Rep.* 488 A sqq., *Demetr. de eloc.* 78 ἀσφαλὼς οὖν ἐρεῖ καὶ ὁ τὸν στρατηγὸν κυβερνήτην λέγων τῆς πόλεως, *Shak. Cor.* 1. 1. 78 *The helms o' the state, who care for you like fathers.* *Plato (Euthyd.* 291 D), in speaking of the τέχνη which κατὰ τὸ Διοχύλου ἱαμβεῖον μόνῃ ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ κἀθῆται τῆς πόλεως, πάντα κυβερνώσα κ.τ.λ., does not necessarily refer to the present passage.

3 οἶακα νομῶν: 'managing the tiller,' apparently the actual nautical term: cf. *Pind. P.* 1. 86 νόμα δικάϊφ πηδάλῳ στρατὸν, *Hom. Od.* 12. 217 κυβερνήθ'... οἶμα νομᾶς. Similarly *P. V.* 148 νέοι... οἰακονόμοι, *Pind. I.* 3. 71 κυβερνατῆρος οἰακαστρόφου, *Anaxandr. ap. Ath.* 263 C τὸν...οἶακα στρέφει.

βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν: the same notion as in *Hom. Od.* 5. 270 αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδάλῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνήντως | ἥμενος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπιπτεν. Cf. the fatal sleep of Palinurus (*Verg. Aen.* 5. 840 sqq.). For the combination of participles cf. *Cho.* 284 ὀρώντα λαμπρὸν ἐν σκότῳ νωμῶντ' ὀφρύν, *Ar. Ran.* 392 παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα | νικῆσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι, *Plat. Rep.* 366 A.—κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ is not idle pleonasm, since κοιμᾶν possesses a wider sense.

4 εὖ: stressed.—αἰτία: sc. ἐστί, a livelier apodosis for ἂν εἴη (which could not be omitted). Blomfield quotes *Tac. Agr.* 27 *iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur*, and Paley adds *Ann.* 14. 38 *cuius adversa pravilitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat*. No impiety is intended, but some sarcasm at the world. Cf. *Headlam On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 82 sqq.

6 'Ετεοκλῆς: a neat device of the poet for introducing the name. The position lends the appropriate emphasis.—'Ετεοκλῆς ἄν...ὑμνοῖθ': 'the repeated word would be "Eteocles."—εἰς πολὺς: conjoined for effect: cf. *Thuc.* 8. 68 πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ...δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν, and (less immediately) *Pers.* 330 εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον | ἐχθροῖς παρασχών. For the use of εἰς (as in *unus, unicuique*) see *Cho.* 630 (n.), and cf. *Shak. A. and C.* 4. 6. 30 *I am alone the villain of the earth.* Probably here the meaning is more strictly literal.

πολὺς: 'in much use,' i.e. much in evidence. Cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 1 πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος | θεὰ κέκλημαι, *Hdt.* 1. 98 ὁ Διοκλῆς ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεύμενος, *Ath.*

Prolego

ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίους πολυρρόθοις  
οἰμώγμασιν θ', ὧν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος  
ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.  
ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἑλλείποντ' ἔτι  
ἤβης ἀκμαίας καὶ τὸν ἕξηβον χρόνῳ,  
βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολλὴν  
ῶραν τ' ἔχονθ' ἐκάστω, ὥς τι συμπερέπες,  
πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων

10

line. πᾶσιν εἰς κατὰ πτόλιν Dindorf. 7 παλιρρόθοις Valckenaer. ↓. 9 ἐπώνυμος Blomf. 12 βλαστημὸν M. βλαστημὸν (cf. ὄρχησμός, πατήσμος) Hermann. ↓. πάλιν anon. 13 ῶραν \* M. ῶραν m. (scholl. recognise both). m' fills the

237 A πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, Luc. Merc. Cond. 5 εἶτα ὁ θέσγης καὶ πολὺ τὸ 'πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενήτη δεδμημένος.'

7 ὑμνοῖθ': (de)cantetur, 'harped upon.' Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 292, Theodect. *fr.* 1 ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος, Plat. *Rep.* 549 D, *Prot.* 343 B, Ter. *Phorm.* 3. 2. 10 cantilenam eandem canis, Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 46 insignis tota cantabitur urbe. Phot. has ὑμνεῖν· μέμφεσθαι, λοιδορεῖν, κατ' εὐφημισμὸν, but such a sense must lie in the context, not in the verb itself.

φροιμίους keeps up the metaphor of ὑμνοῖθ', but is specially suitable from its frequent suggestion of trouble: cf. *Ag.* 1215 ταρασσών φροιμίους, Eur. *Hipp.* 568 τὸ μέντοι φροιμὸν κακὸν τόδε, *I. T.* 1162 τί φροιμάζῃ νεοχούν;

πολυρρόθοις: ῥόθος is the murmuring of resentment, and almost=ψόγος. Cf. Hes. *Opp.* 220 τῆς δὲ δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης (gen. abs.), Eur. *Andr.* 1096 ἐχώρει ῥόθιον ἐν πόλει κακόν, Soph. *Ant.* 289, *Tr.* 264. Aeschylus could, however, hardly use the word without glancing at the muttering of the sea before a storm. Cf. More *Richard the Third* (ap. Holinshed 3. 721), *Yet began there, here and thereabouts, some manner of muttering among the people...as the sea without wind swelleth of herself sometime before a tempest.*

8 sq. ὧν Ζεὺς κ.τ.λ. It is easy to suggest ἐπώνυμος, but the text may be rendered as (1) 'and may the Forefender thereof (i.e. of such manner of things), Zeus, prove true to his name,' or, as Paley instinctively took it, (2) ὧν depends on ἐπώνυμος, into which the mind at once reads the sense ἀληθῶς (or κάρτα) ἀλεξητή-

ριος. With the appeal cf. *Eum.* 90 Ἐρμῇ, φύλασσε· κάρτα δ' ὧν ἐπώνυμος, | πομπαῖος ἴσθι.

Καδμείων πόλει: A special claim is implied in these words (in place of e.g. ἡμῖν). Our city is the venerable city of Cadmus, and Cadmus enjoyed *affinitas* with the Gods (125 sq.). The schol. speaks of a special worship of Zeus Alexeterios at Thebes. This may be true, and Aeschylus may very well have been aware of the fact, either through the epic or through personal knowledge of the city. In any case Zeus is the deity to be mentioned first: cf. *Suppl.* 1 (n.), *Cho.* 1 (n.).

10 sqq. ὑμᾶς: i.e. 'so much for the claim upon my watchfulness; your part is...'—δε is resumptive of v. 1, 'well, this is τὰ καίρια.'—καὶ τὸν ἑλλείποντ' κ.τ.λ.: lit. 'yea, even (i.e. apart from the ἀκμαῖοι, who are taken for granted) he who lacks the age of ripeness, and he who is past his prime with years, must, fostering much growth of body, and taking thought in each direction as fitness calls, champion the city and the altars of the country's gods—so that their honours be not blotted out—and his children &c.' The construction begun with ὑμᾶς is naturally carried on in the singular after the appositive καὶ τὸν κ.τ.λ. For the reading see crit. n. The only departure from the MS here made is in 'ἐκάστω'.

καὶ...καὶ=etiam...et, not 'both...and...' Even these two classes (Ar. *Pol.* 3. 1 παῖδας τοὺς μῆπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους), who are generally exempted, will not be so now. Aeschylus could hardly need to borrow such an obvious notion from Hom. *Il.* 8. 517 κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ δαίτυ δι-



a mouth, bruited by the folk throughout the town in threatening murmurs and in lamentations; the which may Forefending Zeus, true to his name, forefend from the Cadmean realm.

'Tis your part now. Even he who still falls short of manhood's prime, and he whose prime is past and gone, must gather great strength into his frame and be vigilant, here, there, as may beseem. Succour the realm and the altars of the country's Gods,

erasure with τ' (which had apparently been deleted because of the misreading ἔχων θ'). ὤραν γ' Stanley. ἔχονθ' M, ἔχωνθ' M<sup>a</sup>. ἔκαστος M, corr. \*ed. †. ἔκαστον m'. (ἐκάσθ' would be less near or pointed). ὥστι M, ὥστις M<sup>a</sup>. †. ὥστε συμπερέεσ rec.,

φίλοι ἀγγελλόντων | παῖδας πρωθήβας  
πολιοκροτάφους τε γέροντας | λέξασθαι  
περὶ αὐτοῦ θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργον. Cf. Herodian 8. 4. 7 πανδημεὶ δὲ ἅμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἐπάλλεων τε καὶ πύργων ἀπομαχόμενοι. οὐδέ τις οὕτως ἦν ἀχρηστος ἡλικία ὥς μὴ μετέχειν κ.τ.λ.

ἐξηβον: ἐξω τῆς ἡβης (Hesych.). Eustath. (p. 1428. 20) contrasts the word with πρώθηβος and ἀκρηβος. Cf. ἐξωρος and Ag. 105 ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων.

12 βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα κ.τ.λ. These words are generally misunderstood as referring only to τὸν ἐξηβον. With this preconception they have been variously interpreted: (1) 'and him who is past his prime but still keeps a vigorous growth of body.' But for this ἐτι or ὁμως would be needed, and πολύν is hardly the word: (2) (as once taken by the present editor) 'fostering large outgrowth of his body,' i.e. possessing many children. The periphrasis is clumsy in itself and assumes that all the ἐξηβοὶ χρόνῳ are in that position: (3) 'nourishing much growth of body,' i.e. growing too large and heavy for fighting. But the addition is prosaic, purposeless, not tactful, and surely untrue of a large number of such ἐξηβοὶ. It is far better to understand the line as applying to both the classes mentioned (commonly, as Paley observes, called ἀχρεῖοι), and to render 'making to grow (for the occasion) a great growth of frame' (i.e. putting on strength). The notion is similar to that of ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάρσος ἀέζων ([Hes.] Scut. 434). The literal impossibility is of course no objection to the figurative expression. Whether one is weak from youth or from age he is to force himself to be strong, and greatly so (πολύν). For the thought cf. Eur. Ion 1041 ἀγ', ὦ γεραιέ πούς, νεανίας γενοῦ | ἐργοῖσι, κεί μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ πάρεστί σοι, Andr. 551 οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἔοικέ, μοι | σχολῆς τδ' ἔργον,

ἀλλ' ἀνηβητηριαν | ῥόμην μ' ἐπαινῶ λαμβάνειν (the aged Peleus). In these it is a case of rejuvenation; in the case of the striplings they are to attain to the state described in Eur. H. F. 1269 ἐπεὶ δὲ σαρκὸς περιβόλαι' ἐκτεσάμην | ἡβῶντα. For the form of expression cf. Soph. Aj. 1077 κὰν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα, inf. βοῶ σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει.—ἀλδαίνοντα is praes. conatus. For the use of the word cf. P. V. 554 θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσιν ἐν εὐφροσύναις.—βλαστημὸν: cf. Suppl. 289 τῶν οὖν ἐτ' ἄλλον τῆσδε βλαστημὸν (βλάστημον M) λέγεις; altered to βλαστησμὸν by Hermann, but forms in -σ-μο- presuppose those in -μο-, and are themselves only analogical creations (see Brugmann Gk. Gr. § 1841). The question must therefore be left open.

13 ὤραν τ' ἔχονθ' \*ἐκάστω' κ.τ.λ. The sense is exactly that of [Hes.] Scut. 121 πάντῃ ἀναστρωφᾶν καὶ ἀρηγέμεν ὥς κε δύνῃαι. With ὥς τι συμπερέεσ cf. also Ath. 639 F ὑπηρετεῖν καθότι ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάστῳ παρέπιπτεν. The defenders are to turn their attention this way and that, as occasion may arise.—ἐκάστωσε for ἐκασταχόσε is of the nature of ἄλλοσε, πόσε, πάντοσε (πάντοσε φοιτήτην of the Ajaxes, Il. 12. 266). It is not improbable that the same word should be restored in Hdt. 1. 63 ελεγον τὰ ἐν τεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ (where the obvious ἕκαστον does not account for the corruption). There can be nothing unpoetical about such words, especially in these shorter forms.

14 sqq. πόλει τ'...καὶ...βωμοῖσι...τέκνοισ τε κ.τ.λ. The answering particles are τ'...τε, while καὶ joins βωμοῖσι to πόλει in one notion, 'the state and its gods,' which form the political and national consideration, as opposed to τέκνοισ, the more personal motive. The 'helping' of the altars seemed to call for



βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ἔξαιλεφθῆναί ποτε, 15  
 τέκνοις τε γῇ τε μητρί, φιλτάτῃ τροφῇ·  
 ἣ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεί πέδῳ  
 ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον  
 ἐθρέψατ' οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους  
 πιστούς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε. 20  
 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τόδ' ἡμάρ εὖ ρέπει θεός·  
 χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένοις  
 καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ.  
 νῦν δ', ὡς ὁ μάντις φησὶν, οἰωνῶν βοτῆρ,

ὡς τὸ συμπερές Abresch, ὥσπερ οὖν πρέπει Lowinski.

18 προσδοκοῦσα recc.

19 οἰκιστῆρας recc. (οἰκηστῆρας G.). †.

20 τελόισθε ('be paid,' suggested in *Class. Rev.* vol. III. p. 102) is here withdrawn as unnecessary with a right interpreta-

some explanation not required by πόλει ἀρήγειν: hence the clause τιμὰς κ.τ.λ.

In ἐξαιλεφθῆναι there is a notion of wiping out a long-standing contract (of service paid for protection rendered). The overthrow of the πόλις puts an end to the claims of the altars (τίμοι βωμοῖ Herod. 4. 5).

16 μητρί...τροφῇ: emphasising their debt. She bore them and bred them. The Earth is κοροτρόφος (Ar. *Thesm.* 300). See Harrison *Prol. to Gk. Rel.* pp. 267 sqq. An altar with that title at Athens is mentioned by Pausanias (1. 22. 3). With the present passage cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 826 ὦ ξυμπολῖται, τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ | καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεῶν, Plat. *Rep.* 414 E ὡς ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μήτηρ οὔσα ἀνῆκε, καὶ νῦν δεῖ ὡς περὶ μητρός καὶ τροφῆς τῆς χώρας...βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ ἀμύνειν...ἐὰν τις ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴῃ, Eur. *Med.* 1332, Isoc. *Ran.* 25 μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὴν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει.

17 sqq. ἣ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The passage has been strangely misinterpreted. The metaphor is drawn from an inn and is consistently sustained. Lit. 'For, when ye came faring as young children, she, playing hostess (as in an inn) with her kindly soil to all the moil of your breeding, reared you to found homes, as shield-bearers keeping faith, that ye might accrue to meet the present debt.' That inns are an anachronism for epic times is of no importance to the dramatist, even if he knew the fact. Cf. *Cho.* 658 ἐν δόμοις πανδόκοις ξένων (n.). The notion of γῆ as innkeeper was perhaps made the easier to an Athenian audience from

the frequency with which inns were kept by women (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 549). ἔρποντας regards them as travellers, but glances also at the slow steps of infants (cf. ἐρπύζω, *serpo*).—ὄτλον is contained acc., the sense being πάντα τὸν ὄτλον ὑποδεχομένη. In παιδείας Athenians would be reminded of the debt due from children to parents who had performed this duty, a debt formally recognized in τὸ γηροβσκεῖν.

There is a play upon the senses of πιστοὺς (= 'loyal soldiers,' and also debtors who are 'trusted' to pay their score), γένοισθε (= 'come into being,' and also 'come to an amount' as money for payment), χρέος ('matter' or 'business,' and also 'debt'). Thus two thoughts run parallel in the same expression. As their native land, she brought them up to prove 'loyal' to her, and to 'be forthcoming' to deal with this 'matter'; as innkeeper she fed them, expecting them to prove 'honest' by meeting their 'debt' in due season. The inn, which is the soil, is one where the welcome is 'hearty' or 'unstinting' (εὐμενεί: cf. *Pers.* 490 Σπερχεῖδς ἀρδεῖ πεδίον εὐμενεί πότῳ, and in a somewhat similar connection with hospitality *Cho.* 699 τί γὰρ | ξένου ξένου ἐστὶν εὐμενέστερον;). The same notion is emphasised in ἅπαντα παν-. With γένοισθε, 'amount,' cf. the familiar τὸ γιγνόμενον (e.g. Luc. *Somn.* 1 ἀποφέρων αἰὲ τὸ γιγνόμενον), τὸν γεγονότα ἀνθρώπον (Plat. *Ap.* 36 A). There is no baldness in the word, especially when γένοισθε πρὸς is taken together as 'amount to (the measure, or standard, of:)' = 'become adequate to meet.' For πρὸς in this sense

that their worship be not blotted out. Succour your children, and mother Earth, your nurse most dear. For when ye came faring as babes, she with her open inn, the kindly soil, bore all the moil of nurture, and bred you to found homes, bearing the shield and keeping faith, that ye might accrue to meet this present claim.

As 'tis, until this day Heaven's favour turns the scale. Though beleaguered all this time, our war finds for the more part furtherance from the Gods. But now, saith the seer,

tion of the text. † 'Fortasse πιστοί θ' Sidgwick. ὅπως γένουσθε πρὸς χρέος πιστοὶ τότε Dind. 21 καὶ πρὶν Halm, καὶ δὴ Dind. †. καὶ τῶν μὲν...ρέπει τύχη Heimsoeth too boldly. 23 m' has written ὦ above the line after καλῶς.

('to match'), cf. Hdt. 8. 44 Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, Dem. 14. 25 ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματι ἐνεστὶν ὀλίγου δέου πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν πόλεις, and uses of Latin *ad* (e.g. *ad certum pondus*). For the notion itself cf. Plat. *Crit.* 50 DE, Eur. *fr.* 360. 14 ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἑκατὶ τίκτομεν, | ὥς θεῶν τε βιωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα.

**οἰκιστήρας**: i.e. ὥστε εἶναι οἰκιστήρας. The country is strengthened by population, and 'founders of homes' are desired by ἡ γῆ. She nourished the young to this end. Hermann remarks 'non exputo cur οἰκιστήρας scripsisse Aeschylum dicam,' but the word proves to be better than the οἰκητήρας which he prefers. [We cannot, as in Herond. 3. 12, treat οἰκίζω as=οἰκέω.]

21 καὶ νῦν μὲν κ.τ.λ.: 'well, as it is...'—καὶ implies that, in keeping with the last words, the citizens have so far done their duty.—νῦν μὲν, further explained by ἐς τόδ' ἡμᾶρ, is opposed to what lies in the future. This is answered by νῦν δ' of v. 24, as if the expression had been μέχρι μὲν δεῦρο...νῦν δ'... Greek does not object to the appearance of νῦν with a different shade of meaning in the antithetic clauses. Cf. the line of Magnes (Cobet *V. L.* p. 233) νῦν δὲ μὲν ὤμνεις μὴ γεγονέναι, νῦν δὲ φῆς, and Eur. *Hipp.* 232 sq. Here the difference may be expressed by 'as things are, all is going well, but now (to-day) a new danger threatens.'

[It would be clumsy to take μὲν as misplaced for καὶ νῦν, ἐς μὲν τόδ' ἡμᾶρ...with νῦν δ' resuming καὶ νῦν ('now, as I was saying'). The misplacement of the particle doubtless occurs (see Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 372), but here it is gratuitous to

assume it, and no answer to μὲν is forthcoming.]

εὐ ρέπει: i.e. the balance is in our favour (*Cho.* 239).—ρέπει may be intrans., with θεός='divine favour,' but is more probably trans., as in Bacchyl. 17. 24 ὅ τι μὲν ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα παγκρατῆς | ἄμμι κατένευσε καὶ δίκας ρέπει τάλαντον. See *Supp.* 410 ῥεπομένων (n.). Aesch. is thinking of the τάλαντον of Zeus: Hom. *Il.* 19. 223, Theogn. 157 Ζεὺς τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, *Supp.* 829 σὸν ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν | τάλαντον.

23 καλῶς...κυρεῖ. The adv. as in Soph. *El.* 799 εἰ τὰδ' εὐ κυρεῖ, 1424 Ὀρέστα, πῶς κυρεῖτε; So even with εἶναι Eur. *Herac.* 369 ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἴη; Hom. *Il.* 9. 551 Κουρήτεσσι καλῶς ἦν, and, more peculiarly, Eur. *Ion* 604 οὕτω γὰρ τὰδ', ὦ πάτερ, φιλεῖ.

πόλεμος: not 'the war,' but, in the epic sense, 'our fighting.' Cf. Eur. [*Rhes.*] 647 μέλει δ' ὁ σὸς μοι πόλεμος. With this, καλῶς κυρεῖ ἐκ θεῶν='is well treated by the Gods': cf. *Cho.* 703 οὗτοι κυρήσεις μείον ἀξίως and context (n.).

24 sqq. ὁ μάντις: 'our seer.' Though it is commonly and naturally taken for granted that the seer is Teiresias, the certainty is by no means absolute. A Teiresias is placed by the dramatists in any period of the Cadmean history. In the *Bacchae* he is an aged contemporary of Cadmus, while for Sophocles he is living in the reign of Oedipus. The presumption is strong that Aesch. is thinking of the same epic figure. Nevertheless he neither mentions the name nor explicitly states that the seer is blind. The omission of the name may be due to the metrical difficulty of *Teiresias*. The metre of Aeschylus is not so ready as that of Soph. or Eur. to admit the anapaest



ἐν ὧσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν πυρὸς δίχα  
 χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεὶ τέχνη,  
 οὗτος τοιῶνδε θεσφάτοις μαντευμάτων  
 λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιίδα  
 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κάπιβουλεύσειν πόλει.  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τ' ἐπάλξεις καὶ πύλας πυργωμάτων

25

30

(Possibly he thought of καλῶν.)

Halm, πάρος δίχα Schwerdt. ↓.

25 φρεσὶ M. φάους δίχα Ritschl, φωτὸς δίχα  
 27 τοιῶνδε M, τοιῶνδε M<sup>a</sup>. δεσπότης M, to  
 which no commentator appears to object. θεσφάτοις \*ed. (In pronunciation οι = η  
 and θ is very near δ; cf. Eur. *El.* 463, where A has φάδων.) 28 Ἀχαιίδα recc.

(cf. 369 n.). In 556 Ἀμφιάρεω is pronounced as a cretic (Ἀμφιάρεω): see Appendix to v. 115. But there the mention of the name was inevitable; here it is not essential, and Aesch. does not choose to avail himself of *Teiresias*. The blindness, again, though not stated, appears to be implied in ἐν ὧσὶ and the context. But the lack of definiteness in the description makes it probable that *Teiresias* (or some account of him) has been introduced into a previous play of the trilogy.

οἰωνῶν βοτήρ can hardly mean anything but 'keeper of birds of augury.' The schol. explains by σκοπός, but, though the somewhat analogous terms ποιμαίνειν, βοσκολεῖν have a wider use of 'watching,' and Aesch. can say ναῶν ποιμένες (*Supp.* 776), those words nevertheless refer to a person who is not merely observing, but keeping, the thing in question. Moreover βοτήρ is obviously a term of a less transferable nature. If in *Supp.* 357 the word is used for 'herdsman,' where the idea of a 'feeder' is not prominent, it nevertheless implies 'keeper.' The public μάντις, as with the Romans, would keep birds in readiness, and not wait for their chance appearance.

25 sq. ἐν ὧσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν: i.e. using only his ears and his judgment (not his eyes). What might be expressed by μόνον is (as very often) to be imparted by stress upon the nouns: cf. 690 n., and e.g. Xenophon. *fr.* 19 (14). 4 αὐτὸς ὁμῶς οὐκ οἶδε δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται (i.e. δόκησις μόνον).—πυρὸς δίχα is added in explanation.—νωμῶν is a vox propria of augury: cf. Soph. *O. T.* 300 ὦ πάντα νωμῶν Τειρεσία, διδασκὰ τε | ἀρρητὰ τ', οὐρανία τε καὶ χθονοσσιβῆ, Eur. *Phoen.* 1255 ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμάς, | ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων, Plat. *Crat.* 411 D τὸ νωμῶν καὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν

ταῦτόν. See Sikes-Allen on *Hymn. Demet.* 373. If νωμῶν = σκοπῶν, *Teiresias* may be said to use his ears for his eyes (cf. Soph. *O. C.* 138 φωνῇ γὰρ ὀρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον), but this should not be pressed, the natural sense being 'consider.'

It should be observed that Aesch. does not say ὁ νωμῶν. The description therefore, if we punctuate after βοτήρ, is not necessarily one of general practice, but applies only to the present occasion. It is not easy, however, to see why he should have abstained from certain sources of divination in this instance, if he employed them in others. It is true that other writers make *Teiresias* consult *εμπύρα* as well as *οἰωνοί*. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 999 (a passage which meanwhile well describes the sounds by which *Teiresias* judged) εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν θάκον ὀρνιθοσκοπον | ἴζων, ἔν' ἦν μοι παντὸς οἰωνοῦ λιμήν, | ἀγνώτ' ἀκούω φθόγγον ὀρνίθων, κακῶ | κλάζοντας οἰστρῶ καὶ βεβαρβαρωμένῳ | καὶ σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοναῖς | ἐγνων· πτερώων γὰρ ροῖβδος οὐκ ἀσημος ἦν· | εὐθύς δὲ δέϊσας ἐμπύρων ἐγενόμην | βωμοῖσι παμφλέκτοισιν· κ.τ.λ., Eur. *Bacch.* 257 σκοπεῖν πτερωτοῖς κάμπύρων μισθοῖς φέρειν, *Phoen.* 839 (with 954), 1255, Stat. *Theb.* 10. 599 sqq. The signs which he could not hear were told to him by his attendant (*Ant.* 1012 τοιαῦτα παιδὸς τοῦδ' ἐμάνθανον πάρα), or by his daughter (*Stat. l.c.*). On Soph. *O. T.* 310 σὺ δ' οὖν φθονήσας μῆτ' ἀπ' οἰωνῶν φάτω | μῆτ' εἰ τιν' ἀλλην μαντικῆς ἔχεις ὁδὸν Jebb remarks that Teir. 'resorts to fire when the voice of birds fails him.' It would be reading too much into the present passage to suppose that he omits the *εμπύρα* because the signs from the birds were sufficiently εἴσημοι. Rather we must suppose that in the epic sources on which Aesch. drew *Teiresias* is represented as using only (1) divination from



shepherd of birds of omen, as unhelped by fire he ponders the signs of divination with skill that errs not—he, by rede of such divinings, saith that a supreme Achaean onset is mooted in nightly conclave and means mischief to the town.

But both to battlement and gateway of our bulwarks haste

**29** νυκτηγορήσθαι Dind.  $\psi$ . κάπιβουλεύειν recc., κάπιβούλευσιν Dind. (who might have quoted, e.g. *P.V.* 421 ἐπιδεικνύειν (M) for ἐπιδείκνυσιν (recc.)).

**30** πύλας πυργωμάτων M (the superscripta and new accent by m').  $\psi$ .

birds (*augurium*, δι' οἰωνῶν μαντεία) and not (2) divination from either the entrails of victims (*haruspicium*, ιεροσκοπία) or the behaviour of the flames in sacrifice (*ignispicium*, δι' ἐμπύρων μαντεία). In Homer there is no divination of the latter kind, and it was unknown to the primitive Romans, who borrowed it from the Etruscans (see Mayor on Cic. *N. D.* 11. 3. 10). The comprehensive use of οἰωνός and ὄρνις as 'omen,' whereas the other terms are not so employed, is an indication of the priority of the former method. To the Greeks of the historical times μαντική included both methods (*Eur. Hel.* 746 οὐκ ἦν ἀρ' ἰγνίης οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου φλογός | οὐτε περὶ τῶν φθέγματ'), and the business of a μάντις was οἰωνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἢ δ' ἐμπύρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι (*Ap. Rhod.* 1. 145). It was natural therefore that they should assign both to even the blind Teiresias and account as best they could for his ability to read the φλογωπὰ σήματα. Aeschylus apparently remains more true to his authority. That Teiresias actually consulted only the birds appears from the prominence incidentally given to that side of augury in e.g. *Eur. Bacch.* 347 θάκουσ' τοῦσδ', ἵν' οἰωνοσκοπέει, where the reference is to what was shewn to Pausanias (9. 16. 1) as οἰωνοσκοπεῖον Τειρεσίῳ καλούμενον.

[πυρός δίχα is strangely explained by Hermann as *praeter signa ex igne capta*. The obvious sense of δίχα is that of e.g. *Ath.* 183 D κατὰ χεῖρα δίχα πλήκτρον ἐψάλλον.]

ὥστ'...φρεσίν: a favourite combination: cf. *Cho.* 53 σέβας...τὸ πρὶν | δι' ὧτων φρενὸς τε | δαίμια περαῖνον, *Ag.* 1036 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα.

**26** χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας: 'omens of prophecy.' For the wide sense of ὄρνις cf. *Ar. Av.* 719 ὄρνιν δὲ νομίζετε πάνθ' ὅσα περ περὶ μαντείας διακρίνει | φήμη γ' ὑμῶν ὄρνις ἐστὶ, πταρμὸν τ' ὄρνιθα καλεῖτε, | ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, φωνὴν ὄρνιν, κ.τ.λ., and see commentators there.

ἀψευδεῖ. It has proved so in the past, and Eteocles piously believes in the seer.

**27** οὗτος: resumptive.—θεσφάτοις: see crit. n. Though all editors retain δεσπότης, none explains it. A man cannot be 'master (or owner) of divinations' as he is a master of slaves. He cannot order divinations as he pleases. And if μαντευμάτων could mean the birds, as 'instruments which divine' (for which there is no warrant, though such a use as φρούρημα = warder, *inf.* 436, might be quoted in poor support), it would be a depreciation of the augury of Teiresias to present that view of the situation. Only a μάντις who made the birds divine to his liking would be called (sarcastically) δεσπότης μαντευμάτων. For the combination in the text cf. *Eur. I. T.* 1254 ἐν ἀψευδεῖ θρόνῳ | μαντείας βροτοῖς | θεσφάτων νέμων, *Phoen.* 971 μαντέων θεσπίσματα, and for the word alone, *Phoen.* 766 εἰ τι θέσφατον | οἰωνόμαντις Τειρεσίας ἔχει φράσαι.

**28** Ἀχαιῖδα. This tribal or racial distinction belongs to the epic. The invaders are from the Ἀχαιῶν Ἄργος: cf. 311 ἵπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ. A similar opposition of Cadmeans to 'Danai' occurs in *Pind. P.* 8. 52, *N.* 9. 17.

**29** νυκτηγορεῖσθαι. The pres. tense shews that it is very early morning. The discussion of the Argives is spoken of as if still going on. Hence also the fut. ἐπιβουλεύειν: if finally determined upon, the attack 'will mean mischief' to the town. For the word cf. [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 17 τί γὰρ φυλακὰς προλιπὼν | κινεῖς στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τιν' ἔχων | νυκτηγορίαν; *ibid.* 87 τί χρῆμα... | ...φύλακες | ...νυκτηγοροῦσι; and for the notion *ibid.* 139 νυκτέρους ἐκκλησίας.

**30** ἐς τ' ἐπάλξεις κ.τ.λ.: The gen. πυργωμάτων (=the defences in general) belongs to both nouns. Some are to stand along the battlements, some in the gateways. The order is repeated in other words in 32 sq.

ὀρμάσθε πάντες, σοῦσθε σὺν παντευχία,  
 πληροῦτε θωρακεῖα, καὶ πύργων  
 πύργων στάθητε, καὶ πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις  
 μίμνοντες εὖ θαρσεῖτε, μηδ' ἐπηλύδων  
 ταρβεῖτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός. 35  
 σκοποὺς δὲ καὶ κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ  
 ἔπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματᾶν ὁδῶ·  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλῳ.

### ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

Ἐτεόκλεες φέριστε Καδμείων ἄναξ,  
 ἦκω σαφῇ τὰ κεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων, 40  
 αὐτὸς κατόπτῃς δ' εἴμ' ἐγὼ τῶν πραγμάτων·  
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτὰ, θούριοι λοχαγέται,  
 ταυροσφαγούντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος

32 εὐθαρσεῖτε M, εὖ θαρσεῖτε Ald.

36 κατοπτῆρα M, corr. m'.

39 Blomf.,

32 sq. πληροῦτε κ.τ.λ. 'Man the bulwarks &c.' It should be observed that the words chosen (πληροῦτε, θωρακεῖα, σέλμασιν, πυλῶν) are accommodated to both a town and a ship (cf. 2 n., 62—64). With πληροῦν and πλήρωμα the latter application is common. The English 'bulwarks' illustrates the suitability of θωρακεῖα to either. σέλματα are according to Hesych. τὰ ζυγὰ τῆς νεώς· καὶ συναρμογαὶ τῶν σανίδων (whence σέλμα is used for 'ship' itself in *epigr. ap. Ath.* 209c). But the word also means 'thwarts' = 'beams,' 'flooring,' Schol. to Ap. Rhod. 1. 528 has καθόλου τὸ πλατὺ ξύλον σέλμα λέγεται: cf. Strab. 5. 2. 5. By σέλματα πύργων is meant something as distinct from the θωρακεῖα as the *turres* of a Roman camp from the *loricula*. Cf. the wall of the Spartans against Plataea (Thuc. 3. 21 διὰ δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.). The towers (*turres contabulatae*) on the walls have floors (σέλματα), and they may also be joined (as in the *castra*) by bridges which resemble the thwarts (ζυγὰ = σέλματα) of a ship. It is not necessary however to assume the latter point. For the beams of the towers cf. Hom. *Il.* 12. 35 τότε δ' ἀμφὶ μάχῃ ἐνοπὴ τε δεδόκειν | τεῖχος εὐδμητον, κανάχιζε δὲ δούρατα πύργων | βάλλοντες. With πύλαι of a ship compare the use of the English 'ports' in their original nautical

shape. A πυλωρός of a ship is met with in Eur. *I. T.* 1227.

πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις is no idle periphrasis for ἐπὶ πύλαις, but distinguishes the πύλαι in the narrower sense of the actual passage-way from πύλαι in the larger sense of the whole structure with its tower and flank-walls or bastions.

34 μίμνοντες: see 423 μενεῖ (n.). —ἐπηλύδων and ὄμιλον are both contemptuous.

36 σκοποὺς: the more general term; κατοπτῆρας specifies closer observation ('spies').

στρατοῦ alone can hardly mean τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, but κατοπτῆρας στρατοῦ is a compound notion = 'army-spies,' as opposed to other kinds of κατοπτῆρες. These do not merely reconnoitre, they insinuate themselves among the enemy.

καὶ γὰρ (cf. 66): after assigning to the citizens their duty, Eteocles assures them that he is performing his own.

37 πέποιθα: not = πέπεισμαι, but expresses trust: *Cho.* 296 (n.).

ματᾶν ('waste their labour') is either (1) pres.: cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 474 οὐδὲ μάτησιν, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1393 οὐδ' ἐμάτησαν πλαζόμενοι, or (2) fut. of ματέω (cf. κολᾶ, ἐξετώμεν, βιβῶ, δικάω and see Herod. *περὶ μιν.* λέξ. 23. 6, Kühner-Blass II. p. 109). The former is the more vivacious



ye all. Away! in all your harness! Man the parapets and take your stand upon the tower-thwarts, and at the outlets of the gates bide and be brave, nor dread too much an alien crew. Heaven will give good issue. For my part I have sent scouts and men to spy the host, whose going, I trow, is not for naught. When I have heard their news, there is no craft can snare me.

[*Exeunt* CITIZENS. SCOUT *enters* (from the left).

SCOUT.

Most noble Eteocles, king of the Cadmeans, I come the sure bearer of the news from yonder in the host, and 'tis with my own eyes that I have spied what passed.

Seven warriors, gallant captains, shedding bulls' blood into

Herm. &c. punctuate 'Ετεόκλεες φέριστε, κ.τ.λ.

and idiomatic both here and in *Eum.* 142 ἰδῶμεθ' εἰ τι τοῦδε φροίμου ματᾶ. In *P. V.* 57 περαίνεται δὴ κού ματᾶ τοῦργον τόδε the pres. is almost certain, although the sense given by Hesych. (χρονίζει, διατρίβει) is inexact. For the sense cf. Hom. *Il.* 10. 324 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οὐχ ὄλιος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι, *Od.* 2. 273 οὐ τοι ἐπειθ' ἄλλη ὁδὸς ἔσsetai οὐδ' ἀτέλεστος, 8. 285 ἀλασσκοπιήν.

ὁδῶ: verbal (= τῷ ἰέναι): cf. *Cho.* 70, 674, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1175 βάν ῥ' ἔμην, οὐδ' ἀλλῶσαν ὁδόν.

38 sq. The citizens depart to their post, and the spy, as coming from outside the town, enters from the spectator's left, according to the convention of the Attic stage.—φέρῃστε *K.* ἀναξ: the necessary or customary addition of courtesy to the bare name of the king. So Οἰδίπου τέκος, 185, 664. *Eupolis* (*fr.* 212) parodies with Ἱερόκλεες βέλτιστε χρησμῶδων ἀναξ.

τάκειθεν: cf. ἐκεῖνα, ἐκεῖνοι = 'the enemy' (636 n.).

41 αὐτός...ἐγὼ: a double assertion that he knows οὐκ ἀκοῇ or οὐ λόγῳ μαθὼν (*Eur. Heracl.* 5).—τῶν πραγμάτων, 'the facts,' contains the same notion. The position of δ' is purely metrical: cf. 140, 1015.

42 sqq. The lines ἄνδρες...ὥρκωμότησαν are quoted by Longinus (15. 5) as an example of φαντασία ἡρωικωτάτη imparting the ὕψος which springs from the great thoughts of a great nature (μεγαλοφροσύνη or τὸ ἀρεπῆβολον).

ἄνδρες...ἐπτά. These are not the only chiefs in the Argive army, but, as there

were seven gates of Thebes, there must be seven champions to attack them. The title of the play refers only to these. Adrastus himself is not included. It is as if Troy had possessed seven gates and seven of Agamemnon's greatest Achaeans were selected for a special attack upon them. Though Amphiarus is subsequently described (by Eteocles) as having no confidence in the attack (602 sqq.), there is no real inconsistency with the scene here narrated. Amphiarus was acting βία φρενῶν, but the spy could hardly discern that fact. What he saw was seven chieftains taking the oath, and he perceived valour and determination in them all. In these qualities Amphiarus fully shared (603).

λοχαγέται: for ἄ cf. 62 ναὸς (n.), 785 ἐβδομαγέτας (n.).

43 sqq. ταυροσφαγούντες κ.τ.λ.

Several points of ritual are here involved. Oaths varied in solemnity according to circumstances, and this is to be one of the most binding sort and most terrible in its penalties. There is a cumulative effect in the victim chosen (its significance being emphasised by the repetition ταυροσφαγούντες...ταυρείου φόνου), the shield as the receptacle of the blood, the black 'binding,' the ceremony of dipping hands in the gore, and the nature of the deities sworn by. Broken oaths were avenged by the Erinyes (*Hes. Oppr.* 803, *Hom. Il.* 19. 258 sqq.), who would in this instance be set on by most blood-thirsty divinities (*Enyo* &c.), if wronged.

The oath is an offering of σφάγια, cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 1196 ἐν ᾧ δὲ τέμνειν σφάγια



καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου  
ἄρρητ' Ἐννὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον

45

45 Ἄρρη τ' M and Longin. c. 15. Corr. M. Schmidt (G has ἄρρη τ'). †. Ἄρην, Ἐννὼ Turneb. Ἄρρη, Ἐννὼ is perhaps scarcely admissible for Aeschylus, otherwise

χρή σ' ἀκούε μου (viz. in a τρίπους χαλκῶ-  
πους), followed by (1201) ἐν τῷδε λαιμοῦς  
τρεῖς τριῶν μῆλων τεμῶν | ἐγραψαν ὄρκους  
τριποδὸς ἐν κοίλῳ κύτει κ.τ.λ. Originally  
portions cut from the victim (τόμια) were  
placed upon the ground, and the oath-  
taker stood upon them (Paus. 3. 20. 9  
Τυνδάρειος γὰρ θύσας ἵππον τοὺς Ἑλένης  
ἐξώρκου μνηστήρας, ἱστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου  
τῶν τομῶν, cf. 5. 24. 10). See Harrison  
*Prol. Gk. Rel.* p. 66. A magical con-  
nection or identification of speaker and  
victim was thus established, the intention  
being to invoke upon the perjurer the  
same fate which had befallen the animal.  
In the present instance τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν τομῶν  
ἐστάναι is replaced by an analogous pro-  
ceeding, the dipping of their hands to-  
gether in the blood. The addition of  
χερσὶ is no superfluity (as in e.g. *Anth.*  
*P.* 9. 161 βίβλον δὲ ρίψας ἐπὶ γῆν χερὶ  
ταύτ' ἐβόησα), but expresses the most  
complete self-committal. It is more than  
a dipping of weapons as in Xen. *An.* 2.  
2. 9 οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ  
βάρβαροι λόγχην (after they have cut the  
throats of ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κάπρον καὶ  
κρίον εἰς ἀσπίδα), Luc. *Tox.* 37.

The upturned shield (ὑπτία ἀσπίς Ar.  
*Lys.* 185) is itself an emblem of the god of  
bloodshed (ἰμνοτόρος); like other articles  
used in ritual, it is of the more primitive  
pattern (a σάκος of hide); and, according  
to the rule for the σφάγια themselves, it  
is black. (So in the parody Ar. *Lys.* 195  
θεῖσαι μέλαιναν κύλικα μεγάλην ὑπτίαν.)  
The shield then becomes, and is meant  
to represent, a huge goblet for the de-  
stroying gods who 'rejoice in draughts of  
blood' (Jebb on Soph. *El.* 542); cf. *Il.*  
5. 289, 22. 267 αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα τα-  
λαύρων. The resemblance between  
ἀσπίς and φιάλη was familiar (cf. Arist.  
*Poet.* 21 τὴν ἀσπίδα, φιάλην Ἄρειος, Aris-  
tophon *ap.* Ath. 472 C τῶν θηρικλείων  
εὐκύκλωτον ἀσπίδα). Hence the parody  
with a κύλιξ in Aristoph. (*l. c.*). The  
choice of bull for victim is due to the  
proverbial fierceness of the animal and to  
the mysterious properties attributed to  
its blood: cf. Ar. *Eg.* 83 βέλτιστον ἡμῶν  
αἷμα ταυρείον πιεῖν (with Neil's note),  
Plin. *H. N.* 11. 90 *taurorum sanguis...*

*pestifer potu*. To the direst gods this  
was the most congenial drink; moreover  
the nature of the bull was supposed to  
enter into the participants in the cere-  
mony (cf. the implications of ταυρο-  
φάγος).

[Those who substitute *μηλοσφαγούντες*  
from the parody in Ar. *Lys.* 189 forget  
that parody is not literal, and that the  
substituted word is there meant to lead to  
a pun in v. 196. No excuse for change  
should be drawn from the occurrence of  
ταυρείου in the next line. Apart from  
the fact that Greek cares nothing for  
such repetition even when not purposed  
(note such phrases as Ap. Rhod. 4. 1339  
ἀγραυλοὶ τε βόες μέγα πεφρίκασι, | βου-  
πελάται τε βοῶν and cf. *inf.* 160 n.), it  
is here deliberate and emphatic: 'that  
blood of bulls.' Weil guesses that Aesch.  
wrote *μηλοσφαγούντες* in an older sense of  
μῆλα, according to the μῆλα ἅπαντα τὰ  
τετράποδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι of Phryn.  
(Bekk. 1. 7. 8). It is, of course, possible  
that in this particular ritual connection  
*μηλοσφαγεῖν* was the regular word with-  
out regard to the nature of the victim,  
and that some reader 'corrected' the  
word to ταυροσφαγούντες through ignor-  
ance of the fact; but this requires demon-  
stration.]

**μελάνδετον.** The exact meaning is not  
at first clear. Hom. *Il.* 6. 117 δέρμα  
κελαινόν, | ἀντιξέ, ἢ πνύματι θένει ἀσπί-  
δος ὀμφαλοέσσης, might suggest that the  
rim (which would naturally be most in  
evidence when the shield was ὑπτίον)  
was of black leather. But this is prob-  
ably too precise for the word. *μελάν-*  
*δετος* is used of a sword *Il.* 15. 713  
φάσγανον καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα (where  
see Leaf), [Hes.] *Scut.* 221 μελάνδετον  
ἄορ, Eur. *fr.* 373. 2. Such swords had  
the well-known hilt in which the spaces  
between metal rings were filled with some  
black material, probably leather bands.  
In Eur. *Or.* 821 μελάνδετον φόνω ξίφος  
(‘barred with blood’) there is a gruesome  
play upon this sense. From this use we  
should expect the meaning of ‘bound’ to  
be ‘barred’ or ‘ribbed,’ and a buckler of  
the old fashion might easily be cross-  
barred as well as edged with black leather

a black-bound shield, and touching with their hands that gore of bulls, swore direst oaths by Enyo and bloodthirsty Dread:

the supposed hiatus might have been filled in with τ'. "Αρη τ' 'Εννοῦς is possible, but not sufficiently near; \*'Εννᾶ might be suggested. Φόνον recd. (cf. 113, 124 c.n.).

strengthenings. Alcaeus *fr.* 36. 1 ἐλεφαντῖναν | λάβαν τῷ ξίφεος χρυσόδετον ἔχων shews a variety of the material. So *inf.* 146 χαλκοδέτων σακέων (with ribs of bronze). That the primary notion is that of making fast appears from e.g. *Suppl.* 859 γομφοδέτω δόρει. But such bars and bands are also ornaments (like the 'binding' of a book) and the senses 'bound with' and 'adorned with' pass into each other. Hence e.g. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 383 χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκήν (= χρυσόδετον πέλτην, previously described as decorated χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις, 305), *Soph. fr.* 223 χρυσόδετον κέρας (of a lute).

45 ἄρρητ' 'Εννῶ κ.τ.λ. See *crit. n.* The reading of M cannot be an enumeration of three divinities. For this either τε...καὶ or at least the omission of the first τε would be necessary. Verrall endeavours to keep the text by treating 'Εννῶ as a clip-form for 'Εννάλιον and therefore an epithet to "Αρη. It would of course be easy to quote abbreviations of names (e.g. Megistes = Megistocles, Iaches = Lachemoiros, 'Επαφράς = 'Επαφρόδιτος, 'Ηρακλοῦν = 'Ηρακλείδην, 'Απολλῶς = 'Απολλώνιος. Cf. O. Crusius *N. Jahrb.* 1891 pp. 385—394). It might also be argued that 'Εννάλιος is a difficult word for Aeschylean verse (cf. 24 n.). We know, moreover, that in the case of feminines Aesch. used Εἰδῶ = Εἰδοθέα, 'Υψῶ = 'Υψιπόλη (*Et. Gud.* p. 316. 30), and that he also wrote 'Αμφί for 'Αμφιδάρος (*Et. Mag.* p. 93. 51). But (apart from the present unique appearance of the curtailed form) there is a very serious objection to so surprising a difference of gender and meaning to be attached to a word commonly understood otherwise. The answer might be made that the particles would themselves show to a Greek (as to Dr Verrall himself) the true meaning. The argument is, however, unsatisfactory. An Athenian accustomed to the combined mention of Ares and Enyo (CIA III. 2 *ιερεῖς* "Αρεως 'Ενναλίου καὶ 'Εννοῦς, *Hom. Il.* 5. 592 ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν "Αρης καὶ πότνι, 'Εννῶ) would surely have difficulty in recognising this novel application of terms.

If 'Εννῶ cannot be accepted as =

'Εννάλιον some correction is required.

(1) The claims of "Αρη', 'Εννῶ καὶ... might be considered. The form "Αρη' would be familiar to Aeschylus from Homer and other epic, and, since this play is full of epic suggestion, he may have permitted himself to follow epic practice. The same tendency to correct the apparent hiatus (commonly by means of "Αρην) which appears in the MSS of e.g. *Il.* 5. 909, [Hes.] *Scut.* 59, may have caused the insertion of τ' here. ("Αρην itself is scarcely permissible for either epic or 5th cent. Attic. See Kühner-Blass 1. p. 514.) Nevertheless "Αρη' never occurs in any certain instance in tragic verse. It is not safe therefore to introduce the form. Longinus also (cod. P) has "Αρη τ'.

(2) "Αρη τ' 'Εννοῦς might be suggested. The relations of Ares to Enyo are variously stated. According to one account (schol. *Ar. Pac.* 457) she was his wife and the mother of Enyalios. Blomfield quotes Cornut. *de Nat. Deor.* p. 56 'Εννῶ οἱ μὲν τροφόν, οἱ δὲ μητέρα, οἱ δὲ θυγάτερα "Αρεως παρέδωκαν. If Aesch. knew of Enyo as the alleged mother of Ares, he may have written the gen. with the sense that the chieftains, in swearing by 'Ares son of Enyo,' were swearing by the God of destruction in his most pitiless character or avatar. But against this is to be set the fact that "Αρεως τ' 'Εννῶ is equally possible and that neither is very close to the text.

(3) Much nearer to the MS is ἄρρητ' (of rec.). No corruption is more frequent than that of double letters for single or vice versa, especially with the liquids. The context would also inevitably suggest "Αρη. For the adverbial ἄρρητ' ... ὥρκωμότησαν cf. *Cho.* 722 ἀκμάζει Πειθῶ δόλια | ξυγκαταβῆναι, *Soph. O. C.* 319 φαῖδρά γοῦν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων | σάινει με προστρέχουσα, *Eur. Hel.* 283 θυγάτηρ... πολιά παρθενεύεται, *Lys.* 13. 39 ὄστατα ἀσπασάμενοι. The meaning is not merely 'dire,' but actually, in a Cadmean mouth, *infanda*. The spy is obliged to give the substance of the oath, though he is reluctant to commit such a *δυσφημία*. (It is true that solemn oaths were often taken



ὠρκωμότησαν ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς  
 θέντες λαπάξιν ἄστν Καδμείων βία,  
 ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνω.  
 μνημεῖά θ' αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους  
 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ  
 λείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα.  
 σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρεία φλέγων  
 ἔπνει, λεόντων ὡς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.  
 καὶ τῶνδε πύστις οὐκ ὄκνῃ χρονίζεται.

50

48 πρὸςθε φυράσειν Stob. Fl. 7. 11, but ancient quotations are often too lax for critical purposes. 49 θ' αὐτῶν M. σημεία δ' αὐτῶν Stob. l. c. 51 ἀνὰ στόμα Stob.

in the name of three deities, but the practice was in no way binding.]

Ἐννῶ. Whatever the derivation of this word (and of Ἐνυάλιος), its special connotation is that of havoc and blood. In Plut. *Mor.* 757 D Enyalios is the god who ἐφορᾷ κτείνοντας καὶ κτενομένους; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 651 Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ. Enyo rules κυδοιμὸν ἀναδεία δημοτῆτος (*Il.* 5. 592). She is the spirit of war in its cruellest aspect.

Φόβος: 'Rout,' the son and attendant of Ares (Hes. *Th.* 933); not the subjective 'Fear' of the vanquished, but the spirit which puts men to flight (*Il.* 13. 298 οἷος δὲ βροτολοιγὸς Ἄρης πόλεμόνδε μέτεισιν, | τῷ δὲ Φόβος φίλος νῖος ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβῆς | ἔσπετο, ὅς τ' ἐφόβησε ταλαίφρονά περ πολεμιστήν, *ibid.* 4. 440). It is in a 'rout' that the thirst for blood gains fullest satisfaction.

46 sq. ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς κ.τ.λ. The expression deserves more observation than it has commonly received. ἄστν is the town regarded as a dwelling-place of men; πόλει looks at it as a burgh, a city-state among other πόλεις. Such a πόλις has its walls and buildings; these will be razed out of existence; there will then be left no habitations containing such a people as 'Cadmeans.' To join Καδμείων βία ('in spite of the Cadmeans') would be in the last degree feeble. βία simply = κατὰ κράτος. The words of the champions are λαπάξομεν ἄστν Καδμείων (cf. 518): 'we will make a (or the) "Cadmeans' town" a waste' (i.e. non-existent). The tense of θέντες shows that the πόλεις κατασκαφαί precede, or are the process of which the result is, τὸ λαπάξιν. Hence λαπάξιν cannot mean 'sack,' since the razing would naturally follow the sacking.

The proper sense is 'make empty, desolate' (as by swallowing up): cf. λάπτω and see note on ἐκλαπάξαι (443). In *Ag.* 133 πάντα δὲ πύργων | κτήνῃ πρὸςθε τὰ δημοπληθῇ | μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον the word amounts to 'destroy' or 'annihilate.'

The town is first taken and then razed to the ground (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 998 Τρολὶν ελεῖν δεῖ καὶ κατασκάψαι βίᾳ), and by the completeness of this act it ceases to have inhabitants. In Soph. *O. C.* 1318 εἴχεται κατασκαφῇ | Καπανεὺς τὸ Θήβης ἄστν δηώσεν πυρὶ (explained by Jebb as 'destroy it with fire in such a manner as to raze it to the ground') shows that κατασκαφαί is not to be taken strictly of any one process of destruction. Though θέντες might here mean 'cause,' it more probably = θέμενοι, ποιησάμενοι. See note to v. 175 for this use of the active, and, for further instance, Pind. *P.* 4. 275 τλᾷθι... ἀμφὶ Κυράνας θέμεν σπουδάν.

[It would be farfetched and erroneous to render '(even) if they have first to dig down the walls (in order to break in), they will sack.' πόλει would not be the word.]

48 γῆν τήνδε: with emphasis. They will not return home, but will shed their blood 'here.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* 18. 329 ἀμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι | αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ.

49 μνημεῖα. The scholia explain by 'περόνας, τρίχας, ταυνίας, βοστρύχους, and the like.' Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 972 μέλεα παιδὸς ἐν οἴκοις | κείται μνήματα, πένθιμοι | κουραὶ καὶ στέφανοι κόμας, *I. T.* 702 τύμβον τε χώσων κἀπίθες μνημεῖά μου; *ibid.* 820 sq. κόμαι are such μνημεῖα.

τοῖς τεκοῦσιν may either be taken with the general sense (as εἰς δόμους must be)



'Either will we raze amain the city to the ground and make desolate the land of the Cadmeans, or else will we die and mingle our blood with this same soil.' And on Adrastus' chariot all about they were hanging with their own hands last tokens of themselves for their parents at home, letting fall a tear, though not a sigh was on their lips; for there breathed a temper of iron resolve, ablaze with valour, as of lions whose eyes gleam war. And of these doings the tidings tarry not

54 καὶ τῷδε πίστις Stob. (where cod. A has οὐ μόνω χαρίζεται). †.

as dat. of behalf, or with *μνημεία*: cf. 270 (n.) and Eur. *I. T.* 387 τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἐστιάματα, *Suppl.* 1204 μνημεῖά θ' ὀρκῶν μαρτύρημα θ' Ἑλλάδι.

50 sq. *πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου*. The schol. explains that Amphiarus had foretold that only Adrastus would escape. But, if the chiefs had been sure of this, the whole attack and the oath just given would have been absurd. It is doubtless possible that, while not convinced by the seer, they yet prepared thus for his prediction coming true; but it is quite sufficient and much simpler to recognise that Adrastus is the leader and is taking no part in the attack. He at least will return, and, if any one of themselves should fall, Adrastus will carry his *μνημεία* home.

*πρὸς ἄρμ'*. The accus. includes the carrying to the chariot, and is thus more panoramic than *ἄρματι*. The same visualising effect is sought by *χερσὶν* and the imperfect *ἔσπεφον*. — *ἔσπεφον*. ἐπλήρουν schol., but the thought is simply that the *μνημεία* formed a festoon or *στέμμα*.

*δάκρυ*: a prose writer would have added *μέν* for clearness. 'A tear they could not prevent, but...' The tear is that of *πόθος*, not of self-pity. Epic heroes weep, although Euripides makes his Heracles disapprove: *H. F.* 1354 οὐτ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἔσταξα πηγάς, οὐδ' ἂν ὤδυμην ποτὲ | εἰς τοῦθ' ἰκίσθαι, δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων βαλεῖν. Open lamentation, however, is less noble: cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1636 ὁ δ', ὡς ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, οὐκ οἴκτου μέτα | κατήρεσεν, Eur. *I. T.* 484.

52 *σιδηρόφρων*: combines the notions of iron resolve and pride (*φρόνημα*). In *P. V.* 242 the word means 'pitiless.' The special quality of iron is that it is *ἀτεγκτος*, *ἀδάμαντος*, and in the metaphor the nature of the unyieldingness depends upon the context. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 177 ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον ('relentless'),

24. 205 σιδήρειον... ἦτορ, Mosch. 4. 44 νόον... σιδήρον, Ov. *Am.* 3. 6. 59 *ille habet et silices et vivum in pectore ferrum*, *inf.* 717 (n.). It is best to join *σιδηρόφρων*... *ἔπνει*, like *πνέει μέγας*, *λαμπρός* &c. — *θυμός*: 'mettle,' not 'anger': cf. 494, 603.

53 *λεόντων ὡς κ.τ.λ.* The hot breath suggests the fiery look (Hom. *Od.* 19. 446 πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς). — *Ἀρη* is the spirit either of fight (cf. *Chio.* 32 n., *Suppl.* 757 γυνὴ μονωθεῖσα' οὐδέν' οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἀρης, Pind. *Mor.* 757 β τὸ μαχητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ... θυμοειδὲς Ἀρην κεκλησθαι νομίζουσιν) or of murder (*P. V.* 886 θηλυκτόνῳ | Ἀρει δαμέντων). Here the two senses are scarcely separable.

*δεδορκότων* is more than *βλεπόντων* (as in Timocr. *fr.* 12 Ἀρη βλέπων, Herond. 3. 17 Αἶδην βλέψας). The look is keen and bright (see *Suppl.* 384 *δεδορκός* ὄμμα and Chrysipp. *ap.* Aul. Gell. 14. 4 *δεδορκός* βλέπειν).

54 καὶ τῷδε πίστις κ.τ.λ. Since *ὄκνος* is never merely delay, but always implies shrinking, whether through fear or scruple, we have only the choice between (1) 'and your learning of these tidings (from me) is not delayed by fear (on my part)' or (2) 'and your learning of these facts (*i.e.* that they are true) is not being delayed by hesitation (on their part)' *i.e.* you will soon see them for yourself. Both interpretations are given in the scholia. But in the latter we should rather expect 'assurance' (*πίστις*), as in the text of Stobaeus (see crit. n.), than 'learning' (*πίστις*). The former is more natural as explaining the next words (= 'but I came at once, before the arrangements were completed'). *δ'* might in fact have been γάρ (cf. 113 n.). There is no difficulty in *ἔκνω*, since the bearer of bad tidings commonly felt *ὄκνος* for the reason that (Plut. *Mor.* 509c) οἱ τὰ κακὰ προσαγγέλλοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκούοντων δυσχεραίνονται καὶ μισοῦνται: cf. Soph.

κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὥς πάλῳ λαχὼν 55  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.  
 πρὸς ταύτ' ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως  
 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσαι τάχος·  
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς 60  
 χωρεῖ κονίει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς  
 χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πλευνμόνων.  
 σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος  
 φράξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταγίγισαι πνοᾶς  
 Ἄρεως· βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ.  
 καὶ τῶνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ. 65  
 καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον  
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἔξω, καὶ σαφηνεία λόγου  
 εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβῆς ἔσθ.  
 ET. ὦ Ζεῦ τε καὶ Γῇ, καὶ πολιτισσοῦχοι θεοί,  
 Ἄρά τ' Ἑρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής, 70

55 The perpetual gloss γὰρ appears over δ' in rec. (See crit. n. to *Choeph.* 32 and *inf.* 113.) ἔλειπον rec. γὰρ ἔλειπον Brunck. † 58 ταγεῖσαι Robertello.

*Ant.* 243 τὰ δεινὰ γάρ τοι προστίθησ' ὀκνον πολὺν (φύλαξ loq.), *O. T.* 749 καὶ μὴν ὀκνῶ μὲν, ἂν δ' ἔρῃ μαθοῦς' ἐρῶ.

55 sq. **ἔλειπον.** λείπω frequently uses its imperf. in an aorist sense. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 16. 50 ἃ ῥα τῇ προτέρῃ ὑπέλειπον ἔδοντες, 14. 480, 15. 88, *Il.* 2. 105 Ἄτρευσ δὲ θνήσκων ἔλειπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστη, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αἶτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, 19. 288, 339, *Ag.* 611 ἐν δόμοις εὐροὶ μολῶν | οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, *Soph. Tr.* 76, *Eur. El.* 14 οὐδ' ἐν δόμοις ἔλειψ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίαν ἐπλεῖ, *Hipp.* 907, and in comedy *Antiph. ap. Ath.* 690 A πρὸς τῷ μυροπώλῃ γευόμενον κατεδίμπανον | αὐτόν. So in Latin *Cic. ap. Aul. Gell.* 15. 6 *hic situs est vitae iampridem lumina linquens.*

ὥς...ἄγοι: not a final clause, but deliberative: *Hom. Il.* 3. 316 κλήρους... πάλλον... | ὀππότερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλκεον ἔγχος.—αὐτῶν: is not unnecessary, but virtually = *ipsorum*. ἕκαστος alone might have a wider application.

57 ἀρίστους: not explicitly = τοὺς ἀρίστους, but ἀρίστους τινάς.—πόλεως: with ἐκκρίτους: cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 214 πόλεος ἐκπροκριθείς' ἐμᾶς. But the gen. rather depends on the superl. sense than on ἐκ-.

58 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι: 33 (n.). It is somewhat doubtful whether we should

read the causal middle τάγευσαι or the infin. imperative ταγεῖσαι (cf. *P. V.* 738 οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, *inf.* 75 n.). The same question arises with φράξαι (63). On the whole the admonition to the king to 'have' the thing done is the more probable.

59 ἐγγὺς γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The spy can only see this mentally (see 55), but it amounts to certainty.—ἦδη belongs to ἐγγύς.—πάνοπλος: not 'in full armour' but men 'of all arms' (= in full force).—Ἀργείων: though 28, Ἀχαιῶν. The variation is epic, but, since Adrastus is Argive and the expedition is from that centre, the word is the natural one here. Cf. 535, 560.

60 χωρεῖ κονίει: for the effective asyndeton cf. 169 αἶεν λακάζειν, 327 ἀγχι φονεύει, *Cho.* 288 κινεῖ ταρασσέει, *Pers.* 429 ἔπαιον ἐρράχιζον, *Soph. Aj.* 60, *El.* 719, *Ph.* 11, *Eur. Hec.* 1175 βάλλων ἀράσσων, *H. F.* 602.—κονίει: 'hastens.' The Homeric κονίοντες πεδίοιο (*Il.* 23. 372).—ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς κ.τ.λ. Another condensed and sustained metaphor. The foam of the wave, as the sea rises under the ἀργηστής ἄνεμος (so Verrall), flecks the water (χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς), just as here the foam of the horses flecks the land.—πεδία (like *campi*, *aquor*) is poetically applicable to either element (cf.



through fear; for I left them casting lots, how by the fall of chance each should lead his troop against the gates.

So marshal thou with speed at the outgoings of the gates men of the best, the country's choicest. For already close at hand the Argive host in full array marches and scours along, and the whitening foam beflakes the plain with drops from the deep breath of the steeds. Do thou, like trusty master of a ship, bulwark the town, before the blasts of war descend in squalls; for on the dry land roars a wave, a wave of soldiery. Do this, and seize the speediest way thereto. For me, I will go on to keep a faithful eye for the day's watch, and, warned by sure news of what passeth from without, thou shalt meet no hurt.

[SCOUT *departs* (to left).]

ET. O Zeus, and Earth, and the realm's guardian Gods; and thou Curse, the mighty Spirit of my father's vengeance;

**61** πνευμένων or πνευμάτων recc. (cf. ap. schol. Pind. *P.* 4. 398 the error Soph. *fr.* 312 ἐκπνέουσι πνευμάτων ἀπο). **63** φάρξαι Dind., and this is apparently the older form (Meisterhans<sup>2</sup> p. 145).

ἀκάριπτα *πεδία* of the sea in Eur. *Phoen.* 210).—*ἱππικῶν ἐκ πλευμένων* not only gives the usual Greek qualification, which brings the metaphor into due relation with the literal facts, but it also incidentally informs us of the numerous chariots in the Argive force (cf. *ἱππόβοτον* 'Argos'). The form *ἀργιστής* is found in Bacchyl. 5. 67.

**62** ναός: for *ἄ* cf. 42 *λοχαγέται*. Aesch. has also *ἔκατι*, *δαίος*, *δαρόν*, *γάποτος*, *ἱπποβάμων*, *ἐκατογκάρανος*, *πόρ-πασον*, *προσπορπατός*, *ποινάτωρ*, *εὐνάτωρ*, *θουατήρ*, *ἐβδομαγέτας*, *βαλός*. The present phrase is borrowed by Euripides (*Med.* 523 *ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸν οἰακοστρόφον*).

**63** sq. *φάρξαι*: see note on *τάγευσαι* (58). The middle occurs *inf.* 783. But *σὺ* with *inf.* would be sufficiently common: cf. Hom. *Od.* 13. 307 *σὺ δὲ τετλάμεναι καὶ ἀνάγκη* | ... | *μηδὲ τῷ ἐκφάσθαι*... *ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ* | *πάσχειν*, 16. 132 &c. The word is chosen as being suitable to both city and ship; cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 256 *φάρξε δέ μιν* (*sc.* the raft) *ρίπεσσι διαμπερὲς οἰσύνησιν* | *κύματος εἴλαρ ἔμεν*.

*πρὶν καταιγίσαι*... *βοᾷ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* It is the roar of the wave in the distance that announces the coming squall. For the picture cf. Hom. *Il.* 14. 394 *οὐδὲ θαλάσσης κύμα τόσον βοᾷ ποτὶ χέρσον*, | *πόντοθεν δρύνεμενον πνοῇ βόρην ἀλεγεινῇ*.—*κύμα*: a favourite similitude: cf. 80, 109, 1069, *Pers.* 89 *μεγάλῳ ρέυματι φωτῶν*, Eur. *I. T.* 1437, *Rhes.* 290 *ρέων στρατός*, Plut. *Sull.* 11. 4 *Ἀρχελάφ δικὴν ρέματος*

*φερομένῳ* (with an army). It is customary to define the metaphor by either an oxymoron adj. or a gen. (Arist. *Poet.* 21 §§ 6—8). In *πνοᾶς* 'Ἄρεως' (*i.e.* not *βορέου* or *νότου* or the like) we have the gen. alone; cf. 358 *χνοᾶς ποδῶν*. The adj. alone occurs in *P. V.* 905 *ἄρδεις ἄπυρος*, 829 *ἀκραγεῖς κύνας*, *Cho.* 491 *πτηνὸς κύων*, *fr.* 312 *ἄπτεροι πελειάδες*, *Ag.* 82 *ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον*, *inf.* 82 *ἀναυδὸς ἀγγελος*, *fr.* 150 *δελφίνορον* (read *δελφινό-χορον*) *πεδίων*, Eur. *Hipp.* 235 *ψαμάθοις ἀκυμάντοισι* (of hippodrome), *fr.* *adesp.* 142 *πλωταῖς ἀπήναισι*, Pind. *N.* 3. 79 *πύμ' ἀοίδιμον*, Arist. *Poet.* 21. 8 *φιάλη δωσος*. Here both qualifications are combined in *χερσαῖον* with *στρατοῦ*. So Chaeremon *fr.* 10 *στρατὸν ἀνθένων ἄλογον*, Pind. *O.* 6. 46 *ἀμμφεὶ ῥῷ μελισσῶν*, *N.* 8. 46 *λάβρον λίθον Μοισῶν*.

**66** *πιστόν*: not 'loyal,' but 'one who may be believed.'—*ἡμεροσκόπον*: the previous spying has been during the night (29). He will render the same service by day. (*φύλακα ἀπλῶς* of the gloss is superficial.) This statement accounts for his reappearance (356).

**70** 'Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινὺς κ.τ.λ. The Curse of Oedipus (for which see *Introd.* pp. xxvii sqq.) is a living and enduring agent identified with the avenging Power which it evokes. (Hom. *Od.* 2. 132 *μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσεται Ἐρινύς*.) So general was this identification that 'Ἀραῖ is itself sometimes another name for the Erinyes



μή μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον  
 ἐκθαμνίσητε δηάλωτον, Ἑλλάδος  
 φθόγγον χέουσαν, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους·  
 ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν  
 ζυγοῖσι δουλίοις μήποτε σχέθειν.  
 γένεσθε δ' ἀλκή· ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν·  
 πόλις γὰρ εὖ πρᾶσσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

75

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

\* \* θρέομαι φοβερά μεγάλ' ἄχη.

71 πρέμνοθεν Valckenaer. ↓. 72 δηάλωτον M. 73 γρ. καὶ ὄλβον ρέοντα καὶ δόμους schol. 75 δουλείοις M, δουλίοις Ald. ζευγλῆσι δουλείῃσι recs. σχέθειν M rightly. Editors (after Blomf.) substitute σχέθειν. ↓ μήποτ' ἐνσχεθεῖν Dind., μήποτ' ἐνσχεθῆν M. Schmidt. (Butler's *μή δότε σχέθειν* is a solecism.) 78 sqq. M prefixes *χορὸς παρθένων*, but see note on the *ὑπόθεσις*. Wecklein attempts

(*Eum.* 417), cf. *Soph. O. T.* 418 δεινό-  
 πους Ἀρά.—*μεγασθενής*: cf. 1046. A  
 frequent epithet is *πότνια*: *Eum.* 950  
 μέγα γὰρ δύναται πότνι Ἐρινός, *Soph.*  
*El.* 111 πότνι Ἀρά.

71 *μή μοι πόλιν γε κ.τ.λ.* γε be-  
 longs to the whole notion as a plea.  
 There is no such thought as '(destroy me,  
 if you will, but) do not destroy my city.'  
 Rather 'when a city is Grecian like this,  
 do not destroy it.' Greek sentiment  
 distinguishes keenly between the treat-  
 ment of *πόλις Ἑλληνική* and *πόλις βάρ-  
 βαρος*.—*πρυμνόθεν* is correct. The sense  
 of the adj. *πρυμνός* is 'at the base'  
 (*πρυμνόν* τὸ ἑσχατόν Hesych.): cf. *Hom.*  
*Il.* 12. 446 (lāas) *πρυμνός παχύς*, αὐτὰρ  
 ὑπερθεῖν | ὀξὺς ἔην, *Od.* 17. 462 βάλε δεξιὸν  
 ὦμον | *πρυμνότατον*, and *πρυμνωρεῖν*.  
 Congruity with *θάμνος* appears from *Il.*  
 12. 148 ἀγνυτον ὄλην | *πρυμνήν* ἐκτάμνου-  
 ρες (= ἐκ *ρίζων* Phot.). Sidgwick remarks  
 that *πρυμνόθεν* occurs in *Ap. Rhod.* 4.  
 1684 'and therefore probably in some  
 lost epic.' With the thought in general  
 cf. *Eur. fr.* 1109. 10 εἰ μὴ κατασκαφεῖσαν  
 ὀφιομαι πόλιν | *Πριάμουν* βία πρόρριζον  
 ἐκτετριμμένην. The idea in *ἐκθαμνίσητε*  
 is that of clearing away as thoroughly  
 as men clear the 'bush' for cultivation.

72 sq. Ἑλλάδος φθόγγον χέουσαν  
 κ.τ.λ. Our city may have been founded  
 by the Phoenician Cadmus, but its speech  
 is now Greek, and so are its homes and  
 lives. It is, however, altogether im-  
 probable that Aesch. would use the  
 present coloured phrase as the mere  
 equivalent of 'speaking Greek.' From

e.g. *Suppl.* 640 εὐκαῖα...χεούσας, *Hom.*  
*Od.* 19. 521 ἀηδὼν...χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,  
*Bacchyl.* 4. 14 ἐθέλει δὲ | γάρυν ἐκ στηθέων  
 χέων | αἰνεῖν Ἱέρωνα, it may be taken to  
 express earnest or passionate prayer.

'The voice which it now pours in prayer  
 is Greek' (not *ἄγλωσσος*, *Soph. Tr.* 1060).

καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους: 'and homes  
 with hearths' (not 'your temples,' since  
 'your' could hardly be dispensed with,  
 and the *Ara* or *Erinyes* possesses no  
 temple). The *Cadmeans* have been long  
 established, with their *ἐστίαι* and house-  
 hold gods, as part of the Greek world.  
 Though Ἑλλάδος cannot be joined in  
 grammar with the phrase, its force is felt  
 with it. [The accus. is somewhat awk-  
 ward in its distance from *ἐκθαμνίσητε*, and  
*καὶ δόμους* in its distance from *πόλιν*.  
 Except for the special appropriateness in  
*χέουσαν* we might be tempted (1) to  
 suggest Ἑλλάδος | φθόγγον τ' ἔχουσαν  
 καὶ δόμους κ.τ.λ. 'possessing the speech  
 of Greece and settled hearths in Greece.'  
 (2) We might also punctuate φθόγγον  
 χέουσαν καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους, | ἐλευθέραν  
 δὲ γῆν τε κ.τ.λ., where the clause with  
 δὲ interprets, or presents another view of,  
 what precedes (cf. 263 (n.), *Cho.* 189 (n.)),  
 'and never reduce to slavery established  
 homes, yes, a free land &c.' But we  
 should look for *μηδὲ* rather than *καὶ*.]

74 ἐλευθέραν δὲ κ.τ.λ. The sense is  
 'a land of freemen—no less than the state  
 of (great) Cadmus.' There is no anti-  
 thesis of town and country; γῆ and πόλις  
 are both comprehensive, presenting the  
 realm of the *Cadmeans* in two lights; one

destroy not, I beseech, in utter havoc, root and branch, prey to the foeman, a city whence pour accents of Hellas; destroy not hearths and homes. I pray ye constrain not a land of freedom, Cadmus' own realm, with the yoke of slavery; but be its succour. Our common cause, methinks, I plead; for a prospering land pays worship to its Gods.

[Exit ETEOCLES.]

[The scene becomes the Cadmean acropolis. Enter Chorus of women, young and old, precipitately and without processional order (from right).]

### CHORUS.

I cry with great pangs of dread. The host is let loose from

to divide vv. 78-106 between twelve choreutae. Suggested arrangements of the whole chorus occupy nine pages (49-58) of his Appendix.

78 The metre requires an addition and emendation, e.g. \* <τ' ἔτε> θρεβμεναι (τρε being lost through τρε preceding). θρεῦμαι φοβερά μεγάλα τ' recc.

as the abode of the free, the other as a state with great traditions.

75 σχέθαι: imperative. Cf. 63 (n.), Phryn. (Bekk. i. p. 4. 7) αὐτοσχεδιάζειν σὺ, ἦκειν σὺ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδίαζε σὺ, ἦκε σὺ Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα, Ar. Eccl. 1105 ὑμεῖς δ', εἴαν τι πολλὰ πολλὰκίς πάθω, | θάψαι μ', Eur. Tro. 421, Eur. fr. 362. 24. For the simple dat. ζυγοῖσι (instead of e.g. ἐν ζυγοῖσι) cf. Soph. Tr. 136 α... σέ... ἐλπίσω λέγω | τῶδ' αἰὲν ἴσχειν. The dat. is strictly instrumental, the verb meaning 'hold.' The accent is commonly altered to σχεθεῖν, and the tense is called aorist. Neil on Ar. Eq. 320 (παρασχεθεῖν) refers to Brugmann Morph. Unters. i. 78 sqq., and says 'Arcadius de accent. 155 sq. classes σχεθω with ἔθω φαθω &c.' He adds 'the forms were sometimes felt as aorist.' (So Kühner-Blass II. p. 177.) A number of instances support, though they may not prove, a present meaning: e.g. Hom. Od. 16. 430 ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἐσχεθεν ἱεμένους περ (imperf.), inf. 416 (where it is only the change to σχεθεῖν that has created the difficulty). Similarly Eur. 438 τόνδ' ἀμυνάθου φόγον (better than -θού as expressing the attempt), ibid. 566 κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου (more natural in tense than -θού).

76 ξυνά: our common cause; see 203 (n.). For the frank appeal to self-interest cf. Cho. 255 sqq.

78-104 The Parodos. The scene changes to the Acropolis. The Chorus,

consisting of women of various ages (see note to ὑπόθεσις), some of mature years (673), and some young maidens (107), comes rushing to the citadel (226), where are situated the ancient ξάνα (βρέτη, 93, 196) of the πολιοῦχοι θεοί. The women enter σποράδην and not in regular formation,—a proceeding which would be dramatically ludicrous—and their first speeches are (for the same reason) not delivered in antistrophic form. Different women reply to each other in a more natural way, and pauses must be assumed. No authoritative division of the lines between various speakers can now be made, but Wecklein's distribution of vv. 78-106 among 12 members of the Chorus is as plausible as any. The dochmiac metre is that of hurried and excited movement. Aeschylus deftly utilises his Chorus so as to describe the approach and arrival of the Argive army. The audience obtain a very vivid presentation of the scene, and the necessary interval is bridged over. That in these actions of the Chorus the poet is true to life appears from e.g. Plat. Cor. 30 ὄρωντες ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδρομαῖς γυναικῶν καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκεσίας κ.τ.λ.

78 θρέομαι κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. With the expression cf. Suppl. 118 τοιαῦτα πάθαι μέλαι θρεόμενα κ.τ.λ.—φοβερά... ἀχη=ἀχη φόβου.—μεγάλ' is not to be denied the notion of 'loud.' The whole = 'my pangs of fear find utterance in loud shrieks.'

End of  
prologos

Parados



μεθείται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών.  
 ρεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότης. 80  
 αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανείσ'  
 ἀναυδος σαφῆς ἔνμος ἄγγελος.  
 ἔλε δ' ἐμὰς <φρένας> πεδί' ὀπλόκτυψ', ὡς  
 βοὰ χρίμπεται, ποτᾶται, βρέμει δ'  
 ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου. 85  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ  
 ἰὼ θεοὶ θεαί τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν  
 (βοᾷ) τειχέων ὕπερ ἀλεύσατε.

79 M has a χ prefixed. See schol. We may also punctuate less well στρατὸς·  
 στρατόπεδον λιπών κ.τ.λ. (so Weckl.). 80 ὡδε recc. 83 sq. ἐλεδέμας

πεδιοπλοκτύπος | τί χρίμπεται βοᾷ ποτᾶται M, with ζτ in marg. ἐλεδέμας m.  
 βοᾷ m'. ὡτί or ὡσί or τ' ὡσί (for τί) recc. βοὰ recc. The first schol. implies πεδί'  
 ὀπλόκτυψ' ὡσί and βοάν. Corr. \*ed. ψ. ἔλε δέ μ' ἀσπίδων πάταγος (with lacuna)  
 Headlam. Other suggestions are εἰλε δ' ἐμὰς φρένας δέος' ὀπλων κτύπος ποτιχρίμπτε-  
 ται Dind., ἐτι δέ γὰρ ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυψ' ὡσί χρίμπει βοάν Paley (partly after Seidler)

79 μεθείται κ.τ.λ. The exact meta-  
 phor is uncertain. The next line and  
 vv. 64, 85, would suggest the opening  
 of a sluice (see note to 544). It is doubt-  
 less possible that this line is entirely  
 disconnected from the next, especially as  
 a pause would occur between sentences  
 describing stages of the enemy's progress.  
 But it is unlike Aesch. to alter the simili-  
 tude in μεθείται without further definition.  
 Hence we should hardly think of the start  
 of a chariot-race (*e carceribus emissus est*),  
 still less of 'setting a dog at the prey'  
 (Paley).

[The notion of the schol. and of some  
 editors is that the speakers φαντάζονται  
 ταῦτα, but from the Acropolis they can  
 actually see movement, and they explain  
 that they judge of the rapid and wide  
 advance by the dust.]

80 ρεῖ πολὺς: to be joined, 'flows  
 in full (broad) stream': cf. Eur. *Hipp.*  
 443, Plut. *Nic.* 9. 1, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28.  
 For the metaphor in ρεῖ cf. κύμα 64 (n.)  
 and e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 128 εἰσιδὼν | πολλῶ  
 βέμματι προσσισομένους.

πρόδρομος: not 'in headlong haste'  
 (as in 195 q.v.), but 'in advance' of the  
 main body (schol.).—ἱππότης. In epic  
 times these are charioteers, not mounted  
 men.

81 sq. αἰθερία κόνις κ.τ.λ. If these  
 words belong to the previous speaker the  
 sense is that they cannot yet see the  
 horsemen, but that there is no mistaking

the meaning of the dust. If spoken by  
 another they='yes, I believe you, for...';  
 but this is too much to ask of the passage  
 in the absence of particles.

The language is allusive and com-  
 pressed. On the surface the meaning  
 is simply 'the dust in the sky appearing  
 as a voiceless harbinger.' But κόνις (cf.  
 τρόχισ, λάτρης, ψεύδης) itself almost cer-  
 tainly bore another sense, viz. 'messenger'  
 (see Verrall, Append. II.), and αἰθερία κόνις  
 becomes similar to e.g. κύμα χερσαῖον  
 (64), 'a messenger in the air.' Verrall's  
 argument might have been strengthened  
 by quoting Ag. 499 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι  
 κάσις | πηλοῦ ξυνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε,  
 where the apparent grotesqueness of the  
 expression is removed by understanding  
 διψία κόνις 'the thirsty κόνις (messenger)',  
 to be defined by the accompanying words  
 as 'κόνις in the sense of dust.'

φανείσ' may either be joined with  
 αἰθερία ('appearing in the air') or, better,  
 (from the associations of φανῆναι with  
 messengers, e.g. Ag. 21 εὐαγγέλου φανέν-  
 τος ὀρφναίου πυρός) with what follows  
 (φανείσ'...ἄγγελος).

With ἀναυδος...ἄγγελος cf. *Suppl.* 186  
 ὀρῶ κόνιν, ἀναυδὸν ἄγγελον στρατοῦ,  
 Theogn. 549 ἄγγελος ἀφθόγγος πόλεμον  
 πολυδάκρυον ἐγείρει, | Κύρ', ἀπὸ τηλαγέος  
 φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς, *Eum.* 245 ἔπου δέ  
 μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτον φραδαῖς (blood).  
 Dust rises freely in Greece. For the  
 general picture cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 151 ὑπὸ



the camp! Yonder in a mighty flood the van of horsemen streams! I see the dust rise heavenward, and it is my warrant; dumb messenger, but clear and true.

The noise of the hoof-smitten plain confounds my sense. It draws nigh; it flies; it roars like the resistless water that smites the mountain.

Hark! hark! Ye Gods and Goddesses, fend off the on-speeding evil. A rescue for our walls!

and Ritschl), ἰδὲ δὲ Weckl. 86 sqq. ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ | θεαὶ τ' ὁρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσετε.<sup>a</sup> | βοᾷ ὑπὲρ τειχέων | ὁ κ.τ.λ. M (the superscr. a by m'). The fault is in the order. Corr. \*ed. (after rejecting βάτε πρὸς τειχέων). †. ἀλεύσετε could only be defended by making the sentence a question; but schol. recognises ἀλεύσατε. ὁρόμενον βίᾳ κακὸν ἀλεύσατε | ὑπὲρ τειχέων Passow, βοᾷ ὑπερτρέχων Bücheler. ὁρμενον (Enger) inflicts a loss upon the metre of excitement.

δὲ σφισιν ὦρτο κονίη | ἐκ πεδίου, τὴν ὦρσαν ἐρίγδουποι πόδες ἵππων, Herodian 6. 9. 3 ἀγγελλόντων τινῶν ὅτι δὴ Μαξιμῆος πρόσσαι, κόνις τε πόρρωθεν ἐγειρομένη φαίνεται, βοῆς τε ἤχος πλήθους ἐξακούεται.

σαφῆς: clear in its meaning; ἔνυμος: true in its tale. The two words are combined for emphasis of assertion. [Verrall finds in ἔνυμος the sense of etymological truth, with reference to the application of κόνις, i.e. 'κόνις which is indeed κόνις (= ἀγγελος).'] This is ingenious, and ἐτύμως or ἐτητύμως certainly sometimes refers to appropriate application of a name. But so do ἀληθῶς, ὀρθῶς &c., and it is straining the word to insist upon this sense as necessarily conveyed. See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22. 438, *Od.* 13. 232, Theoc. 15. 82, Soph. *El.* 1451. Headlam (*On Edit. Aesch.*) has pointed out the fallacy.]

83 sq. ἔλε δ' ἐμᾶς κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. There is a suggestion that conquest is already achieved, so far as their spirits are concerned (cf. ἀμαχέτου 85). The poet understands the ready despair of women. For the phrase cf. *Suppl.* 786 πατὴρ σκοπαὶ δ' ἐμ' εἶλον, and for the verb Bacchyl. 11. 85 τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξείνα τέ νιν πλάξεν μέριμνα, Hom. *Od.* 19. 471 τὴν δ' ἅμα χάσμα καὶ ἄλγος ἔλεν φρένα.

πεδί' \*ὀπλόκτυφ' would rather be expressed in English by 'the ringing of the hoofs upon the plain' (= τὸ τὰ πεδία ταῖς ὀπλαῖς κτυπεῖσθαι). Cf. 344 καρπὸς χαμάδις πεσὼν ἀλγύνει, 572 πατρίς... γαῖα... ἀλοῖσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται; (and note). The vision of the filled pedias as *sup.* 60, Hom. *Od.* 14. 267 πλήτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, and the familiar κονιόντες πεδίοιο; and the ringing

hoofs as in *Il.* 10. 535 ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει, Ar. *Eq.* 552 χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος, Xen. *Eq.* 1. 3 ὥσπερ κύβαλον ψοφεῖ ἡ κοίλη ὀπλή, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 596 quadrupedante pulcrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

[The infantry do not appear till v. 89, and the context would show that the reference is to ὀπλαὶ and not ὀπλα. Neither the beating of spears on shields (Pind. *N.* 3. 60 δορίκτυπον ἀλαλάν; cf. Ammon. Marc. 16. 12. 13) nor the clang of running hoplites (Pind. *I.* 1. 24 ἀσπίδοδούποιον ὀπλίταις δρόμοις) is in point.]

\*ὥς = ὅτι οὕτως: cf. *Eum.* 789 γένωμαι δυοῖοστα πολίταις ἀπαθον and *inf.* 562 (n.).

84 χρίμπεται, ποτᾶται: for the lively asyndeton, cf. 60 (n.).—ποτᾶται: it not only approaches; its approach is swift as flying. So of a hound Simonid. *fr.* 30. 2 ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθεμῶεν πεδίων | πέταται.—βρέμει δ': 'yes, it roars.'—δ' is not simply a connective attached to the last of three verbs.

85 ὕδατος... ὁροτύπου: a torrent turning into a cataract. That the remark of Hesych. ὁροτύπου δίκην· ὅτι οἱ Γίγαντες ἀποσπῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν κορυφὰς καὶ πέτρας ἔβαλλον belongs to some other passage is clear from our context and also from Photius' explanation of ὁροτύπος as Γίγαντας.

86 sqq. ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. Even if the camp of the enemy could be so clearly discerned, τειχέων would be an improper word for its enclosure, and an army does not climb the walls of its own camp. Obviously we cannot join ὑπὲρ τειχέων ὀρνυταὶ λαὸς in any such sense. Nor can we understand that phrase (with Verrall) as meaning that 'in the

ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-  
 τρεπῆς ἐπὶ πτόλιν διώκων. 90  
 τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει  
 θεῶν ἢ θεῶν;  
 πότε ἄρα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ποτιπέσω βρέτῃ δαιμόνων;  
 ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐδροί·  
 ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχουσθαι· τί μέλ- 95  
 λομεν ἀγάστονοι;  
 ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον;  
 πέπλων καὶ στεφέων πότε ἢ νῦν <ἄρ'> ἀμ-  
 φὶ λιτάν' ἔξομεν;

89 εὐπρεπῆς recc.

90 πτόλιν recc. διώκων del. Rothe; but whence came such

an unobvious addition?

93 πότερα M, corr. \*ed. ψ (cf. Theogn. 100 ποταμοῦ A<sup>1</sup> for ποτέ μου). <πάτρια> ποτιπέσω Volckmann (led by schol.). \* <πολιά> is

excited imagination of the speakers the enemy is already carrying the outer wall and pursuing to the citadel.' Apart from the fact that the Chorus is intended to describe the progress of the enemy, and that this language would confuse the audience, we find that the infantry is here first mentioned as perceived; in 117 the champions are approaching the gates; in 135 the actual scream of the chariots is heard; and in 144 the stones of the skirmishers are beginning to reach the battlements. The error is (as frequently in this Chorus) one of order.

βοᾷ ταχέων ὑπερ: 'with your war-cry on behalf of the walls' (or perhaps better 'from over the walls,' i.e. outwards). The βοή of the enemy is approaching; the answering βοή (= βοήθεια) of the gods should meet them. Cf. βοήν αγαθός and Συρρλ. 738 εἰ βραδύνοιμεν βοή, Ag. 1349 πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν, Ath. 178 ε καλούντων τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν πόλεμον βοήν.

89 sq. ὁ λεύκασπις κ.τ.λ. The infantry are seen. The white shields of Argos (probably adopted with allusion to ἀργός=λευκός, as the Lacedaemonians put Λ upon theirs) appear in all the three dramatists: cf. Soph. Ant. 106 τὸν λεύκασπιν Ἀργόθεν ἐκβάνα φῶτα, *ibid.* 114, Eur. Phoen. 1099 λεύκασπιν εἰσδράμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν. It is not, however, certain whether the shields were actually painted white (cf. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 25 ὅπλα ἐποιούντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύνια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο, and the Carian shields *ibid.* 3. 2. 15) or were simply of

plain bright metal. Tin is called white in Hom. Il. 11. 35; cf. *ibid.* 23. 267 λέβητα...λευκὸν ἔτ' αὐτως, 14. 185 λευκός δ' ἦν ἥλιος ὥς, and 22. 294 Δηήφοβον...λευκάσπιδα. In Verg. *Aen.* 9. 548 *parmae inglorius alba* the adj.= 'undecorated.' There is no contradiction with Bacchyl. 9. 10 φοινικασπίδες ἡμίθειοι | ... Ἀργείων κριτοί, which refers only to the chiefs, whose shields (as *inf.*) are variously adorned. Argos was famous for its shields (Pind. fr. 106 ὅπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἀργεος, ἄρμα Θηβαίων, O. 7. 83), which were circular (Verg. *Aen.* 3. 637 *Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*, said of the eye of Polyphemos).—διώκων: intrans. 'driving on'; but the sense of following up the ἱππῶται may be included.

91 sq. τίς ἄρα: this combination expresses anxiety: cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 143 τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἡ κάπνη ψοφεῖ; (with Starkie's note). The Chorus is in the same state of nervous indecision as in Ag. 1346 sqq.—θεῶν ἢ θεῶν: Hom. Il. 8. 5 κέκλυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοί, πᾶσαι τε θεαῖναι.

93 \*πότε ἄρα κ.τ.λ. The question is not 'shall I throw myself?' (πότερα= *utrum*), but 'why do I not forthwith...?': cf. 98.—ἐγὼ: i.e. my part in the matter is to pray. They adopt the recognised resource of desperation: *Eum.* 80 ἔξω παλαιὸν ἀγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας, Ar. *Eg.* 30 κράτιστα τοῖνον τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῦν | θεῶν ὄντε προσπεσείν του πρὸς βρέτας.—βρέτῃ is used only of the old ξάνα which have been longest identified with a πῶλις. The scholiast's πατρώων ξόανων seems to imply an adjective (cf.



The folk of the white shield hies and drives on against the town, dight for the fray.

Who then of Gods or Goddesses shall deliver? Who shall be our stay?

And when my part? Shall I not throw myself upon the images of the high powers?

Ah me! ye blessed ones whose seats are sure! It is the hour to cling fast to the images. Why do we tarry, lost in lament? Hear ye, or hear ye not, the clang of shields? When, if not now, shall we make busy with supplications for the robes' and garlands' sake?

perhaps as likely. ↓. M divides with βρέτη | δαιμόνων; δαιμόνων del. H. L. Ahrens. 95 sq. τί | μέλλομεν M. βρετέων δ' ἔχεσθαι τί... recc. 98 στεφένων M, στεφάνων M<sup>a</sup>. 98 sq. πότ' εἰ μὴ νῦν | ἀμφίλιταν M. ἀμφί λιτάν m'. ἀμφί λίταν' Seidler (λίταν' Hermann). For the rest, corr. \*ed. (partly from schol.). ↓.

ἀρχαῖα βρέτη 195), but πάτρια is not necessarily correct. <πολιά> would be at least as easily lost before ποτι-, and the word would have the advantage of suggesting to the Athenian audience (despite the etymological fallacy) the thought of its own Athena Polias in the Acropolis.

94 μάκαρες εὐεδροι: an exclamation of contrast. The happy and secure state of the Gods is compared with their own present misery and danger. The thought is that of Hes. Th. 118 θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλές αἰεὶ. The statues must evidently be considered as seated, i.e. as ἔδη.

95 ἀκμάζει = ὥρα ἐστί: Cho. 722. Other such impersonals are ἡβᾷ (Ag. 589 αἰὲ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρονσιν εὐ μαθεῖν), ἀρήγει (Eum. 571), ἀρμόζει (Soph. Tr. 731), κρατεῖ (Eur. Hipp. 248), ὀφείλει (Pind. N. 2. 6). A somewhat similar application of the word occurs in Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 40 οὐ γὰρ πω διαπέπρακται ἡμῖν ἃ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' αὖ τὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκμάζει ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα.

97 ἀκούετ' κ.τ.λ. Not addressed to the gods, but impatiently to each other. The schol. takes it, rather feebly, as ἀρα φανταζόμεθα ἢ ἀληθῶς ἀκούομεν;

98 sq. πέπλων καὶ στεφένων κ.τ.λ. It is surely untenable to render (1) 'when are we to make supplications with offerings of robes and wreaths?' In this sudden and urgent crisis, and amid their panic-stricken flight, the women have not provided and brought such gifts. The situation is in no way similar to that described in Hom. Il. 6. 86 sqq., where there is time for all deliberate action. Nor is it parallel to that in Soph. O. T. 911 (Iocasta loq.) δόξα μοι παρεστάθη |

ναοὺς ἰκέσθαι δαιμόνων τάδ' ἐν χερσὶν | στέφη λαβούση κάπιθυμιάματα, or Eur. Heracl. 440 ποῖ τρεψόμεσθα; τίς γὰρ ἀστεπτος θεῶν; Rather (2) 'when are we to engage in prayers by (lit. appertaining to) the robes and wreaths (which we have ere now offered)?' The gen. is made the easier by its use in e.g. Suppl. 335 (n.), Eur. Or. 669 φιλεῖν δάμαρτα πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν δοκεῖς | ταύτης ἰκνοῦμαι σ', Hes. 752 ἰκετεύω σε τῶνδε γυνάτων | καὶ σοῦ γενεῖου δεξιᾶς τ' εὐδαίμονος. The audience would immediately think of the πέπλος worked by the ἀρρηφόροι and ἐργαστῆναι and offered to Athena Polias at the Panathenaea; but the custom was widespread. Cf. CIA II. 754 ἀμπέχονον περὶ τῷ ἔδει τῷ ἀρχαίῳ and the στολισμός of Isis. On Il. 6. 86 Leaf remarks that 'the idea of propitiating deities by clothing their images with costly robes is not only one of the most natural and universal of cults, but survives in full force to the present day in many parts even of Western Europe.' He quotes Paus. 3. 16. 2 ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμόκλαις &c. The Cadmean deities are expected to remember such services: cf. Ar. Eg. 1180 καλῶς γ' ἐπόησε (sc. Athena) τοῦ πέπλου μνημένη. (The πέπλοι and στέφη were left on the ξόανα until the next ceremony.)

πότ' \*ἢ νῦν <ἀρ'> κ.τ.λ. This reading, required by the metre, is indicated by the scholion. The more idiomatic expression has been evicted by the more usual (e.g. Dem. Ol. 3. 16 ἢ πότε ἂ δεῖ πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; Ar. Vesp. 402 πότε δ', εἰ μὴ νῦν, ἐπαρήξετέ μοι;). — πότ' ἢ = πότε



κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐχ ἐνὸς δορός. 100  
 τί ῥέξεις; προδώσεις,  
 παλαίχθων Ἀρης, τὰν τεάν;  
 ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον,  
 ἔπιδ' ἔπιδε πόλιν,  
 ἂν ποτ' εὐφιλῆταν ἔθου. 105

στρ. α'.

θεοὶ πολιάοχοι πάντες ἴτε χθονός·  
 ἴδετε παρθένων  
 ἱκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.  
 κῦμα περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν  
 καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον. 110

100 πάταγον rec. 102 παλαίχθων rec. M places τὰν τεάν in the next verse. γὰν τεάν rec., while others have τὰν τεάν γὰν or τὰν γῆν τεάν, making the interpolation manifest. 103 δαῖμον M, δαῖμον m. Paley ejects the word. 103—105 Simple dochmiacs might be made with \*ὦ χρυσοπήληξ, ἐπιδ' ἐπιδε <δη> | πόλιν, τὰν ποτ' εὐφιλῆταν ἔθου. There is some suggestion of τὰν in the schol. (q.v.). 104 τὰν

πόλιν rec. 105 εὐφιλῆταν M. 106 M writes θεοὶ with v. 105. πολιάοχοι

ἄλλοτε ἢ (or πότε μᾶλλον ἢ as in Ar. *Lys.* 304): cf. Plat. *Crit.* 53 E τί ποίων ἢ εὐωχούμενος ἐν Θετταλία; Kühner-Gerth II. 304. So οὐδεὶς ἢ (Ath. 44 D &c.).—ἄρ' as in 91, 93.—ἀμφι...ἔξομεν: 'be concerned with': cf. Xen. *An.* 5. 2. 26 ὅπως οἱ πολέμοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχουεν, 6. 6. 1, 7. 2. 16, *Oec.* 6. 7. So with εἶναι *An.* 3. 5. 14 ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, and somewhat similarly Hom. *Il.* 23. 159 τάδε δ' ἀμφὶ πονησόμεθ'. [Others render strangely as ἀμφέξομεν λιτὰνὰ πέπλων 'put round them the supplications of robes.'] For λιτὰνὰ as noun cf. *Suppl.* 75 γοεδνὰ δ' ἀνθεμίζομαι. The accentuation is debated (λίτανα M in *Suppl.* 817), but the probabilities are gathered from e.g. ἐανός, ἀγανός, ἐπηγανός.

100 κτύπον δέδορκα: a substitution of αἰσθήσις ἀντ' αἰσθήσεως most often quoted, because the clearest example. The verb of seeing is somewhat freely applied in Greek: cf. Alex. *ap.* Ath. 134 A ἂν οἶνον μόνον | ὁσμὴν ἰδῶσι. Similarly *P. V.* 115 τίς ἀχὺ τίς ὁδὸς προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής; Soph. *Ph.* 216 βοᾷ τηλεπὸν ἰωάν. Smyth (*Gk. Mel. Poet.* p. 448) compares e.g. φωνὴ μέλαινα, φαεννὰς ὁπὸς (*Pind. P.* 4. 283). This use softens the zeugma in e.g. *P. V.* 21 ἵν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν | ὄψῃ, Hom. *Od.* 9. 166 Κυκλώπων δ' ἐς γαίαν ἐλεύσσομεν ἐγγυῖς ἐόντων, | καπνὸν τ' αὐτῶν τε φθογ-

γῆν.—πάταγος. The enemy is now at closer quarters; it is not merely the distant βοή that is heard. πάταγος answers to the δοῦπος ἀκόντων of Hom. *Il.* 20. 451, Callim. 1. 14. The word appears to have had a special military application: cf. *Il.* 21. 387 σὺν β' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ (in the θεομαχία), Soph. *Tr.* 517 τόδων πάταγος, *Ant.* 125 π. Ἄρεος, Eur. *Heracl.* 832 π. ἀσπίδων, and Anacreon's πατάγῳ τε κάλαητῳ.—οὐχ ἐνός: i.e. ἀλλὰ πολλῶν: cf. Hor. *O.* 4. 9. 39 consul non unius anni and see Headlam *On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 41 sqq. The expression is sometimes amplified or explained: e.g. *P. V.* 225 οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, Soph. *O. T.* 122 οὐ μὲν ῥώμη...ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν, Eur. *Med.* 948 εὐδαιμονήσει δ' οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ μυρία.

101 sq. τί ῥέξεις; A protest, not a mere question of uncertainty. The War-god seems to be helping the enemy by inspiring them. ῥέξεις thus contains the notion of a wrong, as in the Pythagorean self-catechism πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;—παλαίχθων: i.e. so long identified with Thebes. Cf. 125 (n.).

103 χρυσοπήληξ: so *Hymn. Ar.* 1 Ἄρες...χρυσοπήληξ. The helmet would be seen upon the βρέτας. All equipment of the Gods is traditionally of the metal which is most prized (*Pind. O.* 1. 1

A clang! I see it clear! The rattle of spears a many! What is thy purpose? Wilt thou betray the land which is thine own, Ares, indweller from of old? God of the golden casque, look upon the city, which once thou didst approve thy well-beloved.

Ye Gods, our country's warders, come ye all! Behold a <sup>1st</sup> suppliant troop of maids, praying against slavery. strophe.

Round our city seethes a wave, a wave of men with sidelong crests, sped on by blasts of the Wargod's breath.

χθονός \* \* \* τ' ἴτε πάντες M. The chief error is in the order. Corr. \*ed. ↓. There is no probability whatever in the arbitrary τ' ἄθροιο (Steusloff). ἴδετε πάντες Turneb. πολιοῦχοι or πολισσοῦχοι recc. πολλοχοι Dind. 109 κύμα γὰρ περὶ πτόλιν | δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει πνοαῖς | Ἄρεος κ.τ.λ. M. Corr. \*ed. (For the misplacement of γὰρ cf. Diphil. ap. Ath. 422 B ταλαιπωρότερον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι in A. B. for τ. οὐδὲν ἔστι γὰρ (V. L.), and see MSS of Ar. *Plut.* 146.) ↓. γὰρ del. Klausen. ἀνδρῶν δοχμολόφων Lowinski. δοχμολοφῶν Brunnck.

κτεάνων δὲ χρυσὸς αἰδοίεστας), most beautiful, and least susceptible to tarnishing. Cf. *Hymn. Artem.* 5 παγχρύσεια τόξα, *Hymn. Dem.* 19 χρυσεόσιν ὄχοισιν (of Pluto), *Il.* 5. 509 Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσάβρου, *Arion fr.* 2 χρυσοστρίαινε Πόσειδον, *Bacchyl.* 13. 161 χρυσάρματος Ἀθάνᾳ, *Pind. fr.* 116 χρυσαλάκατος Λατώ, *Eur. Phoen.* 1372 Παλλάδος χρυσάσπεδος (χρυσολόγγου *Ion* 9). *Helios (Hymn.)* 9 glances χρυσέης ἐκ κόρυθος. When Hesych. explains χρυσαλάκατος· καλλιτοξος (of Artemis) he is probably understating; at least some gold adornment is implied. Even mortal equipment may be of gold, or ornamented with gold, e.g. *Eur. Phoen.* 168 ὄπλοισι χρυσεόσιν ἐκπρεπῆς (Polyneices), *ibid.* 939.

105 εὐφίλιτταν ἔθου: at least from the time of the marriage of Cadmus with Harmonia, daughter of Ares. But this only indicates an older special connection of the God with Thebes. For the fem. ending in the compound cf. *Cho.* 68 παναρκέτας νόσου (n.), *Eum.* 77 περιρρύτας, *Alcaeus fr.* 33. 2 λάβαν χρυσοδέταν, *Bacchyl.* 9. 8 παύλαν ἀπράκταν.

106 sqq. *The women have taken hold of the βρέτη (of which there may be twelve (206 n.), eight being mentioned by name).* Being thus more composed and grouped, they begin a second division of the πάροδος, in which the parts are antistrophic.

107 sq. ἴδετε παρθένων. It is these words which have caused the Chorus to be wrongly described as χορὸς παρθένων (see note to the ὑπόθεσις). Here (as in 156) the παρθέναι are speaking, but it is

only the strophe which belongs to them.—*λόχον* is a figure of speech qualified both by παρθένων and ἰκέσιον: cf. κύμα χερσαίων στρατοῦ 64 (n.). The λόχοι of the men are to fight; this is to supplicate.—*δουλοσύνας ὑπέρ*: a rare use of ὑπέρ, denoting the thing to be escaped instead of the thing to be sought or protected. The nearest parallels seem to be *Soph. O. T.* 165 εἰ ποτε καὶ προτέρας ἄτας ὑπὲρ ὀρνυμένας πῶλει | ἡνύσατ' ἐκτοπῖαν φλόγα πῆματος ('in arrest of ruin,' Jebb), *ibid.* 187 ὦν ὑπὲρ... εὐώπα πέμψων ἀλκάν. Cf. *Dem. Ol.* 1. 5 οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος. *Lucian (Merc. Cond. 40)* has πολλοὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας παρελθόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμον εἰδέναι (= διὰ τὸ...). Somewhat similar is the use of εἵνεκα in *Sufrl.* 1017 μὴ πάθωμεν ὦν πολλὸς πόνος, | πολλὸς δὲ πόντος εἵνεκ' ἡρόθη δορί ('to avoid which'). For the approximation to (or interchange with) περί see Kühner-Gerth 1. pp. 487, 548. The colloquial English 'trouble over' is analogous.

109 sq. κύμα περὶ πτόλιν κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. This fine figure, with its carefully chosen terms, is another illustration of the closeness with which Aeschylus had observed the sea. As the wind of Boreas or Zephyrus (*Ag.* 696) drives along a wave, over whose dark body a white crest of foam falls aslant, when it rushes against a ship and plashes and seethes around it, so the wind (= spirit or inspiration) of the War-god drives on a wave of men with slanting crests, and



ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ <Ζεῖ>, πάτερ παντελής,  
 πάντως ἄρῃξον δαῖτων ἄλωσιν.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ πόλισμα Κάδμου  
 κυκλοῦνται, φόβος δ' ἄρῃων ὄπλων,  
 διὰ δέ τοι γενύων ἱππέων <δετοῖ>  
 κινύρονται φόνον χαλινοί.  
 ἑπτὰ δ' ἀγάνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ  
 δορυσοῖσι σάγαισι πύλαισι ἐβδόμαισι

115

\* \* \*  
 προσίστανται πάλῳ λαχόντες.

- 111** <Ζεῦ> add. Hermann. M divides after πάντως. | See antistr. v. 125.  
**113** Ἀργεῖοι δὲ M (with γάρ superscr. by m, cf. 55 c.n.). Ἀργεῖοι editors. ψ.  
**114** φόβος Wakefield. The error would be natural (cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1308 ψόφον (L), φόβον (P)), but σόβος would be as probable. ψ. κυκλοῦνται φόβοις ἀρείων Enger. ἄρῃων M, corr. Butler. ψ. **115** διαδέτοι γενύων ἱππέων M. διάδετοι ní (marg.). Corr. \*ed. ψ. ἱππίων Passow, διάδετοι δέ τοι γενύν ἱππίων Dind., διάδετοι τε δὴ γέννος ἱππίας Herm. with too much change. **116** μινύρονται L. Dind. (led by Hesych.).

this breaks and seethes round the city.—  
 ἀνδρῶν once more defines (64 n.).—δοχμο-  
 λόφων. The crest (here obviously white)  
 appears, like the white shield, to have  
 been a special fashion with the Argives:  
 cf. Soph. *Ant.* 114 λευκῆς χιόνος πτέρυγι  
 στεγανός | πολλῶν μεθ' ὀπλῶν | ξύν θ'  
 ἱπποκόμοις κορύθεσσι. It apparently does  
 not stand erect nor fall straight behind,  
 but is ἐκ πλαγίου (like the feathers of  
 bersaglieri). Otherwise we may under-  
 stand (with schol.) that they slant in the  
 movement, but the expression is rather  
 curt for the thought. [λευκολόφος (Eur.  
*Phoen.* 119), γοργολόφος (Ar. *Ach.* 567)  
 might support the δοχμολόφων (rather  
 δοχμολοφᾶν) of Brunck. But there seems  
 no reason why a form like λευκολόφος  
 should not be used of a man as well as  
 of a helmet (Ar. *Ran.* 1016 λευκολόφους  
 τρυφαλείας), and it is intended that the  
 word should be equally applicable to a  
 wave.]

καχλάζει: cf. 743—746, Eur. *Hipp.*  
 1210 κάπειτ' ἀνοιδῆσάν τε καὶ περίξ ἀφρόν |  
 πολὺν καχλάζον ποντίῳ φύσῃματι | χωρεῖ  
 πρὸς ἀκτάς.—πνοαῖς: cf. 63, but here the  
 sense of ἐπίπνοια (330) is more promi-  
 nent.

Ἄρεος, after the appeal to the friendly  
 Ares of v. 102, shows how far the word  
 has passed to the abstract (cf. 53 n.). For  
 the position of γάρ see *Cho.* 1021 (n.).  
 In comedy its place is often very much  
 later: thus *ap.* Ath. 339 b (Antiph.) ἐπὶ  
 τὸ τάρχος ἐστὶν ὠρηκνῆα γάρ, 559 E

(Menand.) νῦν ἀλήθινον | εἰς πέλαγος  
 αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων, 572 A  
 (Antiph.) 8th place. So in *Ag.* 105 we  
 should punctuate ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων ἐτι γὰρ  
 θεάθεν καταπνέει κ.τ.λ.

**111** sq. πάτερ παντελής κ.τ.λ. The  
 alliteration of π is probably purposed:  
 cf. *Suppl.* 1017 sq. (n.).—πάτερ appeals  
 to his care, παντελής to his might. The  
 sense of the latter is 'of full authority':  
 cf. τέλος (148), τέλειος (152), *Suppl.* 609  
 παντελῇ ψηφίσματα, *Ag.* 1486 Διὸς |  
 παναιτίον πανεργέτα.

**112** πάντως: not omnino, but = παντί  
 τρόπῳ (*inf.* 288), παντί σθένει (*Suppl.* 153  
 παντί δὲ σθένει...ρύσιος γενέσθω), or πάσῃ  
 μηχανῇ. So Eur. *Or.* 1299 ὦ Διὸς ἀέναον  
 κράτος | ἐλθ' ἐπίκουρος...πάντως.—ἀρῃξον =  
 arce; not a frequent use, but cf. Eur.  
*Heracl.* 840 οὐκ ἀρήξει' αἰσχύνῃν πόλει;  
*Med.* 1276 ἀρήξει φόνον...τέκνοις, *Tro.*  
 771.

**113** Ἀργεῖοι...Κάδμου: the anti-  
 thesis of foreigner and native, a con-  
 sideration involving their respective  
 deities. The implication is that (the  
 old and great) Cadmus' city should be  
 inviolate.—δε is the δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ of  
 scholiasts, and γάρ is an adscript (of m)  
 here as in 453. See *Cho.* 32 (c.n.). The  
 true way of stating the case is that the  
 connective particle is used for metrical  
 convenience where the explanatory might  
 be expected.

**114** κυκλοῦνται κ.τ.λ. A new meta-  
 phor begins, derived from hunting. The



Yet do thou, Zeus, Father whose will ends all, baulk the foeman—yea, baulk him—of his prey.

The Argives hem Cadmus' stronghold round, beaters with gear of war. Withal the bits, bound through the horses' jaws, pipe the shrill note of slaughter. And seven champions, pre-eminent of the host in spearman's harness, take stand, each at a seventh gate, as his lot fell.

φόβον recc. (cf. 124).

117 ἀγήνορες M, corr. Dind. (See editor's Appendix to

Cho. 22.) 118 δορυσσοῖς M, corr. recc. δορυσσοῖς Blomf. (M is weak in the matter of double and single letters.) The letters σαγαῖ (with the final of δορυσσοῖς) are written by m in an erasure. πύλαις ἐπὶ ἐμαῖς Enger. ↓. πύλῳν ἐξόδους Schwerdt (but the notion would rather require εἰσόδους).

119 The antistrophe implies a lacuna here, the sense being probably that given by <προδειχθέντι πάλαι>, although these words would be too prosaic. προσίσταντο (Paley) is an error. ↓.

quarry is surrounded by the beaters.—**φόβος δ' κ.τ.λ.** could hardly be meant by Aesch. in the feeble sense of 'and we are afraid of...' Rather **φόβος** (as *inf.* 373 κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον, Babr. 1. 26. 4 τῷ φόβῳ καταπλήσων of an empty sling) is the 'scare' used in hunting (cf. *formido*, although the special nature of the Latin 'scare' is not implied).—**ἀρήνων ὄπλων** is no idle periphrasis; the adj. has independent point. Το ὄπλα as instruments of peace the Chorus is accustomed; but these are the instruments of death and destruction. Moreover the ὄπλα of these beaters are not θηρατικά, but ἀρεία. For a similar point in the epithet cf. Xen. Ages. 1. 26 οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς... πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατασκευάζον, [Hom.] *Hym.* 11. 2 ἢ σὺν Ἀρηι μέλει πολεμῆμα ἔργα (viz. Athena, whose ἔργα are of two kinds). Shakespeare (*K. L.* 4. 2. 17) makes Goneril say *I must change arms at home, and give the distaff | Into my husband's hands*. For the expression itself cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 238 πολεμῆμα τεύχεα, Bacchyl. 18. 33, Hdt. 8. 37. The form ἀρήνων is epic and lyric: cf. Bacchyl. 1. 3, Eur. *Phoen.* 832, Theogn. 557 δῆνων.

115 διὰ δέ τοι κ.τ.λ. See crit. n.—**διαδέτοι γένῳν ἱππέων** makes neither metre nor satisfactory grammar, and the latter is still ignored if we emend with **διαδέτοι γένῳν ἱππίων**. Greek would require **διαδέτοι γένῳν ἱππίαις**. To make the gen. depend on **χαλινῶν** is harsh. The reading in the text implies the scansion **γενῳν** (for which see Appendix) and the open **ἱππέων** (like Ἀργείοι of 113; cf. *Suppl.* 61 Τηρεῖας, Ag. 127 Ἀτρεΐδας, Eur. *Tro.* 521 Ἀχαιοί &c.). The metaphor here has been, like so many more in Aeschylus, commonly overlooked. It is

that of v. 450 (n.), viz. of the playing of a σύριγξ or of αὐλοί, when the head is bound with the φορβειά. The bride and bit (with **φίμοι**) answer to such musical equipment; but here the players are horses (whence the point of **ἱππέων**). Plutarch (*Mor.* 456 c), speaking of Marsyas with his φορβειά and περιστόμα, quotes from an anonymous poet the words **συνήρμοσεν... | ...στόμα λάβρον ὀπισθοδέτοις ἱμάσιν**. The χαλινῶν διὰ γένῳν **δετοί** are the ὀπισθοδέτοι ἱμάντες in this instance. The tune which these strange pipes are playing is the shrill order to slay (**φόνον**). [It is highly probable that in the actual beating of hunters the σύριγξ was used, partly to increase the φόβος, partly for the working together of those concerned.]

117 sq. **ἀγάνορες**: used as a noun, unless the lost words contained e.g. **λοχαγῶν**. — **πρέποντες** (= *conspicendi*): closely with **σάγαις**. Their panoply is marked by special splendour. For this use of **πρέπων** see Cho. 12 (n.).—**στρατοῦ** accompanies the superlative force in **πρέποντες**: cf. 57. In **δορυσσοῖς** the metaph. from hunting is still maintained. The hunter has his **σάγη**; but these bear that of the warrior with his **δόρυ**, not of the hunter with his **ἄκων**. The application of **σάγη** is not necessarily military; cf. Cho. 558 **παντελῇ σάγῃ** (of a traveller). The quarry is shut in and the seven leaders come up to seven openings in the enclosure.

118 sq. **ἐβδόμας** cannot simply = **ἐπτά**. In Hom. *Il.* 8. 404 οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἑνιαυτοῦς | ἔλκε' ἀπαλθῆσθον the sense is 'each till a tenth year'; there is a **δέκατον ἔτος** in each case, and Hom. uses the plur. of the

ἀντ. α΄.

σύ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος,  
 ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ,  
 Παλλὰς. ὃ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἀναξ  
 ἰχθυβόλῳ <βαλῶν> μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν  
 ἐπίλυσιν φόβων ἐπίλυσιν δίδου.  
 σύ τ' Ἄρης, φεῦ φεῦ, πόλιν ἐπώννυμον  
 Κάδμου φύλαξον κἀδεσαί τ' ἐναργῶς.  
 καὶ Κύπρις, ἄτε γένους προμάτωρ,  
 ἄλευσον· σέθεν <μὲν> ἐξ αἵματος

120

125

121 ῥυσίπολις M, corr. recc.

122 ἵππιος | ποντομέδων M.

123 &lt;βαλῶν&gt;

add. \*ed. (see strophe v. 109). Emendations reported by Weckl. are here

peculiarly audacious (e.g. ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχὰν ἀποσώβει κέντρῳ Merkel). μαχανᾷ M.

124 φόβων M (with βον superscr. by m), φόβων recc. (cf. 45, 113). ῥ. πόνων Dind.

125 φεῦ φεῦ | ἐπώννυμον Κάδμου | πόλιν M. Κάδμου ἐπώννυμον recc. Corr. \*ed.

several cases just as with Hdt. a number of persons possess μεγάθεα or as Xenoph. (*Hell.* 3. 2. 18) speaks of τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἶδη. Here each stands at a seventh gate, and in the plural they stand 'at seventhgates.'—προσίστανται. The tense should be noted. The champions are as yet only approaching. The point of πάλῳ λαχόντες is that the approach is being made in orderly and complete fashion, for which pre-arrangement was needed. The words show that the Chorus had been informed of the news in 55 sq.

120 sq. Διογενὲς: in a special sense, since she was the child of Zeus without a mother: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 25 Διογενὲς παρθένος, *Cycl.* 350 ὦ Παλλὰς...Διογενὲς θεά, *Soph. Aj.* 91. The appeal to Zeus is followed by that to Athena in her character as a war-goddess, and especially as πολιάς or πολιοῦχος. She possessed the title and function of 'guardian of citadel' not only at Athens but in various Greek states (see Farnell *Cults* &c., 1. p. 299, Jebb on *Soph. Ph.* 134, Preller *Griech. Myth.* 4 1. 219). Cf. Pind. *O.* 5. 10 πολιάσχε Παλλὰς and the epithet ἀκραία, πυλαῖτις. Hence ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ='prove (indeed) ῥυσίπολις (according to your title).' Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 305 πότνι' Ἀθηναίη ῥυσίπολις, *Hymn. Ath.* 1 Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπολιν.—φιλόμαχον: Bacchyl. 14. 3 Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχον, Pind. *O.* 7. 43 κόρα ἐγχειβρόμῳ, *Hymn. Aphr.* 10 ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοι τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρης, | ὑσμῖναι τε μάχαι τε, Cic. *N. D.* 3. 53 *Minervam...quam principem et inventricem belli ferunt.* She

is κράτος as deciding the victory: cf. 148 πολεμύκρατον ἀγνὸν τέλος.

122 ὃ θ' ἵππιος κ.τ.λ. The mention of Poseidon next after Athena would in this connection be natural to an Athenian. The two deities were associated in the Erechtheum as joint πολιοῦχοι. At Thebes Poseidon was tutelary in a more special degree: [Hes.] *Scut.* 104 Ἐννοσίγαιος, | δε Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλιν, *Et. Mag.* p. 547 ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος (from Aristarchus). With the latter statement cf. the indications in Hom. *Il.* 2. 506, Pind. *I.* 1. 52.—ἵππιος. For the god of the sea as god of horses cf. [Hom.] *Hym.* 22. 4 διχθὰ τοι, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδᾶσαντο, | ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι σωτήρᾳ τε νηῶν, *Soph. O. C.* 713 ἀναξ Ποσειδάν, ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστήρα χαλινὸν | πρωταῖσι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγυαῖς, *Ar. Eq.* 551, *Anth. P.* 9. 90 νηῶν ὠκυπόρων δς ἔχεις κράτος ἵππιε δαίμων. In the legends he is either the creator or the tamer of horses. See Farnell *Cults* IV. pp. 14 sqq., where the theory that the title is derived from 'theriomorphic suggestion in the waves' may be supported by such facts as that at Naples the larger racing waves are styled *cavalloni*. How Poseidon Hippios might be represented trident in hand may be seen in the illustrations in Farnell *l.c.* pp. 57, 66.—ποντομέδων is suggested by the sight of the trident. Although the god is not called upon to act in his capacity of sea-lord, it is part of prayer to magnify the deity by invoking him under various titles of power and greatness. Moreover there



Do thou too, Zeus-born Might, that lovest battle, Pallas, <sup>1st anti-</sup>prove Saviour of thy town! <sup>strophe.</sup>

And thou, Lord of horses, who dost sway the deep, Poseidon, smite with thy weapon that smites the fish, and give us deliverance, deliverance from our fears.

And thou, Ares—for pity!—shield the town whose name is the name of Cadmus, and make manifest thy kinship and thy care.

And thou, Cypris, for that thou art foremother of our race, give succour. 'Tis from thy blood we are; yet with

πόλιν Κάδμου ἐπάνυμον Dind., Κάδμου πόλιν ἐπ. Bergk.

126 κήδεσαι M.

127 ἄτε M. 128 sq. σέθεν ἐξ αἵματος | γεγόναμεν· λιταῖς σε | θεοκλύτοις M. Corr. \*ed. (except for the division). σέθεν γὰρ of recc. and λιταῖσί σε of Hermann form the common reading.

is the more likelihood of addressing him by the name he prefers (cf. *seu Iane libentius audis*, and *Ag.* 170 εἰ τόδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ, | τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω). Hence the three titles here. Cf. *Hymn. Ath.* 3 παρθένον αἰδοῖν ἐρυσίπολιν ἀλκή-εσσιν, *Hymn. Ar.* 1 Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσοεπὴλῆξ, | ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασσι κ.τ.λ., *Luc. Tim.* 1.

123 ἰχθυβόλῳ...μαχανᾷ: i.e. τρίαῖν, but signifying more than that word, viz. 'smite them as men smite fish.' The trident of the sea-god is not grotesquely called his 'fish-smiting engine.' He bears the τρίαῖνα as his emblem of authority and as his weapon (*P. V.* 957 τρίαῖναν, αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος, *Hom. Il.* 12. 27), but its object with him is not τὸ βάλλειν τοὺς ἰχθῦς. Men use the trident (or three-pronged harpoon) for that purpose (*Anth. P.* 6. 38 κητοφόνον τε τρίαῖναν ἐν ὕδασι καρτερὸν ἐγχος, *Epicr. ap. Ath.* 699 ἐναλίην θηρίων βέλος, *Callim. Hymn. Del.* 15 ἰχθυβολῆς=αἰχίης). The Chorus sees the trident in the hand of the ξδανον (cf. *Suppl.* 224 ὥρ' τρίαῖναν τήνδε, σημείον θεοῦ), and, strange weapon as it seems, with the instrument or device wherewith it is customary to slay fish, they implore the god to turn it to other purpose in slaying men.

124 ἐπίλυσιν φόβων: cf. 256 λύουσα πολέμων φόβον (n.). The objection to φόβων is not to the plural, which would mean 'slaughter after slaughter' (cf. *Plut. Mor.* 577 Α πρὶν ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φόβων), but to ἐπίλυσιν with that word. The expression would be possible only if slaughter were proceeding. [Wecklein points out that repetition of the present

kind is favoured in dochmiacs: cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 836 τὸ κατὰ γᾶς θέλω τὸ κατὰ γᾶς κνέφας. The excitement implied in the metre is the excuse, and the metrical convenience is obvious.]

125 σύ τ' Ἄρης φεῦ φεῦ κ.τ.λ. The interjections are prompted by the feeling that Ares, through his old tutelary relations with Thebes and his connection with Cadmus, should be the last to help the enemy. Cadmus had married Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Hence the emphasis on Κάδμου and the use of κήδεσαι, which combines the two senses of κῆδος, viz. *cura* and *affinitas*. Aesch. is fond of playing upon this double meaning: cf. *Ag.* 702 κῆδος ὀρθώνυμον ('a κῆδος rightly named'), *Cho.* 86 (n.). Meanwhile it is not at all unlike the Greek fondness for paronomasia for κήδεσαι to glance at Κάδ-μου. The words ἐπάνυμον Κάδμου distinctly show that the town is not yet Thebes.—ἐναργῶς: as a θεὸς ἐναργής, *praesens deus*.

127 sqq. Κύπρις: following naturally upon the mention of Ares. For a war-character of Aphrodite, as the oriental *Allat* and wife of Ares, see *Farnell Cults* II. p. 635.—προμάτωρ: in so far as the race is supposed to be descended from Harmonia (στρατὸν Καδμογενῆ 289).—σέθεν \* <μέν> κ.τ.λ. is not only the easiest cure of the metre, but makes clear the thought and gives a proper value to θεοκλύτοις. 'Though of your own blood, we approach you with full sense of your godhead.'—σε: after ἀπούουσαι; cf. *Hom. Il.* 3. 477 αἶε δ' ἐταίρους, *Pind. O.* 1. 72 ἀπνεν...Εὐτρίαναν, *Eur. Hipp.* 167 τὰν δ' οὐρανίαν...αὔτευν.

αὐτῶν ἑαυτῶν

γεγόναμεν· λιταῖς <δέ> σε θεοκλύτοις  
ἀπύουσαι πελαζόμεσθα.  
καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἀνάξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ  
στρατῶ δαῖψ στόνων ἀντίτας.  
σύ τ', ὦ Λατογένει-  
α κούρα, τόξον ἐκφυκάζου.

130

στρ. β'.

ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ,  
ὄτοβον ἀρμάτων ἀμφὶ πόλιν κλύω,  
ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα·  
ἔλακον ἀξόνων βριβομένων χνόαι,  
Ἄρτεμι φίλα·  
ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ.

135

130 ἀντοῦσαι Seidler. ↓. \*ἐπαύουσαι is possible. ↓. M proceeds with the division ...ἀνάξ | ...δαῖψ | ...ὦ |. 131 λύκειος M, corr. m. 132 στόνων αὐτῶς M. I provisionally adopt Wecklein's ἀντίτας (from αὐ τίτας of M. Schmidt), but I incline to \*στρατῶ δαῖψ <γ> αὐτᾶ στόνων or αὐτᾶ στόνων στρατῶ δαῖψ. ↓. ἀλλότας Dind., αἰτίας Stanley, ἀπύα Hermann. 133 ὦ Λατωῖς Enger. τόξον \*στυκάζου M

130 ἀπύουσαι. The usual quantity is ἀπύουσαι, but the second syll. may very well be long. Moschus (2. 124) has ἡπύοντες, and (1. 98) ἀνηπύοντες, and he can hardly have lacked warrant. In *Cho.* 395 δαῖψ occurs (from *Il.* 11. 497). The quantity in ἀλύω, λύω, θύω, φύω, κωλύω, φυτεύω, μὲνύω is variable, and there seems no reason why ἀπύω should not be added to the list. The anacrustic ἀ- is of course irrational.

131 καὶ...σύ τ' κ.τ.λ. καὶ begins another appeal, to brother and sister deities, and the pair are joined by τ' of v. 133.

Λύκει' ἀνάξ. Apollo as destroyer is called by this title in *Ag.* 1256, *Suppl.* 693, *Soph. O. T.* 203. In *Soph. El.* 645 he is to champion the one cause and injure the other. For an examination of the epithet see Farnell *Cults* iv. pp. 113 sqq., and cf. Jebb on *Soph. El.* 6 τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ | ἀγορὰ Λύκειος (Append.), Leaf on *Il.* 4. 101. The origin was apparently totemistic. To the Greek mind Apollo Lyceus in equally the slayer of wolves (Plut. *Mor.* 966 A, *Anth. Pal.* 13. 22) or the king and protector of wolves (who are προσφιλεῖς to him, Plut. *Mor.* 400 A). A θεὸς ἀπολλύς is also a θεὸς σωτήριος in regard to the agencies which he controls. Artemis is not only the huntress; she is also the protectress of young animals (*Ag.* 139 sqq.). The

sender of plagues and the averter of plagues is the same ἐκήβολος. Hence Λύκειος may protect from wolves or, as here, act the wolf.—Λύκειος γενοῦ: 'prove (indeed) Wolf,' cf. 121 (n.), 9 (n.). Apollo is to put on that avatar or answer to that title, which may be chosen according to the principle stated in Plut. *Mor.* 385 B Πύθιος μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπιννθάνεσθαι· Δῆλιος δὲ καὶ Φαναῖος οἷς ἥδη τι δηλοῦται κ.τ.λ., but which is more probably suggested by some actual appearance with the ξδανον (cf. the coin from Tarsus with wolves standing by an effigy of Apollo, *Hell. Journ.* 1898, p. 171).

[Wolves were common in ancient Greece (cf. Paus. 9. 13. 4).]

132 στόνων ἀντίτας. See crit. n. The emendation of Wecklein is not convincing, but is perhaps the best offered. Grammatically στόνων αὐτῶς is quite possible as gen. of price or equivalence. The construction is more frequent than is commonly supposed. See *Cho.* 145 (n.) and add to the examples there Eur. *Med.* 534 μείζω γε μέντοι τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας | εἰληφας ἢ δέδωκας, *Rhes.* 467 τοιαῦτα μὲν σοι τῆς μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας | πράξει παρέξω, Neophron *fr.* 3. 3 τοῖα σε μοῖρα σὼν κακῶν ἔργων μένει, *Soph. Tr.* 287 εὐτ' ἂν ἀγνὰ θύματα | ῥέξη πατρώψ Ζηνὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως, Eur. *Ion* 1359 sq., Herond. 4. 25 ἔλκωσεν | ...τοῖσδε...καλῶν ἔργων. A schol.



prayers that men make to Gods we cry upon thee and draw nigh.

Thou too, Wolf-king, prove wolf indeed to the foeman's host and pay back groan for groan.

And do thou, Leto's virgin child, unsheath thy bow.

Ah! the ringing of chariots—I hear it round our town! <sup>2nd</sup>  
O Hera Queen! The loud note from the naves of the heavy-<sup>strophe.</sup>  
laden axles! O Artemis benign!

(apparently), *ἐντυκάζου* m, *εὐ πικάζου* recce. Corr. \*ed. ↓. *εὐτυκάζου* L. Dind. (from Hesych.), *εὐ τυκάζου* Hartung (from Hesych. *τυχάζεσθαι*· *στοχάζεσθαι*). For *στ* confused with *π* in minuscules cf. Theogn. 584 *ἐξοστήσω* A (for -οπ-), and *Ag.* 152, where we should read *φάσματα*· *ἀπορθούν* for *φάσματα στρουθῶν*. M adds *Ἄρτεμι φίλα* (from v. 138), which Seidler removed. **136** *πότνια* M. *ἤρη* M<sup>a</sup>, *ἤρα* M.

seems, from his *ἀνθ'* ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνηόμεν, to have construed the words thus. Yet, apart from the metrical difficulty, it is hard, if not impossible, to supply *ἡμετέρων*. The metre might be cured by a transposition (cf. 87, 106, 109) and particle, viz. *στρατῷ δαῖψ γ' ἀντὰς στόνων*, γ' having the force of a plea (with the adj.), i.e. 'the *στρατός* of the Argives is an army of your foes.' The vagueness, however, remains, and it would be more satisfactory to read *στρατῷ δαῖψ γ' ἀντὰ στόνων* 'with shrieks and groans.'

With *ἀντίτας* there is not merely a notion of 'avenging,' but of paying back like for like. The *στόνοι* of the Cadmean women are to be requited with *στόνοι* from the enemy, caused by the *βέλεα* *στονέοντα* (*Il.* 8. 159) of the god (cf. *Il.* 15. 451 *πολύστονος* *Ιός*, *Theoc.* 25. 213 *ὁν ἐχέστονον*). For the application of *στόνος* cf. *Il.* 19. 214 *φόνος τε καὶ αἶμα καὶ ἀργαλέος στόνος ἀνδρῶν*, 4. 445.

**133** sq. *σύ τ', ὦ κ.τ.λ.* See crit. n. The *τόξον* is present with the *ξόανον*. —\**ἐκτυκάζου*: take from the bow-case (*γωρυτός*). Cf. *Hom. Od.* 11: *βοῦ γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων*, 21. 54 *αἰνυτο τόξον* | *αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ, ὅς οἱ περικεῖτο φαεινός*. As the same case also held arrows (see illust. in *Dict. Ant.* 1. 171 A) both bow and arrows are here intended. The notion is thus that of *Anth. P.* 13. 12 *οὐ σοι φάρετρη λυβεται λυκοκτόνος*. L. Dindorf's *εὐτυκάζου* is taken from Hesych. *εὐτυκάζου*· *εὐτυκον ἔχε, ἐτοίμον*. But the *στ* (which often = π) of M, and the tokens from schol. and recce. point to π rather than τ. For the sense cf. *πικάζω*.

**134** sqq. *ἔξ κ.τ.λ.* A new section, with further description of the course of events. The cries *ὦ πότνι*· *Ἥρα* and the

like may come as interjections from other members of the chorus than those singing the rest of the lines.—*πότνι*· *Ἥρα*. This goddess is not addressed as *φίλη*, but with a term of respect only. Hera was commonly considered inimical to Thebes (as in the sending of the Sphinx and in the matters of Semele and Dionysus, Alcmena and Heracles). Her sympathies are naturally with her own special city of Argos (*Hom. Il.* 4. 50 *ἣ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φιλάται εἰσι πόλεις*, | *Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρύγυνια Μυκῆνη*). Nevertheless, as one of the *πανήγυρις* (206) of greater gods, she is among the *βρέτη*, and Ion of Chios mentions her temple at Thebes (Sallustius Arg. to *Soph. Ant.*).

**137** *βριθομένων*: with the weight of the men in heavy armour, a fighting man (*παραβότης*) and a charioteer (*ἡνίοχος*). Cf. *Hom. Il.* 5. 838 *μέγα δ' ἐβραχε φήγιμος ἄξων* | *βριθοσύνη* (when Athena mounts beside Diomedes), *Hymn. Ar.* 1 *Ἄρες...βρισάρματε*.

*χνόαι* are variously interpreted as (1) the nave or box, (2) the end of the axle moving in the box. See Jebb on *Soph. El.* 745 *ἔθρανσε δ' ἄξονος μέσας χνόας*. It was natural that there should be some vacillation between meanings so close. Here it is the nave, regarded as a pipe. In [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 309 *ἐπὶ δὲ πλήμναι μέγ' αὐτεν* it is the naves that scream. The actual pipe of the nave was called *σύριγξ* (*Suppl.* 187 *σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι*), and in view of the use of *δοξον* (applied to a *σύριγξ* or *αὐλός*) and *ἑλακον*, and of the similar terms in 186 sqq. (where see the note), it is clear that there is an allusion to such musical instruments.

δορυτίνακτος αἰθήρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται.

140

τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει; τί γενήσεται;

ποῖ δὲ τί τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;

ἀντ. β'.

ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ,

ἄκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται,

ᾧ φίλ' Ἀπολλων.

145

κόναβος ἐν πύλαις χαλκοδέτων σακέων.

καὶ Διόθεν <ᾧ>

πολεμόκραντον ἄγνόν τέλος, ἐν μάχαι-

σί τε μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα ὑπὲρ πόλεως,

ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος ἐπυρρύνου.

150

**140** δορυτίνακτος recc. δ' αἰθήρ M, corr. Herm. (cf. *Suppl.* 925 κάρβανος δ' ὦν for ὦν δ'). δ' om. rec. **142** ποῖ δ' ἔτι M. Corr. \*ed. ψ. ποῖ δὲ τὸ Blomf.

**144** ἐπάλξει Heimsöeth. ἐπάλξει would be an obvious conjecture, but is needless. ψ. **147** καὶ Διόθεν | M. '<ᾧ>' Lowinski. καὶ might be a corruption of ἦκε (imperat.). καὶ <σὺ> or καὶ <τὸ> G. C. W. Schneider, Διόθεν <ᾧ>

**140** αἰθήρ ἐπιμαίνεται. A vivid expression. The air 'maddens' with the brandishing of spears. The notion of the riot of a place filled (and over-filled) with movement appears in Soph. *Aj.* 143 ἵππομανῇ λειμῶνα (= λειμ. δὲ μαίνεται ἵπποις Jebb, who quotes ὕλομανεῖν, φυλλομανεῖν). The air can hardly hold the hurtling spears: cf. the curious expression in Plut. *Sull.* 16. 2 τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ αἶθήρ. So *insf.* 952 μαίνεται γόοις φρήν. But here there is the further picture of the emotional participation of nature or inanimate surroundings in an action. This notion (which would appear very modern) is not rare in ancient literature: see Sikes-Allen on *Hymn. Apoll.* 118 μεῖδῃσε δὲ γαῖα ὑπερθεν and quotations. So Aesch. (*fr. Lycurg.*) ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη (at the appearance of Dionysus) and Eur. *Bacch.* 726 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος (on the boldness of which Longinus comments, c. 15). Homer (*Il.* 13. 339) has a boldness of another, but a cognate, kind in ἐφρίξεν δὲ μάχη φθισίμβροτος ἐγχείησιν. For the participation of the air in particular cf. *Suppl.* 615 χειρὶ δεξιωνόμοις | ἐφρίξεν αἰθήρ τόνδε κραυόντων λόγον, Eur. *Ion* 1078 καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ, Ap. Rhod. 2. 569 πάντῃ δὲ περὶ μέγας ἐβρεμεν αἰθήρ (round the Symplegades),

Shak. *Henry V.*, *Prol.* 13 *the very casques | That did affright the air at Agincourt.* [There may be some notion of τινάσσειν as used of the θόρσος in a Maenad-procession. Here the mad revelling is that of the spear, cf. 485.] The force of ἐπι- is 'withal,' not 'above us.' For the later position of δ' cf. *Cho.* 517 τὰ δῶρα μείω δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας and note, where add Alex. *ap. Ath.* 28 F δὲ ἂν εἰς ἑτέραν ληφθῇ δ' ἀποστέλλων πόλιν as corrected by Porson from δὲ δ' ἂν... of MSS.

**142** ποῖ \*δὲ τί κ.τ.λ. There is no value in ἔτι of MSS. The double question is a common idiom. Hom. *Od.* 14. 187 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; Bacchyl. 18. 31 τίνα δ' ἔμμεν πόθεν ἄνδρα τοῦτον | λέγει; 5. 86, Soph. *Ant.* 401, Eur. *I. T.* 1360 τίνας τίς ὦν; *Rhes.* 702, Eubul. *ap. Ath.* 25 C ἰχθύν δ' Ὀμηρος ἐσθλόν' εἶρηκε ποῦ | τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν;

**144** ἄκροβόλων κ.τ.λ. The advance has come close. The part. gen. with ἔρχεται as with ἐφικνείται and in general with verbs of hitting, missing, touching &c. This is less bold than that in e.g. Eur. *Phoen.* 451 τόνδ' εἰσεδέξω τειχέων, Soph. *Aj.* 1274 ἐρέων... ἐγκεκλημένους.— ἄκροβόλων (which is more probably passive, 'smitten along their tops') might be separated from ἐπάλξεων ('the stoning of the skirmishers'), but we cannot say



The air, hurtling with spears, maddens withal. How goes it with our city? What is to be? Whither and what the issue that Heaven brings on?

Ah! the rain of stones reaches our battlements and smites<sup>2nd anti-</sup> their tops. Apollo our friend! In the gateways is the clash of<sup>strophe.</sup> bronze-bound shields.

And thou, whom Zeus hath made a Power inviolate to decide war's issue, Onca, Queen blest in battle, who standest above our town, deliver thy seven-gated habitation.

Prien. παῖ Διὸς ὄθεν von den Bergh.

148 sq. ἐν μάχῃ, σύ τε Hermann. ψ.

149 πρὸ πόλεως M, corr. Hermann, partly from gloss in rec. ἡ ἐπάνω τῆς πόλεως ἱστορουμένη (ιδρυμένη?). The quantity of the final in Ὀγκα is uncertain. If short,

\*Ὀγκα πρὸ πόλεως <ω> is possible.

150 ἐπιρροῦ M, ἐπιρρου m.

λιθὰς ἐπάλξεω ('their stoning of the ramparts'), since λιθὰς can hardly possess so distinct a verbal sense. For the thought itself cf. Hom. *Il.* 9. 573 τῶν δὲ τάχ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ὄμαδος καὶ δούπος ὀρώρει | πύργων βαλλομένων, Caes. *B. G.* 2. 6 *undique lapides in murum iaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est*, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 22.

146 κónαβος κ.τ.λ. The κónαβος is not τυμπάνων χαλκοδέτων (cf. 137 n.), but σακίων.—χαλκοδέτων: see 43 (n.). The shield of hide is rimmed and barred with bronze.

147 sqq. Διόθεν...τέλος κ.τ.λ. Onca is the 'holy war-deciding authority by will of Zeus' (cf. Lamprocles fr. Παλλάδα περισέπτολιν κλήϊω πολεμαδόκου ἄγνάν | παῖδα Διός). The expression is, however, more highly charged. ἄγνόν combines the notions of (1) the inviolable authority, (2) the virginity of Onca (= Athena): τέλος is (1) one in authority (cf. 120 κράτος, *Chō.* 172 (n.), *Suppl.* 534 τέλεων τελειότατον κράτος, and τὰ τέλη), (2) the 'end' or 'issue' in war: Διόθεν not only states the source of the authority (cf. 311 θεόθεν n.) but alludes to the parentage of Athena (120). There is thus a complete coalescence of 'inviolable end to war by appointment of Zeus' with 'pure power, deciding war, born of Zeus'.—πολεμό-κραντων: active, cf. *Chō.* 859 κοπάνων ἀνδροδαίκτων, *Pers.* 106 πολέμους πυργοδαίκτους.

In ἐν μάχαισί τε κ.τ.λ. the τε is exegetic: 'yea, Queen blessed (*i.e.* successful, *felix*) in battles.' In ἀνασσ'

there is the notion of 'leader' (cf. ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων) beyond the mere title. It is not unlike Greek poetry for the assonance in μάχαισί...μάκαιρ' to be deliberate in suggestion.

149 sq. Ὀγκα. That this (or Ὀγγα) was the name of a Phoenician goddess is scarcely open to doubt. Pausanias (9. 12. 2), as an argument that Cadmus came from Phoenicia and not from Egypt, uses this fact of the local name 'of Athena,' ὅτι Ὀγγα κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάις κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Such a statement could hardly have been penned at that date, when Phoenician was a living language, if it had been without foundation. The tradition also is constant: cf. Steph. Byz. Ὀγκαίαι· πύλαι Θηβῶν...Ὀγκα γὰρ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ Φοίνικας. Two scholia make the same assertion here. The identification with Athena is of course due to the similarity of functions or character between the Hellenic and the Phoenician goddess. Scepticism as to extensive 'Phoenician' settlement in primitive Greece is now upon the wane. See *Introd.* § 2 and *inf.* 474.

ὑπὲρ πόλεως: see crit. n. The expression would recall to the audience the Athenian goddess who χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἐχει (200 sq. n.).—ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος. The whole city is regarded as a seat or shrine of the goddess, but ἔδος alone would have meant literally her temple. Hence the qualifying ἐπτάπυλον (v. 64), which not only thus defines, but implies the size and importance of the city which is hers.

στρ. γ'.

ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί· ἰὼ τέλει-  
οι τέλειαι τε γὰς  
τᾶσδέ γε πυργοφύλακες,  
πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'  
<ὡδ' > ἑτερόφρονι στρατῷ.  
κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως  
χειροτόνους λιτάς.

155

ἀντ. γ'.

ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες, λυτήριοι  
ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν  
δείξα<τέ> θ' ὡς φιλοπόλεις,  
μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερῶν δαμίων,  
μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε  
φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὀργίων  
μνύστορες ἔστε μοι.

160

151 m writes λ over ρ in παναρκεῖς.

τέλειαι τε γὰς.

152 M divides ...θεοί· | ἰὼ τέλειοι

153 τᾶσδέ γε M, τᾶσδε recc. (and editors generally).

154 δορίπονον recc.

155 ἑτεροφῶνι στρατῷ M. Corr. \*ed. †. ἑτεροθρῶ

Headlam. I had previously thought of ἑτεροθρῶ <κρατεῖν> στρατῷ. ἑτεροφύλῳ Pauw. [The confusion of -φρων and -φων- is frequent: cf. *Synchr.* 625 πρόφρων ὦν (M) for προφρωνῶν, *Soph. O. T.* 72 φρονῶν (V.) for φωνῶν, *Aj.* 1230 (variants ἐφρόνεις, ἐφώνεις). Here also Par. C gives ἑτεροφῶνι and Par. A γρ. ἑτεροφρόνι

151 sq. ἰὼ κ.τ.λ. Here the παρθένοι take up their part (156).—παναρκεῖς = ('able to meet all needs' i.e.) 'all-sufficing aid.'—τέλειοι: 'of full authority': cf. τέλος 147 (n.), *Ag.* 963 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον, 964 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει, *Cho.* 659 τελεσφόρος. Mankind are of less avail, and their aid of less warrant.

153 γὰς τᾶσδέ γε κ.τ.λ. γε is *patheticum*. The word is not at all likely to have been interpolated. Its point is that their duty *here* is plain; it is to defend *this* land, whatever may be their function elsewhere.

154 sq. δορίπονον: either = δορίπονον οὔσαν, 'now that it is amid toil of battle,' or proleptic 'betray it to suffer with the spear.' The latter appears preferable. The thought in προδῶθ' is more than that of mere abandoning; with πυργοφύλακες it alludes to the crime of προδοσία. A military crime specially banned was that of betraying a φρούριον: *Lys.* 31. 28 εἰ

μὲν τις φρούριον τι προδιδωκεν ἢ ναῦν...ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀν' ζημίαις ἐξημιούτο, *Ar. Ran.* 362, *Lycurg. c. Leoc.* 155. 59, *Poll.* 8. 52. —\* <ὡδ' >: A natural assumption of terror and despair.—\* ἑτερόφρονι: i.e. ἑτερα φρονούντι (and not τὰ ὑμῶν). The appeal is based on the self-interest of the Gods (cf. 77, 161 n., 203). The invaders are of a 'different party' as regards the Gods whom they specially worship as tutelary, cf. 537 ὦν φρονούσι (n.). ἑτεροφῶνι cannot be brought into the metre, nor is it sufficiently effective in sense. The difference of dialect is but little in point. It is true that the various parts of Greece fully recognised their differences in pronunciation, accent, and vocabulary: cf. *Sol. fr.* 32 (25). 10 γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν | ἰέντας (of exiled Athenians), *Soph. fr.* 178 χαρακτήρ Ἀδκωνος λόγου, *Cho.* 56 ἀμφω δὲ φωνὴν οἴσομεν Παρηγησίδα | γλώσσης ἀντήν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω, and the examples in *Aristoph. Lys., Ach. &c.* Doubtless also such difference would



Hark, O ye Gods perfect in might! Ye Gods and Goddesses, <sup>3rd</sup> absolute powers, tower-warders of this land, betray not thus our <sup>strophe.</sup> city in the toil of battle to a host of alien mind. Hark to maidens, righteously hark, when they stretch out their hands in supplication.

O deities benign, bestride the city for its rescue, and show it <sup>3rd anti-</sup> your loyal love. Bethink ye of a people's offerings, and when <sup>strophe.</sup> ye think, deliver!

Be mindful, I beseech, of the realm's holy rites and zealous sacrifices.

(sic). For ὦδ' lost after -ὦθ- see 27 (c.n.).]

**156** sq. **παρθένων**: 107 (n.).—**πανδίκως**: not merely = πάντως or παντέλως, but 'as all right demands.' The δίκη (= recognised obligation) in the case is clear. See 657 (n.), *Cho.* 677 (n.).

**160** δείξαθ' ὥς M. Corr. \*ed. The error is of a common type (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 316 λαμπάθ' R for λαμπάδα θ'). **φιλοπόλεις** M (which may possibly be right; see Appendix to v. 115). **φιλοπόλεις** Wunderlich. **161** μέλεσθε δ' M, corr. recc. **δημίον** M. **162** δ' εἴρατε Prien, δ' ἄρατε Lowinski. **163** πόλεως M, corr. Porson. **164** μνήστορες M.

imply a different preference of deities, but it is the latter notion which should have the prominence.

**156** sq. **παρθένων**: 107 (n.).—**πανδίκως**: not merely = πάντως or παντέλως, but 'as all right demands.' The δίκη (= recognised obligation) in the case is clear. See 657 (n.), *Cho.* 677 (n.).

**χειροτόνους**: panoramic. The whole = κλύετε παρθένων χεῖρας ἀνατεινουσῶν καὶ λισσομένων. The attitude was especially that of women (*P. V.* 1037 γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάσμασιν χερῶν), and belonged to supplication in its most earnest and piteous form.

**158** λυτήριοι: either generic title (= ἀλεξητήριοι), or (better) proleptic with ἀμφιβάντες (for which cf. Hom. *II.* 1. 37 ὅς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας, the notion being originally that of standing astride over a fallen friend, as in *II.* 14. 277 &c.).

**160** φιλοπόλεις: 'patriotic.' Greek has no objection whatever to the repetition in πόλιν—πόλεις. See note on *Cho.* 51 and add *inf.* 574 sq., *Ag.* 14 sq., 350 sq., 372—374, *Eur. I. T.* 336 sq., *I. A.* 99 sq., *Hymn. Herm.* 352 sq., *H. Apoll.* 351 (173) sq., *H. Demet.* 171 sq., *fr. trag. adesp.* 166. 1—3. See also Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 554, *O. T.* 517. The form **φιλοπόλεις** may be right (115 *Append.*), especially as lyrics appear to have affected it (*Pind. P.* 2. 1, 7. 1 μεγαλοπόλεις).

**161** sq. **μέλεσθέ \*θ' κ.τ.λ.** The change of δ' to θ' (the pronunciation being very close (27 c. n.)) would not be necessitated by the previous θ' (160) alone, since τε is occasionally answered by δέ (Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 143, *O. C.* 432). But if θ'...δ'...δ' were written, the two latter particles would become coordinate as against the first, whereas the sense demands that the first two particles should answer to each other while the third is subordinate.—**μέλεσθε...μελόμενοι δ' κ.τ.λ.** For this use of the participle repeating and emphasizing the verb cf. *Eur. H. F.* 33 κτείνει Κρέοντα καὶ κτανῶν ἄρχει χθονός, *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 232 ἰσχει ἀνάγκη | μίμνειν καὶ μίμνοντα κακῇ ἐν γαστέρι θέσθαι. The notion is 'bethink yourselves of them, and let that thought lead you to help.'—**μέλεσθε**: to be distinguished from μέμνησθε. The care is not for past sacrifices but for those to come. For the principle of *do ut des* (Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* p. 3) cf. 76, *Cho.* 126 (n.), *ibid.* 255 τοῦσδ' ἀποφθείρας πόθεν | ἔξεις ὁμοίας χειρὸς εὐθανον γέρας;

**163** φιλοθύτων: **φιλο-** denotes zeal and is therefore more expressive than πολυ-. Cf. *Cho.* 292 φιλοσπνδνδου λιβός, *Anth. P.* 7. 22 φιλορρώξ ἀμπελος.—While **ιερά δῆμα** are simply offerings, **δργίων** refers to festivals accompanied by sacrifices.

ἀρωγός ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

ὕμᾱς ἐρωτῶ, θρέμματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά,  
ἥ ταυτ' ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια  
στρατῶ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ,  
βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολισσούχων θεῶν  
αὔειν λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα;  
μήτ' ἐν κακοῖσι μήτ' ἐν εὖεστοῖ φίλη  
ξύνοικος εἶην τῷ γυναικείῳ γένει·  
κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος,  
δείσασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλεον κακόν.  
καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρόμους φυγὰς

165

170

166 ἀρεστὰ Dind., ἀρωγὰ Weil. ↓.

167 πυργηρουμένῳ(ι) M, -ένη M<sup>a</sup>.

-ένη Verrall (-ένων, might also be suggested).

168 πολλισσούχων M<sup>a</sup>.

165 sqq. Eteocles has given general instructions in making his dispositions for the defence of the town. Hearing the tumult of the women he seeks them out upon the citadel and reproaches them in great anger. His speech bears an appropriate tone of the colloquial, and is true to life with a measure of that grammatical laxity which belongs to excitement. (See 172, 180.) Cf. the Nurse's speech in *Cho.* 730 sqq. (n.), and that of the Herald in *Ag.* 556—574.

165 ὕμᾱς. The pronoun is in the emphatic position of indignation, impatience or scorn. Cf. *P. V.* 976 σὲ τὸν σοφιστήν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον, Eur. *Med.* 271.—θρέμματ': contemptuous, as in Soph. *El.* 622 ὦ θρέμμ' ἀναιδές, Eur. *Andr.* 261.

166 ἦ. As the schol. observes, this might be either a question or a sarcastic statement. With the latter cf. 567 ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές (n.). Here, however, ἐρωτῶ leaves little choice.—ἄριστα is explained by the καὶ-clause, of which τε introduces a second part. 'Is this best? Is it (I mean) a help to the country and an assurance to our soldiers?' [καὶ...τε are of course not coordinate.]

167 στρατῶ: either (1) 'our fighting men' or (2) 'our people' (=λαῶ). The latter use (cf. *exercitus*) is not rare: *Eum.* 569 κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου (the Athenians in general), Pind. *P.* 2. 87 νόμα δίκαιῳ πηδαλιῷ στρατῶν, *N.* 1. 61, *O.* 10 (11). 17, Bacchyl. 15. 43 δεξιόστρατον εἰς ἀγοράν (=Simon. 91. 10 δημοδόκον), Soph. *El.* 749 στρατὸς

δ' ὅπως ὁρᾷ νιν ἐκπεπτωκότα (the spectators at the games). In Pind. *P.* 2. 87 ὁ λάβρος στρατὸς is opposed to οἱ σοφοί. A doubt arises *inf.* 289. Here the former interpretation is the more in point.

πυργηρουμένῳ: an obvious correction of πυργηρουμένη (M<sup>a</sup>). It does not, however, appear why the corruption occurred. πυργηρουμένης (sc. τῆς πόλεως) is possible as gen. abs. Verrall reads πυργηρουμένη, taking it, rather harshly, as referring to πόλει, the intervening words being ignored in the construction.

168 βρέτη...πρὸς κ.τ.λ. For the position of the prepos. cf. *P. V.* 680 βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός, Simon. *fr.* 146. 10 ἄρμασιν ἐν χαρίτων, Pind. *fr.* 218 πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου, Bacchyl. 4. 6 ἀρετῇ σὺν ἵππων, Eur. *Or.* 94 βοῦλη τάφον μοι πρὸς κασιγνήτης μολεῖν; Soph. *O.C.* 126. More peculiar is *Hygini. Apoll.* 165 ἰληκοὶ μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν.

Eteocles does not mean that these are not the proper deities to supplicate, but that supplication made in this manner should be a last resort (cf. 93, 95). They should put more quiet confidence in their πολισσούχοι.

169 αὔειν λακάζειν: the asyndeton as in v. 60 (n.). αὔειν is onomatopoeic from αὔ (the howl of a dog). Cf. αἰάζειν, ἰάζειν, μύζειν, φεύζειν, ᾄζειν (=στενάζειν, Hesych.), εἰάζειν (=εἰα ἐπικελεύειν *id.*), γρόζειν, βαβάζειν.—σωφρόνων μισήματα might be vocative: cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 235 ὦ πέποιες, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, Soph. *Ph.* 991 ὦ μῖσος, *El.* 289 ὦ δύσθεον μίσημα, *inf.* 640.



ETEOCLES (*entering in anger*).

You I ask, creatures intolerable! Is this for the best to save the town? Doth it give courage to our beleaguered army, to cast yourselves upon the images of the country's guardian Gods and howl and shriek, and make sober folk abhor you?

Neither amid troubles nor when prosperity is kind may I be housed with your breed of women. Let her prevail, and she is bold past sufferance; but let fear seize her, and she makes the trouble worse for house or realm. So is it now. By these wild flyings to and fro ye have made weakness and faint-

**171** φύλῳ (or φίλῳ) for γένει recc. τῷ γυναικείῳ φυτῷ Herm., πῶ γυναικεῖα φύτλῃ Heimsoeth. **172** Schol. may have had ὁμιλητή.

In *Eum.* 73 the Furies are μύσηματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων. It is, however, more probably accus. in apposition to the verbal noun implied. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 44 ἡ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπὸρρητον πόλει; *Bacchyl.* 9. 13 τὸν...πέφνε...δράκων...|σάμα μέλλοντος φόνου. Their screams are a μύσημα to sober minds.

**170** εὖεστοί φύλῃ. The adj. signifies 'prosperity as we would have it,' 'as it likes us.' So *Ag.* 920.

**171** ξύνουκος: not necessarily in marriage, but more comprehensively. In point of fact Eteocles is unmarried (813 n.). —τῷ: contemptuous: cf. τὰ σήματα 385 (n.). So taken, the article seems preferable to τῷ, although the latter would stand with the sense 'any woman creature' (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 784 ὦ δατα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος).

**172** κρατούσα: sc. ἡ γυνή, a natural laxity after γυναικείῳ γένει. Cf. *Luc. Dial. Mort.* 15. 2 τὸ δύστηνον ἐκείνο δοξάριον προετίμων τοῦ βλου, νῦν δὲ συνήμι ἤδη, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀνωφελής (sc. ἡ φαύλη δόξα=δοξάριον), *Vit. Auct.* 14 οἰκτῖρω σφέας (sc. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, although what actually precedes is τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρήγματα). κρατούσα is at first sight a peculiar antithesis to δέισασα, but the real opposition of the latter is with θράσος: 'when she has her way she is insufferably bold, but when she is alarmed...' For the terms of the antithesis in general cf. *Xen. Cyr.* 5. 2. 33 οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ φρόνημα παρέχονται· ὅταν δὲ δέλωσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ὡσι, τοσοῦτ' αὖ μείζω...τὸν φόβον κέκτρηται; and for the depreciation of woman in a house *Semonid. fr.* 7 (8). 96 sqq.

οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος: 'she is so bold

a thing that there is no living with her,' i.e. she dares to do things which men, accustomed to ὁμιλία, would not think of doing. Cf. *Eur. fr.* 276 τὰ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν θράσος ὑπερβάλαιτό τις. In women this quality was a special reproach; *Eur. Heracl.* 474 θράσος μοι μηδὲν ἐξέδοις ἐμαῖς|προσθήγε. For θράσος=a bold person cf. *Ag.* 794 θράσος ἐκούσιον, *Eur. Andr.* 261 ὦ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος and see 148 τέλος (n.).

**173** δέισασα δ' κ.τ.λ. It is very weak to understand this as 'but when affrighted, she is a greater trouble to house and country (than when she is bold)'; moreover ἐτι πλέον would be required. Rather 'she is to house and country an addition of trouble (to that which it already has).' If matters are bad she makes them worse, as in the present instance. This meaning has been overlooked, the common interpretation being 'she is a trouble to a house and greater (still) to a country.'

The antithesis of house and πόλις appears also in *Eur. fr.* 219 τὸ δ' ἐκλαοῦν...|κακὸν δ' ὁμιλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλει, 239 οὐτ' οἶκον οὔτε πόλιν ἀνορθώσειεν ἂν (sc. ἀνανδρία).

**174** sq. καὶ νῦν: a case in point: cf. 21.—πολίταις: dependent on διε-ροθήσας κ.τ.λ.—θεῖσαι: not 'having caused' (which is untrue) but=φυγὰς ποιησάμενοι=φυγεῖν. This use of the active cannot be denied: cf. *Eur. Med.* 914 ὑμῖν πατήρ|πολλὴν ἔθηκε σὺν θεοῖς προμηθεῖαν, *Rhes.* 827 μή μοι κότον, ὦ ἄνα, θῆς, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 708 ἄμφω ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι θέσαν γόνον. With διεροθήσας cf. v. 7 πολυρρόβους.—ἀψυχον κάκην is no pleonasm, since there are other special forms of κάκη.

θείσαι διερροθήσατ' ἄψυχον κάκην, 175  
 τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ' ὡς ἄριστ' ὀφέλλεται,  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνδοθεν πορθούμεθα.  
 τοιαῦτά τᾶν γυναιξὶ συνναίων ἔχοις. 177A  
 κεῖ μὴ τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,  
 ἀνὴρ γυνὴ τε χῶτι τῶν μεταίχμιον,  
 ψῆφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλευέσεται, 180  
 λευστήρα δῆμου δ' οὐ τι μὴ φύγη μόρον.  
 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω,  
 τάξωθεν· ἐνδον δ' οὔσα μὴ βλάβην τίθει.  
 ἦκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἦκουσας, ἢ κωφῇ λέγω;

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεισ' ἀκού- 185  
 σασα τὸν ἀρματοκτυπον

176 ὀφέλλετε recc. 177 ὑπ' αὐτῶν rec. ↓. 177A The verse is absent from M, but appears in recc. (with τ' ἂν, γ' ἂν, or ἂν, corrected by Blomf.). τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἐν Wellauer. It may be an adscript quotation, but ↓. 178 M has τῆς above the

177 ὑπ' αὐτῶν (of rec.) is probably preferable to ὑφ' αὐτῶν. See *Cho.* 110 (n.), where the point is discussed, and add *Ag.* 1135 ἀμφὶ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς | νόμον ἀνομον (M).

177A τοιαῦτά τᾶν κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. Though the line may be an adscript expressing some early reader's approval of the sentiments of Eteocles, it may possibly have fallen out of M through the somewhat similar combinations of letters in αὐτοὶ and τοιαῦτα at the beginning of their respective lines. In any case it is a natural summary of irritation, assisted in tone by the colloquial second person, and is sufficiently Aeschylean in style.

178 κεῖ κ.τ.λ. καὶ belongs to the rapid thinking of excitement. '(I am resolved to stop this) and so, if...'—τῆς ἐμῆς: always more emphatic in tragedy than the simple ἐμῆς (*Cho.* 14, 17, 89 &c.); 'I am the person to direct.'

179 ἀνὴρ γυνὴ τε: 'be it man or woman.' Cf. *Cho.* 659 ἐξελθέτω τις δωμάτων τελεσφόρος, | γυνὴ τ' ἐπαρχος ἀνδρα τ' εὐπρεπέστερον, *Suppl.* 385 δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε, *inf.* 414; but the absence of τε after ἀνὴρ here gives more point to the notion that not even a woman will be spared. For τῶν=τούτων cf. *Ag.* 7, *Eum.* 137.

χῶτι τῶν μεταίχμιον is simply the comprehensive language, disregarding logic, of an angry man. Somewhat similar is

*Soph. El.* 305 τὰς οὔσας τέ μου | καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἐλπιδας διέφθορον (*Plut. Mor.* 228 D γυναικὶς ἢ παιδὸς ἢ τινος παραπλησίον ἀνθρώπου is of course more directly intelligible). There is no need to force a definite meaning on μεταίχμιον, e.g. (1) sarcastically, a creature who is neither to be called man nor woman, or (2) one who is only partly on the way towards man or woman (i.e. persons of either sex not yet adult). The latter is possible in itself, since with words of the character of μεταξύ one *terminus* may be unexpressed (e.g. *Eur. Hec.* 436 ὅσον χρόνον ξίφους | βαίνω μεταξὺ καὶ πυρᾶς Ἀχιλλέως = 'before I reach the sword and pyre'), but it would be distinctly far-fetched.—ἀνὴρ γυνὴ τε is comprehensive of the sexes as in *Hdt.* 2. 61 συμφοιτέωσι δέ, ὅτε ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ ἔστι, πλὴν παιδίων.—With χῶτι τῶν cf. *fr.* 70 Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

180 ψῆφος...βουλευέσεται: a forcible expression and quite sound. The emphasis lies on ὀλεθρία: 'it is the ψῆφος of death which shall decide their case.' In other words, there will be no deliberating about it at all; the (immediate) award of death will be the only deliberation it will receive. 'Obey me or die. There will be no trial and putting of pebbles into urns; the only pebbles will be the pebbles of stoning.' There is a grim play upon the ψῆφος of the courts and



heart surge through our citizens. Ye go the best of ways to advance the foe without, for our rout and fall are from ourselves within. Such portion may you expect from dwelling where women are.

Well, if one will not hearken to my authority—man, woman, anything betwixt—it is a deadly pebble that shall decide their case; for he dies, by sure, by stoning of the people. Business abroad is for a man; let woman not seek her say. Be you indoors, where you can made no hindrance. Hear ye, or hear ye not, or am I speaking to the deaf?

CHO. Dear son of Oedipus, my dread came when I heard <sup>1st</sup> strophe.

line. **180** διοίsetai Herwerden (Hesych. διοίsetai· διακριθήsetai). I formerly suggested *βεβλήsetai*, but  $\psi$ . **181**  $\eta$  of φύγη is in an erasure. **186** τὸν M, τῶν M<sup>a</sup>. Perhaps (for metre) we should read \*ἀρματοδόπου. For a similar confusion cf. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 43 βαρυκτύπου (A) for -γδούπου (cett.).

ψήφος as λίθος. For the very frequent omission of *μόνον*—its place being supplied by position and intonation—cf. 690 (n.), 719.

The regular procedure (Eur. *Or.* 49 διοίseti ψήφον· Ἀργείων πόλις | εἰ χρή θανείν νῶ λευσίμῳ πετρώματι, *ibid.* 440 ψήφος καθ' ἡμῶν οίsetai) is to be replaced by one much more summary.

κατ' αὐτῶν: loosely after *τις*, cf. 172. Though the βούλευσις will go against them, and κατ' would be required in that sense, it should be observed that βουλεύsetai κατ' αὐτῶν can be used in good Greek in the neutral sense of *περί αὐτῶν* (even *ἐπαινος* κατά *τινος* being possible), and, apart from *ὀλεθρία*, the sense is simply 'shall consider their case.' This imparts much more grim life to the expression than if we were compelled to render 'shall decide against them.'

**181** λευστήρα δήμου δ': explaining the previous line. The addition of δῆμον emphasises the punishment. It will not be one inflicted merely by me, but one accompanied by the public execration due to manifest public wrong, *e.g.* προδοσία. Cf. *Ag.* 1615 οὐ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα | δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς, and for the expression generally *Soph. Ant.* 36 φόνον προκείσθαι δημόλευστον ἐν πόλει, Eur. *Ion* 1222 Δελφῶν δ' ἀνακτες ὤρισαν πετρορριφεῖ | θανείν ἐμὴν δέσποιναν οὐ ψήφῳ μῶ.

**182** μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κ.τ.λ.: a commonplace; cf. *Hom. Il.* 6. 490 ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε | ... πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσι μέλησει, *Od.* 21. 350, *Ar. Lys.* 520 (quoting Homer), Eur.

*Supp.* 40 πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων | γυναίξιν πράσσειν εἰκός, αἵτινες σοφαί.

**183** τᾶξωθεν: in a general sense, things outside the house, as opposed to domestic matters; not the present affairs of the enemy outside the walls.—ἐνδον κ.τ.λ.: Eur. *Tro.* 643 (γυναίξιν) αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐφέλκεται | κακῶς ἀκούειν, ἥτις οὐκ ἐνδον μένει, Eur. *fr.* 521.—βλάβην = 'hindrance,' from the earlier sense of βλάπτειν (*Ag.* 123 &c.).

**184** ἡ κωφὴ λέγω; cf. *Cho.* 880 κωφοῖς αὐτῶ καὶ καθεύδουσιν μάτην | ἀκραν-τα βάζω;

**185** sq. The Chorus pleads uncontrollable alarm, due to the novel and appalling sounds. *ἴδισα* takes up *δεί-σασα* (173). Aeschylus understood the psychological fact (*Plut. Mor.* 666 D) that *μεγίστας* οἱ διὰ ψόφον θόρυβοι καὶ φόβοι *ταραχὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν*.—*φίλον Οιδίπου τέκος* is an appeal combining loyal affection with respect (cf. 664).

**186—191** The language throughout this highly figurative passage is carefully chosen so as to combine the double senses of a series of words. A term commonly applicable in one sense is qualified by an adjective (on the principle illustrated at v. 64) so as to adapt it to another (cf. 135—137). Each of these requires a consideration which has apparently not been given by commentators.—*ἀρματοκτύπον ὄτοπον* is an *ὄτοπος* not of the customary nature (from a flute or pipe), but from a chariot-wheel. It is indeed produced by *σύριγγες*, but *σύριγγες ἐλ-τροχοι*, the pipes of the axle-hub. There is a ringing of *πηδάλια*, but *πηδάλων*

ὄτοβον, ὅτε τε σύ-  
ριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἐλίτροχοι,  
ἵππικῶν τ' αὐόπνων ἵππικῶν τ' αὐόπνων  
πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα  
πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν. χαλινῶν

190

ET. τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ 'ς πρῶραν φυγὼν  
πρύμνηθεν ἤρεν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας,  
νεὸς καμούσης ποντίῳ <τι> κύματι;

187 ὄτοβον ὄτοβον rec. ὅτε M, corr. rec. ψ. 188 m' writes δι' over the beginning of ἐκλαγξαν. ὀλοίτροχοι rec. 189 αὐόπνων M. Corr. Verrall (though not in his text). ψ. ἄπνων Lachmann, ἄπυν (or ἄιον) Paley. 190 διὰ στόμα Lachm., διὰ στόματα E. A. I. Ahrens; but neither metre nor sense require the change. ψ. 191 πυριγενετᾶν Dind. from a gloss in Hesych. ψ. χαλινῶν M<sup>a</sup> through echo of -ᾶν. 192 τί δ' οὖν or πῶς οὖν Blomf. ψ. ἄρα γ' εἰς

ἵππικῶν, which steer, not as do the πηδάλια of a ship, but διὰ στόμα.

186 sqq. τὸν: the art. is demonstrative (as always in lyrics). So 277, 293, 707, 720 &c.—ἀρματοόκτυπον: 'sounded by a chariot.' κτύπος is quite appropriate to a musical instrument: cf. Bacchyl. fr. 46 (13). 11 σαλπύγγων κτύπος, Eur. αὐλῶν κτύπος.—ὄτοβον: an appropriate word of the αὐλός or σύριγξ: cf. P.V. 596 ὄτοβεί δόναξ.

The construction is most simply taken as ἀκούσασα τὸν ἄρμ. ὄτοβον...πηδαλίων τε, the clause ὅτε τε...ἐλίτροχοι being exegetic of ἄρμ. ὄτοβον: lit. 'when I heard the note sounded by the chariot—yes, when the pipes screamed—and (when I heard) the steering gear &c.' The change from accus. to gen. is correct, since ὄτοβον is a sound and πηδαλίων an instrument. [Less simply we might make πηδαλίων depend on ὄτοβον, with ὅτε τε κ.τ.λ. answering to πηδαλίων τε...; but the latter ὄτοβος is scarcely ἀρματοόκτυπος.]

σύριγγες: defined by ἐλίτροχοι (cf. 64). They are σύριγγες with a difference, viz. in the sense of ἡ ὀπή τοῦ τροχοῦ (schol. on Soph. El. 716). Cf. Συρρί. 187 σύριγγες ἄξονήλατοι, Eur. I. A. 230 σύριγγας ἀρματελούς.—ἐλίτροχοι (cf. 129 θεοκλύτοις)='which whirl the wheels.'

189 sq. ἵππικῶν τ' αὐόπνων κ.τ.λ. Verrall's αὐόπνων, though not inserted in his text, is exactly the right word for both sense and metre. The conjecture is happier than he appears to have seen, when the whole passage is treated as double in meaning. Of the bits as un-

couth musical instruments it is suited to the harsh sound: cf. Hom. II. 12. 160 κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αὖτον αὐτευν, ibid. 13 καρφαλίων ἀνσεν and Latin aridus. Of the breathing of the horses it suits the notion of hotness. αὐόπνους is thus the contrary of e.g. ἀδυννύω φωνᾷ (Pind. I. 2. 25). For bits as αὐλοί see 450 (n.) and Pollux quoted there.—ἵππικῶν again defines: 'not of ships, but of steeds.' The metaphor is not merely from the fact that a rudder guides, but there is a picture of the reins (acting like our steering-ropes) to be pulled on either side. In the Greek ship there are two πηδάλια so worked. The comparison of horses and ships is frequent: cf. Pind. P. 14. 17 sq., Bacchyl. 5. 47 κυβερνήταν (of steeds), Pseudo-Plut. de vit. et poes. Hom. § 20 (from some unknown source) φθέγγατο δ' ἡνίοχος νηὸς κυανοπρώροιο.—διὰ στόμα: still expressing the differential. In a ship the steering would not be through the στόμα, which is the 'front' (cf. the στόμα of an army)=πρῶρα.

191 πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν: unlike the χαλινοί, or steering-tackle, of a ship, these are of iron. For χαλινοί of a ship cf. Plut. Mor. 767 E (quoting) πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἅμα. Doubtless in a ship the χαλινοί and πηδάλια 'sang.' In the case of the horses we are here to think, not of the reins, but of the actual metal bit (cf. Soph. O. C. 1067 πᾶς γὰρ ἀστράπτει χαλινός). Editors should not have changed the word to πυριβρεμετᾶν. It is true that Hesych. has πυριβρεμέτας ὁ χαλινός. Τιμαχίδας (the writer of glosses) δέ, ἥτοι ὁ πύρι βρέμων ἢ διὰ πυρός βρέμων.



the chariots' ringing note—the ringing when the pipes shrieked in the whirling wheels—and the harsh-tuned gear that steers in the horses' mouths, the fire-begotten bit.

ET. What then? Doth the seaman by fleeing from poop to prow find means to save himself when the ship meets labour in a heavy sea?

recc. *πρώραν* M. 193 *εὔρεν* M, *εὔρε* m'. 194 *ποντίω* \* \* *ματι* M with *ἐν κύ* (m) in the erasure. *πρὸς κύματι* recc. I have made the simplest correction (↓). *κυκήματι* M. Schmidt, *προσκλύσματι* Lowinski, *σαλεύματι* Wecklein. Other words of a similar form which might be suggested are *προσκρούματι*, *κυλίματι*, *πέσματι* and (less plausible) *σποδήματι*, *τι πήματι*. I now regard *σὺν τραύματι* (*Class. Rev.* 111. p. 103) as inappropriate (↓), and should reject *νοσήματι* for the same reason.

*τος γεγονώς*. But the form in which Hesych. quotes shows that he is not referring to the present passage. As applied to iron the notion is frequent. Cf. 925 *ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς* | ... *σίδαρος*, Eur. *Hipp.* 1223 *αἰ δ' ἔνδακούσαι στόμια πυριγενῇ γνάθοις*. In Eur. *Or.* 820 *πυριγενεῖ τέμνειν παλάμη* the Schol. explains by *ἀπηνεῖ*, a connotation which is perhaps present here also. The thought that iron is made by fire is due to the manner of producing and working it from the ore. Moreover the fact that it can become red-hot suggested that it was itself fire condensed. Such a suggestion would be helped by the mystery of meteoric iron, which was probably the oldest form in which the metal was known. Similarly Dionysus was said by some to be *πυριγενής* because vines sprang from volcanic soil (Strabo 13. 4. 11). In epic times the wonder of iron was still fresh. We may be satisfied (for Aesch.) to understand the word as meaning 'produced by the agency of fire.' Cf. Ath. 468 *ἔτινές δὲ ἀπύρωτον φιάλην τὸ κέρας*· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται διὰ πυρός. So an earthenware vessel is *πυρόκτιτος* (Timoth. *ap.* Ath. 455 F). Critias (*ap.* Ath. 28 C) has *γαλας τε καμίνου τ' ἐκγονον ἦρε* | ... *κέραμον*. For the form *πυριγενέτης* cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 296 *Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης*, Timoth. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 177 B *γρηγενέταν ἀργυρον*.

192 *τί οὖν*; The final semi-vowels *ι* and *υ* were naturally capable of pronunciation with an 'on-glide' before a vowel, i.e. *τί ἰ οὖν*, *εὔ ὤ οἶσθα*. (Hence in much of the later prose observation will show that hiatus is only allowed after *-ι* and *-υ*, where in reality it is no hiatus at all.) In tragedy we have *τί οὖν*; here and *inf.* 691, *Suppl.* 310, *Entm.* 903, Soph. *Ph.* 100, *Aj.* 873; *τί ἔστιν*; Soph. *Ph.* 733; *τί εἶπας*; *Tr.*

1203; *εὔ τ' ἔσθ'* O.T. 959, Eur. *fr.* 946. It will be observed that the following vowel is (in tragedy) always in a long syllable (Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poets* p. 296).

*ἐς πρώραν*. Paley says 'to the gods there.' But the gods were in the stern (Eur. *I. A.* 209), and supplication to them is made from the *πρύμνα*: cf. *Hymn. Diosc.* 8 *οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν | εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο* | ... *ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια πάντες | πρύμνης*. The thought is simply that of aimless running from the post of direction (*πρύμνηθεν*: cf. 2 n.; Hdt. 1. 24) and leaving the ship to look after itself.

193 *ἦρεν*: the active is used not only for 'found,' but for 'got.' Cf. Soph. *El.* 1305 *μέγ' εὐρεῖν κέρδος*, Pind. *P.* 2. 64 *δόξαν εὐρεῖν*, Eur. *I. A.* 1026, *Heracl.* 303, *O.* 7. 89, *I.* 7. 4. *So ἔπραξε* (*P.* 2. 40, *I.* 4. 8), *δρέπειν* (*S.* 1. 48), *κομίζειν* (Soph. *O. C.* 6, 1411), *φέρω* (*O. T.* 590, 764).

194 *καμούσης*: not 'has given in,' since Eteocles would not acknowledge that parallel, but gnomic (with *ἦρεν*).—*ποντίω* \* *τι κύματι*. See crit. n.—*ποντίω κύματι* = *πόντῳ κυμαίνοντι*: cf. 677 *κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ* = 'Cocytus at flood,' Eur. *Suppl.* 473 *κυμάτων ἄτερ πῶλον* | *σὴν ναυστολήσεις* = 'without a swollen sea.' The large number of possible verbals in *-μα* makes certainty of restoration impossible. The reading offered in the text is not merely technically the easiest, in view of the variants *ἐν κύματι* (n.), *πρὸς κύματι* (recc.), which indicate that *κύματι* is correct and that some loss had occurred before it; but also *τι* adds that touch of depreciation of the danger which Eteocles would naturally impart. The ship of the state merely *κάμνει* *τι*. [*πρὸς κύματι* (recc.) is possible in itself: cf. *P. V.* 911 *θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παλινσ' εἰκῇ | στυγνῆς*

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ- 195  
 χαῖα βρέτη πίσυνος θεοῖς,  
 νιφάδος ὅτ' ὀλοᾶς  
 νειφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις·  
 δὴ τότε ἤρθην φόβῳ  
 πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως 200  
 ἔν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

ΕΤ. πύργον στέγειν εὔχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.  
 οὐκ οὖν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν; ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως ἐκλιπεῖν λόγος.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν 205  
 ἄδε πανάγυρις, μῆδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'

195 sq. ἦλθον | ἀρχαῖα βρέτη M.

196 θεοῖσι πίσυνος Seidler, but the metrical

flaw may be in v. 186 (c.n.).

198 νειφομένης M. The older editions (unaware of Ablaut-relations) naturally write νειφομένας.

200 πόλεως Wellauer, πόλει Bothe.

203 sq. οὐκ οὖν M, οὐκοῦν m'. m' assigns οὐκοῦν...θεῶν to the chorus

πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης. Other restorations might introduce various notions. (a) σὺν χεῖματι (cf. Plat. *Cor.* 31 καθάπερ ἐν χεῖματι πολλῷ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς πόλεως) might be suggested, but ποντίῳ is then somewhat idle. (b) A word expressive of the shaking or rolling of a ship would be possible, though nearer than Wecklein's σαλεύματι would be κυλίματι (cf. Theogn. 619 πόλλ' ἐν ἀμχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι and context, *Oracl. ap. Plut. Mor.* 399c φθισίβροτον τ' ἐπὶ κύμα κυλινδομένου πολέμοιο). (c) The notion might be of shock or collision, whether with waves or reef or enemy (e.g. Pind. *O.* 12. 11 ἀναραῖς ἀντικύρσαντες ζάλαις). In this sense προσκρούματι would be very close to the reading of recs. (d) It might be of the striking of 'a sea' which threatens to swamp (Plut. *Mor.* 206D συγκλυζόμενου τοῦ πλοίου), and for this, since Eteocles would only acknowledge the blow and not the taking on board, we might have προσκλύματι. But the reading given above is preferable.]

The simile itself is of the commonest: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 859 ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κέλευθ'... | δὸρὸς Δαναϊδῶν, Soph. *Ant.* 162, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 246, 322, and see *inf.* 743 sqq.

195 sq. ἀλλ'... The point of the

reply is 'Nay, I came to the gods because I trusted in them.'—πρόδρομος: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 107 φνγάδα πρόδρομον ('in headlong haste' Jebb). The sense of προ- is 'forward,' not 'before.' Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 297 πότνια, μόλε πρόδρομος, and προσφυεῖν. In *Suppl.* 352 ἱκέτιν φνγάδα περίδρομον we have a different picture. Here there is a destination.—ἀρχαῖα: and therefore with more claim to their protection.—θεοῖς: stressed. That the power lies with the gods is insisted upon throughout: cf. 205, 212, 219.

197 sq. νιφάδος...ὀλοᾶς. Once more the adj. defines (64, 188). The simile is expressed in full in Hom. *Il.* 12. 278—289 τῶν δ', ὥς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμνείαι | ἡματι χειμερίῳ... | ὥς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωσσε λθοι πατῶντο θαμνείαι... τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὑπερ πάντων δούπος ὀρώρει; cf. *ibid.* 156, Eur. *Andr.* 1129 πυκνῇ δὲ νιφάδι παντόθεν σποδούμενος (of stones), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 84. 3 ἄκοντες ἰσάριθμός τε χαλάζη | χειμάς, Verg. *Aen.* 12. 284 ferreus...imber.

νειφομένας: not νειφούσης, since Zeus νείφει (Weckl.).

199 δὴ τότε': epic, and occasionally lyric, e.g. Pind. *fr.* 65. 3 (Bgg.). Here, however, the sense of δὴ is rather more prominent 'naturally, then...'—ἤρθην:



CHO. Nay, when to the ancient images of the high powers I came in headlong haste, 'twas trusting in the Gods, at the rattle of the deadly sleet that was snowing in the gates. Yes, dread stirred me then to turn to the blessed ones in prayer, that they might hold protection o'er the town.

ET. Pray that the wall hold firm against the foeman's thrust. Will that not be in the Gods' behalf? 'Tis said, Gods of a taken town quit their abode.

CHO. Never in days of mine may these assembled Gods so and strophe,

and the rest (with ἀντιλαβή unexampled for Aeschylus) to Eteocles. Misconception of the sense has produced numerous alterations. The only error of M is in the absence of the question mark (*Class. Rev.* 111. p. 103). 204 πόλεως M, corr. recce. ἐκλείπειν M, ἐκλιπεῖν M<sup>a</sup>. 205 ἐμὴν recce. (ἐμὴν is possible, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1488 σκοτίαν αἰώνα, Pind. *P.* 4. 186). λείποι M, corr. recce.

of various forms of excitement, cf. Soph. *O. T.* 914 αἶρε θυμὸν Οἰδίου... | λύπαισι.

200 sq. πόλεως: their motive was patriotic.—ὑπερέχουεν: the expression is taken from the holding of a protecting shield. The usual phrase has χεῖρα for ἀλκάν: cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 249 ὅφρα ἴδῃτ' αἶ κ' ὕμνον ὑπέρσχη χεῖρα Κρονίων, 24. 374, Theogn. 757 Ζεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλῃος ὑπερέχει...χεῖρα. So at Athens Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἔχει (Solon 2 (13). 4).

202 πύργον στέγειν κ.τ.λ. There is no depreciation of the Gods in this. Eteocles means that this is the right and practical form of prayer. It is also one which it will be to the interest of the Gods to grant. For this insistence on πύργου see *Introd.* § 18. In δόρυ there is doubtless a play upon the sense of 'ship' (*Suppl.* 141 δόρος ἄλα στέγων δόρος, Bacchyl. 17. 90 ἴστο δ' ὠκύπομπον δόρυ, Eur. *Cycl.* 19 ἀνεμοῖς ἐμπνεύσας δόρι). The city has been repeatedly regarded as a ship, and the attack of the enemy is their ἐμβολή: hence στέγειν. The parallel meanings are (1) 'withstand the spear' (cf. Thuc. 4. 34 ὅτε γὰρ οἱ πῆλοι ἐστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα, Ar. *Vesp.* 1295 τὰς πληγὰς στέγειν), (2) 'prove water-tight against the (charging) ship.'

203 sq. οὐκ οὖν τάδ' ἔσται κ.τ.λ. See *crit. n.* 'Will not this be to the interest of the Gods?' Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 57 πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης, Soph. *O. T.* 1434 πρὸς σοῦ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ, φράσω. The sense proceeds with 'At any rate the saying goes &c.'—ἐκλείπειν:

gnomic. He does not use the stronger ἐκπεσεῖν, which would be offensive to deity. For the notion of the migration of the Gods in such cases cf. *Hdt.* 8. 41 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπύνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, Eur. *Tro.* 25 λείπω τὸ κλεῦδον Ἴλιον βωμοῦς τ' ἐμοῦς | ἐρημία γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακῇ, | ροσσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 351 *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | di, quibus imperium hoc steterat*, Linn. 5. 21 sq., Tac. *H.* 5. 13 *audita maior humana vox, excedere deos* (at Jerusalem). The schol. refers also to the Ζωανηφόροι of Sophocles.—ἐκλείπειν, like other verbs of abandoning, requires no object. Cf. *Cho.* 168 οἱ τοὶ προδώσει Λοξίον μεγασθενῆς | χρησμός, Eur. 64, *Suppl.* 525 ἀλλ' οὔτι δαρὸν χρόνον ἐρημώσει πατήρ, Eur. *Hel.* 595 οἱ φίλτατοι λείπουνσι.

206 πανάγυρις. The word expresses the number and strength of the Gods represented. That all these should depart is too terrible a thought. That there is a 'full assemblage' of the greater Gods is shown by the previous invocation of Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo and Artemis (111—150). If others in the (varying) list of the Pantheon were present, their omission from the invocation would be explained by the natural absence of warlike emblems from their βρέτη. A similar grouping of images appears in the *Supplices* (where cf. 228 πάντων δ' ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κενουβισμῶν).

—ἐπιβουίη: 'live to see.'

ἄστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν καὶ στράτευμ'  
ἄπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ.

ET. μή μοι θεοὺς καλοῦσα βουλευέου κακῶς·  
Πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς Εὐπραξίας  
μήτηρ, γυνὴ Σωτήρος· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

210

ἀντ. β. XO. ἔστι· θεοῦ δ' ἔτ' ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα·  
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσι παναμάχανον  
κάκ χαλεπᾶς δύας ὑπερθ' ὀμμάτων  
— κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὁδοῖ.— ορῶσι

215

207 στ of στράτευμ' is in an erasure.

207 sq. στρατοῦ δαπτομέναν πυρὶ δαΐφ Prien. Schol. has γρ. τυφόμενον. Other corrections of the text assume ὁρθοῖ of v. 215 to be correct. 211 γύναι rec. γυνῆς σωτήρος Hermann. 4. ὀνησιδωρος Heimsöeth.

212 m writes αἰσ over θεοῦ. Marcellinus (*Vit. Thuc.* § 5) quotes with θεοῦ. θεοὺς δέ γ' Blomf. The punctuation of M is perhaps preferable to ἐστι θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. 213 ἐν κακοῖσι τὰν ἀμήχανον M. Marcellinus (*l.c.*) also has τὰν. τὸν Canter (from schol.).

207 sq. ἄστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν. A πόλις ('realm') is wider than its ἄστυ. A πόλις may be overrun in its surrounding country, but it is only in extremes that its ἄστυ is in the hands of the enemy.—καὶ στράτευμ' ἄπτόμενον: sc. αὐτῆς (or, more closely to the sense, τοῦ ἄστυος). There is no difficulty in rendering 'and an army (*i.e.* a foreign enemy, under orders and in concert) laying hands upon it with foeman's fire.' ['Setting ablaze' would of course require ἄπτον.] There are other sorts and occasions of fire, but here it is the fire of a στράτευμα and intended for nothing else but to create destruction.—ἄπτόμενον possibly contains the same notion of 'attacking' as in Pind. *N.* 8. 22 ἄπτεται (sc. φθόνος) ἐσλῶν ἀέλ, a sense derived from the grip of wrestling.—πυρὶ δαΐφ: the epic phrase, but not necessarily with the adj. understood in precisely the epic sense, which is that of 'burning' (*e.g.* *Il.* 6. 331, 2. 415 πρῆσαι δὲ πυρὸς δηλοῖο θύρετρα, and so apparently Alcman *fr.* 51 χεῖμα πῦρ τε δάιον). For Attic of the 5th cent. the meaning 'cruel' or 'hostile' (*infensus*) was the more recognised: cf. *Cho.* 428 (n.). The common element of sense is destructiveness. For δάιος=πολέμιος note the equivalence of *e.g.* *Eur. fr.* 360. 23 πόλιν τε πολεμία κατεῖχε φλόξ with *e.g.* *Hel.* 196 Ἴδιον κατασκαφᾶν | πυρὶ μέλουσιν δαΐφ. The picture of devastation by fire recurs *inf.* 329.

209 βουλευέου κακῶς: the emphatic words. The sense almost amounts to 'Heaven helps those who help themselves.' Demosthenes (*Aristocr.* § 113) describes as the two blessings τὸ εὐτυχεῖν and τὸ καλῶς βουλευέσθαι: cf. the version of Longinus (2 § 3), who says of τὸ εὐ βουλευέσθαι that οἷς ἂν μὴ παρῇ συναναίρει καὶ θάτερον.

210 Πειθαρχία...Εὐπραξίας: personified. Cf. Theogn. 384 sq. πενήν | μητέρ' ἀμυχανίης, Crates *fr.* 2. 2 εὐτελής, κλεινῆς ἐγγονε σωφροσύνης, Alcæus *fr.* 73 (65) πενία...ἀμαχανία σὺν ἀδελφεῶ, poet. incert. *ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 34 E τῆς δειλίας γὰρ αἰσχρὰ γίγνεται τέκνα, *ibid.* 644 D τὸν τῆς τύχης παῖδα κλήρον, *Ag.* 760, Alcman 62 <τύχα> εὐνομίας <τε> καὶ πειθῶς ἀδελφὰ | καὶ προμαθείας θύγατερ, Dionys. *fr.* 4 ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίας μήτηρ ἐφν, *Soph. fr.* 839, *Eur. fr.* 474 πόνος γάρ, ὡς λέγουσιν, εὐκλείας πατήρ, *Shak. Macb.* 4. 3. 114 *This noble passion, | Child of integrity.* The personification is made the more pronounced by the article: cf. *P. V.* 1069 ἀνωγε γάρ σε τὴν αὐθαδίαν | μεθέντ' ἐρευνᾶν τὴν σοφὴν εὐβουλίαν. Εὐπραξία was one title of Artemis, but that consideration is not in point.—Πειθαρχία is emphatic: 'It is Obedience (loyalty) that is the mother of Well-being.'

211 γυνὴ Σωτήρος: rightly retained by Verrall as 'wife of the Goodman Σωτήρ' (not Zeus, but generically). The



do; nor may I live to see this realm with its town o'errun, and soldiers lay hands on it with desolating fire.

ET. Come! What use to call on Gods, and act with folly? The mother of Well-being is Loyalty, wife of Upholder. So goes the saw.

CHO. E'en so! Yet the Gods have a strength of higher warrant, and often when a man is all-helpless in distress, it guides him even from misery's worst straits where the clouds hang o'er his eyes. 2nd anti-strophe.

των' would be unsatisfactory. Except for the evidence of Marcellinus the <sup>a</sup> might have come from misplacement of the superscript in τὸν ἀμηχανον, but κακοῖσι παναμάχανον (\*ed. after κακοῖς τὸν παναμάχανον of M. Schmidt) is better. ψ. τ' ἂν G. C. W. Schneider (making πολλάκι= 'perhaps'). 214 καὶ χαλεπᾶς δῖας ὕπερ τε Marcellinus. 216 κριναμέναν νεφέλᾶν M (and so, but with κρημ-, m' and Marcell.), corr. Hermann. ὀρθοί M, corr. Oberdick (cf. 27 c.n.). ψ.

notion is that anyone who is to be a σωτήρ (or ὁ σώων) must be wedded to πειθαρχία (Soph. *Ant.* 675 τῶν δ' ὀρθομένων | σφίξει τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ' ἢ πειθαρχία). The words ὅδ' ἔχει λόγος shew that an old proverb is being quoted, though not necessarily in the exact words. The meaning is not 'such is my order' (like ὡδ' ὁ μῦθος ἐστάτω, or the εἰρηται λόγος of *Eum.* 713), but 'so goes the saw': cf. *Cho.* 519, *Eur. I. A.* 72 ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἀνθρώπων ἔχει. [Hermann's γονῆς σωτήρος adds nothing to the sense of εὐπραξίας. Moreover it is not εὐπραξία which σφίξει. There would, of course, be no objection to the fem. σωτήρος (713 n.).]

212 θεοῦ: stressed (cf. 194, 205). —καθυπερτέρα: viz. than mere πειθαρχία, or than all that we can do by τὸ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς.

213 πολλάκι: the same form (lyric) occurs in *Suppl.* 126, *Soph. Ph.* 1456. —παναμάχανον: see crit. n. Apart from the greater strength of the word the passage gains in another way by this reading. It is more desirable to join ἐν κακοῖσι closely with ἀμάχανον than with ὁδοί. This could not be done with τὸν ἀμάχανον, since the article is wrongly placed.

214 sq. καὶ χαλεπᾶς κ.τ.λ.: καὶ belongs to χαλεπᾶς, 'even when grief is stubborn.' It would be very weak and also harsh to make it connective (i.e. 'conducts the helpless in his troubles and out of the mist'). The picture is that of a

man who is rendered helpless by darkness or fog, not seeing his way nor knowing how to act, like Ajax in *Hom. Il.* 17. 645. On that passage Longinus (9. 10) writes ἀχλὺς ἄφνω καὶ νύξ ἄπορος τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέχει μάχην. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἄλας ἀμηχανῶν κ.τ.λ.—χαλεπᾶς: 'severe' in the sense of hard to cope with. Cf. *Suppl.* 172 χαλεποῦ γὰρ ἐκ πνεύματος εἰσι χεϊμών. For the expression in general cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 580 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γὰρ ἀμήχανος ἦεν ὀλεθρος, *Pind. O.* 7. 24 ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων φρασὶν ἀμπλακίαι | ἀναρίθμητοι κρέμανται· τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὐρεῖν κ.τ.λ.; and for the metaphor in νεφέλᾶν cf. *fr. mel. adesp.* 139. 7 τὸ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν, | καὶ λαμπρὸν φάος ἀγαγες ἐν σκότῳ, *Dem.* 18. 291 τὸν κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος, *Bacchyl. fr.* 20, *Il.* 18. 22 ἀχεος νεφέλη. Similar in notion are *Cho.* 804 ὁδὸς ἀνιδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός, | καὶ νιν ἐλευθερίως | λαμπρῶς ἰδεῖν φίλοις | οἰγμασι δροφερᾶς καλύπτρας, *Eur. Ion* 1466. [It is a matter of indifference whether κρ. νεφέλᾶν be treated as gen. abs. or as dependent on δῖας, 'grief (consisting) of mists.']

ὁδοί: see crit. n. Except for the metre, ὀρθοί would stand, in the sense 'leads on the right path': cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1254 ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται. But ὀρθὸν ἀγεῖν εἰς ὁδὸν can be compressed into a more Aeschylean ὁδοῦν. ὁδοῖ clarifies the metaphor, which appears also in *Pind. N.* 7. 97 ἀμαχανίαν δυσβάτων.





ET. It is for men to do service to Gods with victim and sacrifice, when at grips with the foe; but your part is to hush and stay at home.

CHO. 'Tis through the Gods that we dwell in an unconquered<sup>3rd</sup> land, and that the wall keeps out a horde of enemies. How can<sup>strophe.</sup> our acts bring anger and abhorrence?

ET. I mislike not that ye pay honour to beings of higher power; but, for fear ye make our burghers craven-hearted, be calm, nor let your terror master you too far.

CHO. 'Twas at the sudden sound of the mingled rattling,<sup>3rd anti-</sup> that in fright and dread I came to this citadel and sanctuary.<sup>strophe.</sup>

**223** τιθεῖς M, τιθῆς m'. **224** ἔκηλος recc. **225** κλύουσα πάταγον ἀνάμυγα M, ἀνάμυγα rec. Corr. \*ed. ↓. κλύουσ' ἀνάμυγα πάταγον Prien, Lowinski, Oberdick. ποτίφατον κλύουσα πάταγον ἀναμίξ Heimsoeth. **226** ἀκρόπολιν M, corr. Porson. ἐς σκοπᾶν (or σκοπιαν) rec., whence τάνδε ποτὶ σκοπᾶν Hermann.

on 510).—φθονῶ with infin. as in Hom. Od. 19. 348 τῇ δ' οὐκ ἂν φθονέοιμι ποδῶν ἄψασθαι ἐμεῖο.

**223** πολίτας) (δαιμόνων.—κακοσπλάγχχνους: cf. ἀσπλάγχχνος, θρασύσπλαγχχνος and Aristas ap. Longin. 10. 4 (of fear) σπλάγχχνοις κακῶς ἀναβαλλομένοις.

**224** μηδ' ἄγαν. At this date such an expression would imply a glance at the proverbial μηδὲν ἄγαν (Theogn. 401). So P. V. 72, 343, Συρρλ. 1072 τὰ θεῶν μηδὲν ἀγάζειν.—ὑπερφοβοῦ: there is emphasis, but no real tautology, with ἄγαν. ὑπερ- means either (1) 'on behalf of (us, or the city)': cf. 279 ὑπερδέδοικεν (n.), or (2) 'greatly,' i.e. 'do not carry your great fear too far.' The second is preferable, not only from the difficulty of supplying ἡμῶν or τῆς πόλεως, but in view of e.g. Pers. 796 ὑπερπύλλους ἄγαν, Eum. 824 ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν, Soph. Aj. 951 ἄγαν ὑπερβριθεῖς ἄχθος.

**225** ποταίνιον: pronounced ποταίνιον. Cf. 115 γενῶν and Appendix to that line. The sense is 'new (or sudden) and strange,' and it was this strangeness which frightened them. Cf. Bacchyl. 16. 51 ὕφαινε τε ποταίνιον μῆτιν, Soph. Ant. 849.—πάταγον is not the rattle of the enemy's spears and armour, since it would be manifestly untrue for the Chorus to say that it only fled to the Acropolis upon hearing that sound (see 78 sqq.). Their hurried flight for refuge took place before the enemy came near. The πάταγος is the rattling of arms going on about the town when Eteocles gave his first orders. This rattling may well be described as μυγός.

**226** ταρβοσύνω φόβῳ. τάρβος was not originally identical in meaning with φόβος (which in Homer still means 'rout,' 'flight'). The one word expressed the feeling, the other the movement: cf. Il. 12. 45 τοῦ δ' οὐποτε κυδάμιμον κῆρ | ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται. It is not, indeed, likely that the tragedians were alive to the special epic distinction (which Aristarchus was compelled to point out); but they felt some difference between the words, and Aesch. at least could not have regarded himself as simply writing the equivalent of φοβερῶ φόβῳ or ταρβοσύνω τάρβει. It was, however, inevitable that no consistent discrimination would be maintained between words whose values overlapped, and poets freely availed themselves of the pair of terms for the species of emphasis which appears in the English 'fear and dread.' Hence e.g. Συρρλ. 744 περίφοβόν μ' ἔχει τάρβος, Soph. Tr. 176 φόβῳ ... ταρβοῦν, Eur. H. F. 971 ταρβοῦντες φόβῳ, Phoen. 361 οὕτω δὲ τάρβους ἐς φόβον τ' ἀφικόμεν, Or. 312 τὸ ταρβοῦν κάκφοβοῦν, I. A. 1535 ταρβοῦσα τλήμων κάκπεπληγμένη φόβῳ. Similar are Or. 56 ἀλαιοι πλαγχθεῖς, I. A. 1350 λευσθῆναι πέτροισι. In e.g. Soph. O. T. 65 ὕπνῳ εὐδοντα, Verg. Aen. 1. 680 sopitum somno, 'in slumber and sleep' is an expression emphasizing the fact that the 'slumber' is 'real sleep,' i.e. deep. The intensification is here of a similar kind: the fear is overpowering.

**227** τίμιον ἔδος: i.e. where the gods ἔδρυνται ἐν τιμῇ. The adjective doubtless also implies that it is the place which would be longest held in respect in a siege. The apposition to ἀκρόπολιν

- ET. μή νυν, εἰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους  
 πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε.  
 τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνῳ βροτῶν. 230
- XO. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων.  
 ET. μή νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἀκού' ἄγαν.  
 XO. στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὡς κυκλουμένων.  
 ET. οὐκοῦν ἐμ' ἀρκεῖ τῶνδε βουλεύειν πέρι.  
 XO. δέδοικ', ἀραγμὸς δ' ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται. 235
- ? ET. οὐ σῖγα μῆδεν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν.  
 XO. ὦ ξυντέλεια, μὴ προδῶς πυργώματα.  
 ET. οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶς' ἀνασχῆση τάδε;  
 XO. θεοὶ πολῖται, μή με δουλείας τυχεῖν.

228 μὴ νῦν M. ↓. θνήσκοντας M. Heimsoeth should not have proposed *θανόντας*.

presents the two aspects of the refuge, one as a stronghold, the other as a sanctuary. The poet is doubtless thinking of the Athenian Acropolis, which was 'wholly dedicated' (Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 428 ὅλης οὐσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως). Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 482 ἀβατον ἀκρόπολιν, | ἱερὸν τέμενος.

228 μὴ νῦν: νῦν in comedy is long, and it is but a school tradition that in tragedy it must be short. The sense here and in v. 232 plainly demands νῦν rather than νῦν. We might indeed render ' (well, whatever you may have done until now) from this time onward....' But in 232 it is impossible to force a temporal value upon the word.

229 ἀρπαλίζετε: sc. the news. The sense is of eager appetite, which will not wait. Cf. *Eum.* 982 πονὰς ἀντιφόνους ἅπας ἀρπαλίσαι. As δέχεσθαι is used with λόγον, ἀγγελίαν &c., so ἀρπαλίζομαι is explained as ἀσμένως δέχομαι (Hesych.). Paley understands αὐτοῖς ('carry them off'), but the sense is incorrect and would be inapposite.

230 Ἄρης βόσκεται. The War-God is φιλαίματος (cf. 45) and it is for warriors αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα (Hom. *Il.* 22. 267). He is fed on *human* blood (cf. *Il.* 5. 31 Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολογίε), and that offering cannot be withheld. The notion was once quite literally held, since all sacrifice was regarded as food, whether it ascended in smoke or sank into the earth. Here βόσκεται is seen on its way to the metaphorical, fully reached in *Cho.* 26 (n.), Pind. *P.* 2. 25 Ἀρχιλοχὸν βαρυλόγους ἔχθεσιν | παινόμενον. The remark might seem small encouragement to the Chorus,

but the thought is that the War-God is fighting on the Cadmean side. His strength will be thus maintained.—Ἄρης: cf. 331, Soph. *Ant.* 139.

231 καὶ μὴν...γ'. This group of particles has two uses, (1) as drawing attention to new matter for consideration (*Cho.* 204 καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον), especially a new arrival upon the scene (see 359 n.), (2) as confirmatory of the preceding thought (e.g. here, that there is good cause for dread). It is not always easy (nor is it so in the present place) to separate these senses, which both arose from a phraseological or expletive application of 'yes, and indeed...' or the colloquial 'and, more by token....'

232 μὴ νῦν: see 228 (n.).—ἐμφανῶς: with what follows. The thought is 'If you hear, pray do not hear too clearly,' i.e. either (a) 'do not make too much demonstration of what you hear' (but conceal it), or (b) 'do not hear more than there is to hear' (through imagination in your panic). For the former (which is the better) cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 92 καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας, and the monostich of Menander ἂ μὴ προσήκει μῆτ' ἀκούε μῆτ' ὄρα.

233 στένει: cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 344 περισπενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα (in a fight), *Pers.* 685 στένει, κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσειται πέδον.—πόλισμα regards the town as a structure, while πόλις is more abstract. The 'groaning' is not only to be taken literally of the rumbling noise, but also as a sound of omen or prophecy.—ὡς κυκλουμένων: ὡς implies that, from their position at the images, they do not actually



ET. Come! If ye hear of men dying or wounded, do not seize on the news with shrieks. For this is the Wargod's meat—the blood of men.

CHO. Ah! there I hear snorting of horses!

ET. Nay, do not hear too plainly what ye hear.

CHO. The stronghold groans from out the ground! They compass it about!

ET. What then? If I deal with it, it is enough.

CHO. I am afeared! The crashing grows louder at the gates.

ET. Silence! No talk of this about the town!

CHO. O ye who share with us! betray not our strong walls!

ET. Can ye not hush—plague on you!—and find patience?

CHO. Gods of one realm with us! keep from me the fate of slaves!

**232** μή νῦν M. **233** δῆθεν rec. νέρθεν Nauck. κυκλοῦμενον rec. **234** Qu. οὐκ οὖν with question? **238** φόνον M, corr. m'.

see the encompassing, but gather it from the nature of the sound. Dramatically this is intended to describe the nearer progress of the enemy.—κυκλοῦμένων is middle. For the passive sense, 'as if we are being surrounded,' κυκλοῦμένοις would be more natural.

**235** δέδοικ': still pleading the excuse of 185, 225.—δ' (which scholiasts usually in such cases explain by γάρ) gives the circumstance of their fear, amounting to its reason (Cho. 32 c. n., 57, 238 &c.).—ὀφέλλεται is the emphatic word. The noise in the gates has been heard before (146), but it is growing.

**236** οὐ σίγα κ.τ.λ. For a discussion of such uses of οὐ μή see Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* III. p. 205, *Class. Rev.* x. 150 sqq., 239 sqq., xi. 109, Jebb *Append.* to *Soph. Aj.* 75, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 299. That the expression was regarded as an assertion and not as a question appears from the indirect use in Eur. *Phoen.* 1590 σαφῶς γὰρ εἶπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μή ποτε | σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος εὖ πράξειν πόλιν. This also makes οὐ σίγα μὴ ἐρεῖς the more simple for e.g. σίγα ἀνέξη.

**237** ξυντέλεια. The πανήγυρις of deities (206), while forming a συντέλεια relatively to each other (i.e. as sharing in the τέλος or office of defending the πυργώματα), are also in a συντέλεια with the citizens, as having a common interest, and the sense is rather this ('our partners' = σὺν ἡμῖν τελούντες εἰς πολίτας: cf. 239 θεοὶ πολῖται).—ξυντέλεια thus becomes collective concrete: cf. 502 προσφίλεια

δαιμόνων (n.), Cho. 21 ἥδε προστροπή ('band of suppliants'), *Suppl.* 38 πατραδέλφειαν τήνδε, 273 δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῆ ξυνοικίαν, *Pers.* 544 ἀνδρῶν | ποθέουσai ἰδεῖν ἀρτίστυλιαν, Eur. *Or.* 1233 ὦ συγγένεια (of a person), *Phoen.* 291. [The associations of the word were not yet rendered prosaic by its use in connection with the trierarchy. This dates only from the middle of the 4th cent. Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* p. 372 (Eng. trs.).]

**238** οὐκ ἐς φόρον ... ἀνασχίση; ultimately a combination of οὐκ ἐς φόρον; with οὐκ ἀνασχίση; but ἐς φόρον has virtually become expletive (like Latin *malum*). Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 607 οὐκ ἐς κόρακας μὴ πρόσσιτον (where the reading and punctuation are correct; see note there), Nicophron (Mein. *Com. Fr.* II. p. 848) οὐκ ἐς κόρακας τῷ χεῖρ' ἀπολείσας ἐκποδῶν; For the colloquial expression cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1146 οὐκ εἰς δλεθρον; οὐ σιωπήσας ἔση; *ibid.* 430. Epicharm. (*ap. Ath.* 63 c) has the art. ἀπαρ' ἐς τὸν φόρον. The use of φθεῖρεσθαι = εἶρρειν is also tragic (Eur. *Andr.* 707 εἰ μὴ φθερῇ...τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στέγης, *Heracl.* 284). So in other serious poetry Theogn. 833 πάντα τὰδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ.

**239** θεοὶ πολῖται: our fellow-citizens: cf. 237 ξυντέλεια (n.). The appeal = 'do not see us, your humbler fellow-citizens, enslaved.'—μὴ με...τυχεῖν: a familiar and old construction in a prayer (with εὔχομαι, δότε or the like understood). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 7. 179 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ Ἀλάντα λαχεῖν ἢ Τυδεὸς νίον, 2. 412, *Od.* 17. 354

- ET. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς κάμει καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. 240  
 XO. ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέφον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος.  
 ET. ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὥπασας γένος.  
 XO. μόχθηρον, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας, ὦν ἀλῶ πόλιν.  
 ET. παλινστομεῖς αὖ θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;  
 XO. ἀψυχία γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἀρπάζει φόβος. 245  
 ET. αἰτουμένῳ μοι κοῦφον εἰ δοίης τέλος.  
 XO. λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ τάχ' εἴσομαι.  
 ET. σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα· μὴ φίλους φόβει.  
 XO. σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον.  
 ET. τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων τοῦπος αἰροῦμαι σέθεν. 250  
 καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις, ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων,

240 κάμει καὶ σέ καὶ πόλιν recc. (a manifest piece of editing). αὐτὴν Butler, αὐτὴν σε Paley (αὐτὴν σὺ is also possible). καὶ σέ καὶ πᾶσαν Wunderlich. πτόλιν M, πόλιν recc. 243 ἄνδρες recc. 244 πολυστομεῖς Blomfield. ↓. 246 γρ.

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὀλβιον εἶναι, Soph. *O. T.* 190, fr. *trag. adesp.* 151 ὦ Ζεῦ, γενέσθαι τῆσδε μὲ ἐξάντη νόσου, Cho. 306, Ar. *Ach.* 816, *Ran.* 885 Δήμητερ ... εἶναι με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.

240 δουλοῖς: i.e. by causing faint heart among the troops (cf. 175, 223). The pres. is conative, 'you are doing your best to enslave.'—κάμει should certainly be retained; the irritation (self-regarding) is a true touch. For the whole expression cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 437 παῖσαι πόνον με καὶ σέ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν, a line which strengthens an otherwise natural suggestion, αὐτὴν σὺ δουλοῖς κάμει κ.τ.λ. (for αὐτὴν = σεαυτὴν see 181 n.).

241 τρέφον...βέλος. In the βρέτας Zeus is to be understood as represented with his thunderbolt (cf. 103, 123, 134). The thought is exactly that of v. 123.

242 ὦ Ζεῦ: sarcastically and irritably echoing their invocation.—ὥπασας: 'attached,' 'added' (to man). The word is connected with ὀπαδός, ὀπάων. Cf. 479. The addition was made at the creation of mankind, as in the legend of Pandora. For the taunt cf. Semon. 7 (8). 96 Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν, | γυναικάς.—γένος: see 171.

243 μόχθηρον: rather than μοχθηρόν, since the meaning is ἐπίπονον (Cho. 748 c. n.).—ὦν ἀλῶ πόλιν: Hom. *Il.* 9. 591 κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα | κῆδε' ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πόλει τῶν ἄστῳ ἀλώη.

244 παλινστομεῖς: referring not to their retort, but to their ill-timed ὦν ἀλῶ

πόλιν, which is a δυσφημία. The sense is not 'talk back' (with which θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων has no special point), but πάλιν = 'away' (Hom. *Il.* 21. 415 πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαινώ) i.e. 'away from the right manner,' 'perversely': cf. 1031 (n.). παλινστομεῖν is thus the opposite of εὐστομεῖν (= ὀρθὰ λέγειν). Cf. παλινγκτος ('cross-grained'). In Pind. *I.* 6. 24 παλινγκλωστος is combined with βάρβαρος in respect of 'strange' speech (see Bury's note to *N.* 1. 58). In Bacchyl. 11. 53 ταῖσιν δέ... | στήθεσσι παλιντροπον ἐμβαλεν νόημα answers to *ibid.* 45 παραπλήγι φρένας κ.τ.λ. So Ap. Rhod. 3. 1155 παλιντροπήσαν ἀμήχανος ('perverseness'). This also appears to be the correct sense in Eur. *Ion* 1096 παλινφάμος αἰοῖδ' | καὶ μοῦσ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἔτω δυσκέλαδος (= δύσφημος, βλάσφημος). The schol. is therefore so far right in explaining by δυσφημεῖς, if δυσ- be understood of utterance out of keeping with the time and place. The notion that the word tends to evoke the thing dates from a pre-civilised 'magic' period. [The other sense, which is the more ready to suggest itself, would find support in e.g. *Il.* 9. 55 οὐ τίς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσειται, ὅσοι Ἀχαιοί, | οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει, 'contradict.']

αὖ: not 'again,' but an expletive (which deserves more notice) in indignant questions, cf. *P. V.* 67 σὺ δ' αὖ κατοικνεῖς; *ibid.* 769 σὺ δ' αὖ κέκραγας κάναμινχθίζῃ;

245 ἀψυχία: cf. 175 ἀψυχον κάκην. The Chorus is growing repentant.—ἀρπάζει: like a runaway steed (674 n.).



ET. 'Tis yourselves that are making slaves both of me and all the realm.

CHO. Almighty Zeus, turn thy bolt upon the foe!

ET. Zeus, what a breed didst thou bestow on us in women!

CHO. A miserable one, like men, when their country is made captive.

ET. What! use wrong words, with your hands on the forms of Gods?

CHO. 'Tis fear and faint heart; it carries my tongue away.

ET. I beseech you, let my authority be gently used.

CHO. Say on forthwith, and forthwith I shall know my answer.

ET. Be silent, unhappy women; cease frightening your own.

CHO. I am silent. I shall suffer but my fate, as others will.

ET. This change of talk is better to my liking. But do more still. Leave the images, and make the better prayer

λόγον schol. 247 καὶ τότε Meineke. †. οἶσσομαι rec. I no longer propose καὶ ταχέσσομαι (*Class. Rev.* III. 103). 249 σπείσσομαι M, corr. m'. 251 ἀλαγμάτων M. Schmidt. ἀλαγμάτων might be offered as more in the tone of Eteocles; but †.

Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 993 ὅπως | μὴ σ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀρπάσας | ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν.

246 αἰτουμένῳ: not merely = *oro* as a formula (*Cho.* 2, 478), but he changes his tone with theirs. He will put his command as a request.—κούφον εἰ δοίης τέλος: either (1) 'grant easy fulfilment' (i.e. one which will cost you no effort), or (2) 'let my authority lie lightly upon you' (or 'find gentle course'), i.e. do not make me lay it upon you in a more severe shape (*βαρὺ*). The former may look the easier, but it is less suited either to the word κούφον (cf. *Isoc.* 199 B ἡγούμενοι κουφοτέρην καὶ νομιμωτέρην εἶναι τὴν Εὐαγόρου βασιλείαν) or to the king's attitude, which now combines gentleness with firmness.—τέλος includes the sense (inseparable from the Greek) of an end to the discussion. In point of grammar εἰ originally implies a suppressed apodosis: 'if you would give my request an authority which sits lightly (it would be well, or, I should thank you).' In practice it is used, like εἰ γάρ or εἵθε, to introduce a wish. Cf. *Hom. Il.* 10. 111, 24. 74, *Soph. O. T.* 863 εἰ μοι ξυνέλῃ...μοῖρα, *Eur. Hec.* 836 εἰ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίσιον.

247 τάχ' εἶσομαι. The expression, like the English 'I will see,' is virtually a promise, but is saved from the colloquialism of the English phrase partly by τάχ', partly by the sense of εἶσομαι (= 'shall be able to tell,' cf. *Eur. Heracl.*

269 πειρώμενος δὴ τοῦτ' ἂν αὐτίκ' εἶσομαι). —τάχ' after ὥς τάχιστα should be observed in the rendering.

249 σὺν ἄλλοις: emphatic, as is τὸ μόρσιμον; 'I shall be in no worse plight than others, and I can only suffer my fate.' Cf. *Suppl.* 1058 ὁ τι τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἂν, | ...μετὰ πολλῶν | δὲ γάμων ἅδε τελευτὰ | προτερὰν πέλοι γυναικῶν, *Pind. fr.* 107. 17 ὀλοφύρομαι οὐδέν, ὁ τι πάντων μετὰ πέσσομαι, *Eur. Phoen.* 894 εἰς γὰρ ὦν πολλῶν μετὰ | τὸ μέλλον, εἰ χρὴ, πέσσομαι, *Hipp.* 834, *Thuc.* 7. 75. 6. Greek frequently substitutes stress for μόνον ('only fate'): cf. 180 (n.).

250 sqq. The whole of the following speech of Eteocles is quite sound, but has suffered much from misinterpretation. It is hoped that the translation will sufficiently defend the text.

250 τοῦτο...τοῦπος: 'that utterance,' not merely 'word' (viz. σιγῶ), cf. *Cho.* 46 (n.), 92, and *inf.* 566 (n.).—σέθεν: as in τοῦτό σου ἐπαινώ, θαυμάζω, μέφομαι &c., rather than merely possessive.

251 ἐκτὸς οὗσ' ἀγαλμάτων: a device for getting the Chorus back into the ὀρχήστρα. The phrase with ἐκτὸς treats the ἀγάλματα as forming a place (e.g. κύκλος ἀγαλμάτων). So εἰ ἐπώνυμοι in the Athenian Agora, and the familiar use of the names of articles (οἶκος, χῆτραι &c.) for the parts of the market in which they

εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω, ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεούς.  
 κάμῳ ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῇ παιώνισον,  
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,  
 θάρσος φίλοις, λύουσα πόλεμιον φόβον·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολιτισσοῦχοις θεοῖς,  
 πεδιονόμοις τε κάγορας ἐπισκόποις,  
 Δίρκης τε πηγαῖς, οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνὸν λέγω,

255

**253** ἀκούσας M. **254** ἱερὸν Dind. Headlam suggests ἐμμελῆ for εὐμενῇ. παιώνισον M, which m' would correct to παίδνισον. The conflict of evidence is frequent (cf. MSS at Xen. *An.* 6. 1. 11). **256** πολέμιον rec. A former suggestion θάρσος φίλοις κλύουσι, πολέμιον φόβον is here withdrawn, although schol. (q.v.)

are sold. For εἶναι ἐκτός cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 267 ἄμφι ἐσσεσθον | φυλοπίδος κρατερῆς, 19. 389 ἔξεν ἀπ' ἐσχαρόφιν.

**252** εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω: 'make the better prayer,' i.e. put it into its better shape, with more confidence and words of better omen. It is wrong to use in prayer such expressions as imply that the Gods may 'betray' us (237) or that the city may fall (239). The notion is the same as in 266 sq. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1419 ἐπεὶ στρατηλάτου | χρησταῖο τὰ κρείσσω μηδὲ τάνδεα λέγειν, Theoc. 24. 73 μελόντων δὲ τὸ λῶιον ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθαι.—ξυμμάχους εἶναι is emphatic. The Chorus is not merely to pray μὴ προδότας εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, but that they may be more, viz. ξυμμάχους. [We should not render 'make the better boast,' as a brachylogy for 'put your prayers into better shape and boast that the Gods are on our side.'] In the next line εὐγμάτων are 'vows,' not simply prayers.

**254** ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ. The intention is to impress both friend and enemy. The ὀλολυγμός (or ὀλολυγή) is the women's jubilant cry at the smiting of the victim, and, being taken to imply auspicious sacrifice, it would inspirit the Cadmeans and discourage the enemy, who would recognise its meaning (hence v. 255). For the use of the word see Hesych. (ὀλολυγή), Hom. *Od.* 3. 449 πέλεκυς δ' ἀνέκοψε τένοντας | αἰχμηρίου, λῦσεν δὲ βοὸς μένος, αἱ δ' ὀδλῦξαν | θυγάτερες, *Ag.* 509 ὅμως δ' ἔθνον, καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ | ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν | ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντα, *Cho.* 385 (n.), Xen. *An.* 4. 3. 19. It was part of the summons or invocation of the Gods: cf. Eur. *fr.* 351 ὀλολύζει\*, ὦ γυναικες, ὡς ἔλθῃ θεὰ | χρυσὴν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' ἐπικουρος πόλει.

See also Monro on *Od.* 22. 408 (p. 288). Its rejoicing tone appears again from e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1176 ἀντιμολπον ἦκεν ὀλολυγῆς μέγαν | κωκυτόν. To this παιώνισον is suited, since a παιάν is used either in thanks for deliverance or in confidence of appeal (Soph. *O. T.* 5, 186 and see Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poets* p. xxxvii). It therefore naturally accompanied prayers: cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1403 ναῦται δ' ἐπενφῆμησαν εὐχαῖσιν κόρης | παιάνα. According to schol. on Thuc. 1. 50 the paean before battle is addressed to Ares, that after battle to Apollo. In any case it is εὐφημος (Hesych. ἀπαιώνιστον· δύσφημον). For the spelling with -ω- see *Cho.* 342 (n.) and Phot. παιωνίζειν· τὸ ἀλαλάζειν.

**ἱερὸν**: in its earliest meaning, 'strong.' The sense is that of *Cho.* 385 ἐφυνήσῃ... | πυκνέειν' ὀλολυγμὸν (= πανηγυρικόν, λαμπρόν schol.). Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 768D λαμπρόν ἀνωλόλιξε.—εὐμενῇ: 'loyal and hearty.'

**255** Ἑλληνικόν = 'Panhellenic' (and therefore understood by the enemy): Eur. *I. T.* 10 στόλον | Ἑλληνικὸν συνήγαγ', *Hēr.* 1016 ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνας μὲν κρατεῖν Ἑλληνικοῖς | πρώτος θέλωμ' ἄν. (A Greek may further emphasise the notion with Παν-, e.g. Eur. *Suppl.* 526 τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον | σφύζων, Pind. *I.* 2. 38.) Hence νόμισμα: the ὀλολυγμός is 'current coin of sacrificial shout' among all the Greeks alike. The gen. θυστάδος βοῆς defines or limits the metaphor precisely as in 64 (n.).

**256** θάρσος φίλοις: rather in apposition to the notional contents of ὀλολυγμὸν... παιώνισον (cf. 169) than to ὀλολυγμὸν itself.—λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον: 'by curing war-fear.' He does not say πολέμιον φόβον, since he would not acknowledge such alarm even if it existed. With



'May the Gods fight for us.' Listen also to my vows, and then do thou raise with high and hearty zest the jubilant chant that passeth in all Greece for the shout of sacrifice. 'Twill hearten our friends and rid them of battle-fright.

I vow to the country's guardian Gods, whether they watch the fields or keep eye upon the mart, to Dirce's streams—yea,

might support it. ↓. φίλοις φύουσα Wakefield.

259 πηγῆς recce. 'Ισμηνοῦ M, 'Ισμηνοῦ m. Corr. Abresch. ὕδατι τ' 'Ισμηνοῦ Geel, ὕδατά τ' Dind., χῶδατ' Kirchhoff. I formerly suggested λουτρά τ' (comparing Eur. *Phoen.* 341 ἀνυμέναια δ' 'Ισμηνός ἐκηδεύθη λουτροφόρου χλιδαῖς), but have now no doubt of the true correction. ↓.

λύουσα cf. Eur. *Or.* 104 σύ νυν χάριν μοι τὸν φόβον λύσασα δός, fr. 573 καρδίας ἔλυσε τοὺς ἄγαν πόνους, Soph. *El.* 939 τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς λύσεις βάρος, Epinicus ar. Ath. 432 c πῶμα, καύματος λύειν, Hom. *Od.* 23. 343 (ἕπνος) λῶν μελεδήματα θυμοῦ. In Euphron ar. Ath. 7 E ἔλυσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν should not be altered (with Porson) to ἔπανσε.

257 sqq. ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: resuming 253, 'Well, my prayer is....' The local deities addressed are (1) the πολιισσοῦχοι θεοί, divided in the next line into πεδινόμοι and ἀγοραῖοι, (2) the κουροτρόφοι δαίμονες, Dirce and Ismenus; τε (after Δίρκης) joins these two classes. Hence the position of χώρας, which prefaces all and belongs to all, as if χώρας δαίμοσι πᾶσι was to be the expression.

To distinguish the former class into three subdivisions, viz. as gods of the Acropolis, the country, and the agora, is less good. In one sense πόλις is the realm, in another it is the ἀστυ (or, again, the acropolis of that ἀστυ). The senses of πολιισσοῦχοι may be correspondingly wide or narrow. Thus in *Suppl.* 1030 πολιοῦχους | τε καὶ οἱ χεῖμ' Ἑρσίνου | περναίνουσιν παλαιὸν the gods of city and country are contrasted. Such variation must be discerned from the context. Here the article τοῖς is unduly strained if we are to treat πολιισσοῦχοις as distinguished from, instead of comprehending, those in the next line. The construction is πεδ. τε κάγ. ἐπισκόποις (οὔσιν), with τε καὶ = 'be they...or' (cf. 414 sq.). Little help can be obtained from the doubtful *Ag.* 88 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων | ὑπᾶτων χθονίων | τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων, but, if ἀγορονόμων be right for οὐρανίων, the ἀστυνόμοι there answer to the πολιισσοῦχοι here and are similarly distinguished. So Plutarch (*Sull.* 7. 6) contrasts τὸν ἀστικὸν δῆλον καὶ ἀγοραῖον with the ἀρουραῖοι.

259 Δίρκης... 'Ισμηνόν: female and male, nymph and river-god. In Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 76 Dirce is called daughter of Ismenus (Δίρκη τε Στροφή τε μελαμψηφίδος ἐχούσαι | 'Ισμηνοῦ χέρα πατρός). For the topography see *Introd.* § 15. These streams are the κουροτρόφοι of Thebes. For the reverence paid to them as such cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 142 (Achilles and the Spercheus), *Cho.* 6 (n.). In Hes. *Th.* 347 the fountain-nymphs ἀνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι | καὶ ποταμοῖς. The deification is of a frequent kind: cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1333 πρὸς νῦν σε κρηνῶν καὶ θεῶν ὁμογενίων (Polyneices to Oedipus), *Suppl.* 1035 sqq., *Eum.* 27 Πλειστοῦ τε πηγὰς...καλοῦσα (the προφῆτις at Delphi), and the ἑμμετρος ὄρκος of Demosth. (Plut. *Dem.* 9. 4) μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμοὺς, μὰ νάματα. Plutarch (*Comment. in Hes.* § 75) gives as an explanation that the ἀέταιοι ποταμοὶ resemble τὴν ἀνέκλειπτον τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν. Doubtless these streams played in the Theban epic a part as conspicuous as Scamander and Simois in the Trojan. Dirce (cf. *inf.* 294) was more important to Thebes than Ismenus, and hence the Theban Pindar (*I.* 1. 29) uses ῥέεθροις τε Δίρκας...καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτῃ as parallel references to Thebes and Sparta. Hence also *Dircaeus* = 'Theban' (Verg. *Ecl.* 2. 24, Hor. *Od.* 4. 2. 25). This will account for the form of mention of Ismenus here.

πηγαῖς: not = κρήναις, but the 'flowings.'

οὐδ' ἀπ' 'Ισμηνόν λέγω. The corruption to 'Ισμηνοῦ was almost inevitable. So *Ag.* 1599 ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἐρίων (Auratus) became σφαγῆς. The proper correction would doubtless have been accepted more generally if scholars had not been under the misapprehension that in such cases there must be 'tnesis' of an established compound verb (viz. ἀπολέγω). This is

εὖ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσωμένης, 260  
μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν,  
ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν, ὧδ' ἐπεύχομαι  
θήσειν τροπαῖα, πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.  
“λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις  
στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, [πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.”] 265  
τοιαυτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς,  
μηδ' ἐν ματαίοις κἀγρίοις ποιφύμασιν.  
οὐ γάρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον.  
ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἐξ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῳ

**260** σεσωμένης M. **261** αἰμάσσω τὸθ' Ritsch. ↓. **262—265** Through missing the living tone of the speaker (↓) critics have needlessly rearranged these lines with various omissions and alterations (see Weckl. Append.). Weckl. would abbreviate them to λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις | στέψω πρὸ ναῶν, πολεμίων ἐσθήματα, Hermann to θήσειν τροπαῖα, δάων δ' ἐσθήματα | στέψω πρὸ ναῶν δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις, but these offer no account of the supposed interpolations. Some of the later copies omit v. 265; others omit πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα only. **263** τροπαῖα M.

to reverse the chronological order. In reality compound verbs grew out of expressions like this, in which the so-called preposition is a full adverb (cf. *inf.* 1019). οὐδὲ λέγω Ἰσμενὸν ἄπο = ‘nor do I reckon Ismenus out.’ See *Cho.* 954 (n.). In *Soph. fr.* 618 τὸ γὰρ | γυναιξὶν αἰσχροὺς σὺν γυναικὶ δεῖ στέγειν should be corrected to σὺν γυναικὶ κα.τ.λ.

**260** εὖ ξυντυχόντων: the condition attaching to the vow. The participle is neuter, cf. *Suppl.* 129 πέλομένων καλῶς, *Eum.* 775, *Cho.* 79 βία φερομένων (n.), where add Herond. 2. 85 ὡς ἀμαρτύρων εὐντων, *Soph. El.* 1344 τελουμένων, *Eur. Alc.* 88 ὡς πεπραγμένων.

**261** αἰμάσσοντας: with the accus. is understood τοὺς πολίτας (or comprehensively τινάς). The vow is a proclamation or order for the thing to be done, not simply a declaration that he himself will do it (= αἰμάσσω).—ἐστίας θεῶν = βωμοὺς (*Soph. O. C.* 1495 βούθυτον ἐστίαν).—θεῶν defines, as against human ἐστίαί. The repetition of the word θεοῖσιν in the next line would not in any case offend Greek ears (*Cho.* 52 n.), but it is here deliberate, the vow being made in slow and unequivocal terms and tones. ταυροκτονούντας αὐτοῖς would be less solemn and insistent. Moreover θεοῖσιν helps to make clear the notion that the slaying is really for sacrifice, not for feast.

**262** ταυροκτονούντας: implying no niggardly sacrifice, ‘no less than bulls.’ Cf. *Paus.* 9. 3. 8 αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ

τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ “Ἡρα βοῦν ἕκαστοι καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Δι...τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως δυναμένοις τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων θύειν καθέστηκε. The asyndeton as in v. 60.—ὧδ': i.e. ‘in the following set terms do I vow...’

**263** πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα: ‘yea, the raiment of the foe.’ δ' explains, defines, or gives an alternative expression for τροπαῖα. Cf. *Cho.* 189 (n.), 709. [If ἐσθήμασι were right it would be instrumental, and we should construe (rather awkwardly) ‘I vow that we will set up trophies—slaying sheep and bulls the while—yes, with (i.e. making the trophies out of) the raiment.’]

ἐσθήματα do not include the armour (466). Garments formed a valuable portion of spoil in antiquity: cf. *Xen. Hell.* 2. 4. 19 τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκόλευσαν, *Plut. Mor.* 230 Ε θαυμαζόντων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος. The importance attached to ‘changes of raiment’ in the Bible, and the derivation of ‘robe’ (from ‘reave’ = ‘spoil’) illustrate the point. Agesilaus (*Ath.* 550 E), seeing that the Asiatics were richly dressed but feeble in body, γυμνοὺς πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἄγειν καὶ χωρὶς πωλεῖν τὸν τούτων ἱματισμόν, ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι γιγνώσκοντες διότι πρὸς μὲν ἄλλα μεγάλα πρὸς δ' ἄνδρας εὐτελεῖς ὁ ἀγὼν συνέστηκε κ.τ.λ. To give up this spoil (about which there is none of the modern sordidness) to the gods was a large sacri-



and to Ismenus no less—that if good befall and the realm be saved, men shall steep the hearths of the Gods in blood of sheep, and slay them bulls, while we set up trophies—the raiment of the foe. These are my words ‘With the spear-rent spoils of the enemy will I bedeck your hallowed abodes before your shrines, even with the raiment of the foe.’

In such wise make your prayers to heaven, not with a passion of groans, nor in wild and frenzied blurtings; they can help you nothing to escape from fate. Meanwhile I will go, and at the

<sup>τα</sup> ἐσθήμασι M (σ in a smear, and the correction by m). **264** δουρίπηχθ’ Dind.

δουρίληφθ’ Porson. ↓. **265** δ’ M with τ’ superscr. (m). **267** ποφύγμισιν M, ποφύγμισιν M<sup>a</sup>, corr. recc. The later identity of pronunciation of οι and υ caused some embarrassment to transcribers when both occurred in adjoining syllables: cf. *fr. trag. adesp.* 223 (N) where text of Hesych. has κλοιστοιμωγείς for κλύετ’ οἰμωγής. **268** μᾶλλον M, καλλων M<sup>a</sup>. **269** ἐγὼ δέ γ’ ἄνδρας anon. (marg. Ald.). ↓.

fice. The annexing of such ἐσθήματα appears also in another connection, Soph. *El.* 267 ὅταν θρόνοις Αἰγισθον ἐνθακοῦντ’ ἰδῶ | τοῖσιν πατρίοις, εἰσὶδῶ δ’ ἐσθήματα | φοροῦντ’ ἐκείνῳ ταῦτά (which should be taken literally). Raiment goes with gold in epic times: cf. *Od.* 1. 165, 5. 38, *Hymn. Herm.* 181 (where it is part of the treasure of the temple at Delphi).

**264** sq. **λάφυρα κ.τ.λ.** Here begins the formal vow (*verba concepta*) promised in 258. For the vow and the practice itself cf. Soph. *Aj.* 92 καὶ σε παγχρόσοις ἐγὼ | στέψω λαφύροις τῆσδε τῆς ἄγρας χάριν, Hom. *Il.* 7. 81 εἰ δέ κ’ ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δῶξ δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων, | τεύχεα συλῆσας οἶσω προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν, | καὶ κρεμῶς ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο, Eur. *El.* 6, *Rhes.* 180, *I. T.* 74 θριγκοῖς δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς σκῦλ’ ὄρας ἡρτημένα.

**δουρίπηχθ’**: i.e. bearing the marks of the spears with which the owners were slain. This would not enhance their value to the human spoiler, but it would not reduce it in the eyes of the Gods. For the word cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 25 χαλκοτύπους ὤτειλās. [Porson’s **δουρίληφθ’** would answer to σκύλοις...δοριθήρατοις of Eur. *Tro.* 573, while the variant **δουρίπηχθ’** would mean ‘fastened with spears’ (which serve as πάσσαλοι: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1123 κρεμαστὰ τεύχη πασσάλων καθαρθάσας and the πεπηγμένα σκύλα of Joseph. *Ant.* 5. 14 quoted by Stanley).]

**ἀγνοῖς**: the gifts are to be inviolable because the temples are so. The dat. is that of the recipient, not local.

**στέψω**: cf. 50, but there is also the sense of honour paid to the God (cf.

στέφος, στέφανος). The word seems to have had special recognition in this connection (Eur. *Tro.* 573 σκύλοις...οἶσω... στέψει ναούς).—**πρὸ ναῶν** defines; i.e. in the πρόναος or προστώων, where dedicated offerings were often kept. The perishable ἐσθήματα would naturally not be hung, like armour, outside under the θριγκοί or on the triglyphs (Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 6. 163, Eur. *Bacch.* 1212 ὡς πασσαλεῦη κρᾶτα τριγλύφοις τόδε | λέοντος).

**πολεμίων δ’ ἐσθήματα**: as in v. 263 and with the same construction. He must necessarily repeat in the actual words of his vow the terms which he has promised to employ.

**266** **τοιαῦτ’**: emphatic.—**μὴ φιλοστόνως**: i.e. not as in 237, 239, but as in 254. For **φιλο-** preferred to πολυ- cf. 163 (n.).—**θεοῖς**: added with the thought (especially implied in the next line) that ‘groans and wild blurtings’ are no decorous way of approaching deity.

**267** **ἐν**: modal; cf. Soph. *Ph.* 60 οἱ σ’ ἐν λιταῖς στέλλαντες κ.τ.λ. Kühner-Gerth 1. p. 466.—**ματαλοῖς**: combines the notions ‘foolish’ and ‘reckless’. Cf. *inf.* 425 (n.), 429.—**ἀγροῖς**: the opposite of ‘civilised’; the conduct of ἀπαίδευτοι.

**268** **οὐ γάρ...μὴ**. For the separation of οὐ μὴ cf. Soph. *Aj.* 560 οἶστοι σ’ Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μὴ τις ὑβρίσῃ, *Ant.* 1042 οὐδ’ ὡς μίαισμα τοῦτο μὴ τρέσας ἐγὼ | θάπτειν παρήσω.

**269** **ἐπ’** cannot mean ‘to fetch,’ since τάξω and not εἶμι is the verb. But there is no objection to regarding it as an adverb (as in ἐπὶ δέ), ‘and, in addition...’ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13. 800 ὡς Τρώες πρὸ μὲν

ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον  
εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους τάξω μολῶν,  
πρὶν ἀγγέλους σπερχνούς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους  
λόγους ἰκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν χρείας ὑπο.

270

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσκει κέαρ.  
γείτονες δὲ καρδίας  
μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος  
τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λεών,  
δράκοντας ὥς τις τέκνων

275

271 ἐπτά τείχους (*Class. Rev.* 111. 104) is not required (↓). It is, I find, recorded as a conjecture in one rec. 272 ἀγγέλων rec., γρ. ἀγγέλων rec. ↓. 273 χρείας M, but with *rel* by *m* in an erasure. 274 ὑπνώσει M, corr. *m*. 275 Dind.

ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ., Soph. *O. T.* 181 ἐν δ' ἄλοχοι πολιαί τ' ἐπιματῆρες... ἰκτῆρες ἐπιστενάουσιν. Similarly *Ag.* 1644 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠράριζες ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνῇ, 1358, and frequently πρὸς (*Eur. Phoen.* 610 καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς). It should be noted that Eteocles here simply undertakes to be one of seven, and it is only circumstances which bring him directly face to face with Polyneices. He is not even aware as yet that Polyn. is to be one of the Argive seven.—ἐμοὶ σὺν ἑβδόμῳ is the ἑβδομος αὐτός of prose.

270 ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι: cf. *Pers.* 1023 θησανρὸν βελέεσσιν, *Cho.* 979 δεσμὸν ἀθλίῳ πατρί, *Nicanor* *ab.* Ath. 370 Α ἦν μάντιν λαχάνοισι παλαιόγονοι ἐνέπουν. —τὸν μέγαν τρόπον: with ἀντηρέτας (with the verbal force of ἐναντιωσομένων, συστησομένων).—By τὸν (unless the phrase is proverbial) is meant 'in their great manner' *i.e.* in the great style corresponding to theirs (as described in vv. 42—51). These words are almost a preface to the subsequent descriptions of the several champions. For τρόπον cf. 452 οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 599 μολόντα 'Ρῆσον οὐ φαύλῳ τρόπῳ.

271 εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους. This cannot mean 'the seven outlets of our walls.' Such a phrase as λευκοπήχεις χεῖρες is no parallel, since this = 'hands attached to white fore-arms,' or (with χεῖρες of the whole arm) 'arms with white πήχεις.' The sense can only be 'outlets belonging to seven forts' (*Hdt.* 3. 14). τείχος is here used, not of the whole circuit of the walls, but of a part. There was a tower at each gate, and the gateway itself was an elaborate structure in the old 'Cyclopean' or Tirynthian style. In

*Eur. Phoen.* 1058 τὰ δ' ἐπτάπυργα κληῖθρα γὰρ the precise meaning is uncertain, but this, together with the very similar passage *ibid.* 748 ἐλθὼν ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν | τάξω λοχαγοὺς πρὸς πόλαισιν κ.τ.λ. might suggest that the original epic contained some expression which produced both ἐπτάπυργος and ἐπτατειχῆς as synonymous. 'Seven-fortressed outlets' is good Greek for 'outlets at seven fortresses.' See the much more difficult adjectives cited on v. 610.

272 sq. πρὶν ἀγγέλους κ.τ.λ. The construction is πρὶν σπερχνούς τε καὶ ταχ. λόγους ἰκέσθαι ἀγγέλους κ.τ.λ.: '(I will go and make the preparations) before hurried and impatient rumours come (to our men) as messengers and set them ablaze under stress (of the situation),' *i.e.* before they take their orders from such rumours instead of from disciplined instructions of mine. Eteocles must go to arrange the scheme of defence; otherwise his men will have nothing to depend upon for their orders except hasty rumours (of what the enemy is doing), and these will excite them (to act under feverish impulse) through the apparent urgency (to do something). The proper ἀγγελοι are the aides-de-camp.—φλέγειν recalls the use of θερμός, and is opposed to 'cool' action.—σπερχνούς and ταχυρρόθους are not synonymous. The former expresses the ill-considered nature of the news, the latter the swiftness with which it spreads (cf. 175 διερροθήσατ').

[Others take ἰκέσθαι as meaning 'reach us,' *i.e.* before words come as messengers and prevent our acting coolly. But this is surely without point for λόγους. Weil construes ἀγγέλους τε σπερχνούς καὶ



seven fortified outlets I will post six men, with myself for seventh, to match the enemy in right gallant style. Else will they take their cue from clamorous and impatient rumours, which fire them by urgency.

[Exit ETEOCLES (to right).]

CHORUS (now supposed to be again on the level which represents the Agora).

My will is good, but my heart is sleepless with fear. Dismay dwells nigh and sets it on fire with dread of the folk around the

writes *κάρσας* when the pronunciation is disyllabic. But see note to v. 225. **276** *ταρβῶ* rec. (to make a construction). **277** *Qu. τὸν ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ?* **278** *δράκονταδ' M, corr. Bothe. δράκοντά γ' Heath. ↓.*

κ.τ.λ., with e.g. τὰ πράγματα as obj. to φλέγειν.]

**274** *μέλει*: sc. *μοι τούτων τῶν λόγων*. The Chorus would fain obey. Cf. *Pers.* 1060.—*οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ*: i.e. I cannot lull it (*κοιμᾶν*) to quiet (cf. *εὐκλος* 224). In a normal state the heart is unfelt, and may be said to sleep; when excited, it *ἐξεγείρεται*. The same half-personification of the heart in Hom. *Il.* 10. 93 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ | ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλκτῆμαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω | στηθέων ἐκθρόσκει, *Od.* 20. 13 κραδίη δέ οἱ ἐνδον ὕλακτεῖ, *P. V.* 907 κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει, *Cho.* 164 ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ. For the notion of ὑπνώσσει= 'at peace,' cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 1148 οὔπω κακὸν τόδ' εὐδαι, *Soph. Ph.* 827 ὕπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαῆς, ὕπνε δ' ἀλγέων, *Simon. fr.* 37. 15 εὐδαι βρέφος, εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, | εὐδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν.

**275** *γείτονες δὲ καρδίας*. For the cognate *καρδίας* after *κέαρ* cf. *Ag.* 962 ψυχὸς ἐν δόμοις πέλει | ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον, *Eur. Or.* 1324 ἦντιν' ἐν δόμοις | τηλουρὸς οἶσα δωμάτων κλύω βοήν, and *ητορ...κραδίη* in *Il.* 10. 93 (quoted in the last note). For *καρδίας* cf. 225. So *Suppl.* 74, 807.—*γείτονες*. The choice of this word, together with *ζωπυροῦσι*, may suggest an allusion to the habit of neighbours coming to borrow fire (*ἐναΐεσθαι*) and stirring up the slumbering flame (cf. *Xen. Mem.* 2. 2. 12 τῷ γείτονι βοῦλει σὺ ἀρέσκειν ἵνα σοι πῦρ ἐναύῃ). It would be unlike Aeschylus to use two such specialised words as if they were colourless.

**276** sq. *ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτεῖχῃ λεών*. For the construction after the combination (= *ποιοῦσι με ταρβεῖν τὸν κ.τ.λ.*) cf. *Suppl.* 575 χλωρῷ δέματι

θυμὸν | πάλλοντ' ὄψιν ἀήθη, *Ag.* 183 Ζῆνα δὲ τις...ἐπινικία κλάζων, (probably) *ibid.* 805 Ἰλίου φθοράς...ψήφους ἔθεντο, *Soph. El.* 123 τίν' αἰεὶ τάκεις ὦδ' ἀκόνεστον οἰμωγὰν | τὸν πάλα...ἀλόντ'... Ἀγαμέμνονα; *O. C.* 1120 τέκν' εἰ φανέντ' ἀελπτα μηκύνω λόγον, *Tr.* 207, *Eur. Bacch.* 1289 λέγ', ὥς τὸ μέλλον καρδία πῆδημ' ἔχει, *Tr.* 58, *Dem.* 4. 45 τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀποστόλοις, and (with another case) *Simon. fr.* 37. 14 καὶ κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπέχεις οὕας (= ἤκονες).

It is doubtful whether we should read *ἀμφιτεῖχῃ* or *ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ*. The former might equally mean 'walled round' (the fear being for the besieged) or 'round (i.e. outside) the walls' (cf. *ἀμφιβώμιος*, *ἀμφίβροτον σάκος*, and *ἀμφίπτολιν ἀνάγκαν* of *Cho.* 74). But the parallel with *δράκοντας* clearly indicates the latter. Moreover (1) the adj. would be rather one of assurance if applied to the besieged, (2) the construction of the accus. is more difficult, (3) *τὸν* in lyrics = 'that.'—*ἀμφὶ τεῖχῃ* would be without ambiguity.

**278** sq. *δράκοντας κ.τ.λ.* See *crit. n.*—*δράκοντα δ'* was due to a mistaken desire to supply a connecting particle, and when *δράκοντα δ'...δυσεννάτορας* had resulted, an emendation would take

the form of *δυσεννάτορας*, of which *δυσεννάτορας ἄ* is the outcome. [The objections to reading *δράκοντα δ'...δυσεννάτορας ἄ* are (1) the position of *δέδοικεν*, which must have *τις* for its subject, and not *καρδία*, (2) the article *ἄ* after *τις*.] The picture of snake and bird is first found in Hom. *Il.* 2. 308 sqq., where the anxiety is for *νήπια τέκνα*, *φίλα τέκνα*. Cf. *inf.* 490, *Hor. Epod.* 1. 19 *ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis | serpentium allap-*

ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαί-  
ων δυσεινάτορας 280  
πάντρομος πελειάς.

τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους  
πανδαμὲι πανομιλεῖ  
στείχουσιν· τί γένωμαι;  
τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν 285  
ιάπτουσι πολίταις

χερμάδ' ὀκρίόεσσαν.  
παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς  
θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν  
Καδμογενῇ ῥύεσθε. 290

ἀντ. α'.

ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίης πέδον  
τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς  
ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν  
ὔδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐ-  
τραφέστατον πωμάτων 295

279 ὑπερ δέδοικε M (the final ε by m'). λεχέων M and schol., corr. Lachmann.

280 <sup>ει</sup>δυσειν<sup>α</sup>ήτορας (superscr. by m') M, corr. Bothe. M divides with ἀπάν | τρόμος, with ῆ over α (m') and φ over μ (m). α om. recc. πάντροφος as well as πάντρομος

*sus timet.*—ὑπερδέδοικεν or ὑπερ δέδοικεν? In Hom. *Il.* 10. 93 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια the rule of caesura requires the compound verb (cf. 13. 52), whereas *ibid.* 23. 159 τάδε δ' ἀμφὶ πονησόμεθ' is necessary. ὑπερ might seem more natural (Eur. *Tro.* 829 οἷον δ' ὑπὲρ οἰωνὸς τεκέων βοᾷ hardly supports it), but Eur. *Alc.* 155 πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαιτό τις | πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλονσ' ὑπερθανεῖν; *Suppl.* 344 χυπερορρωδοῦσ' ἐμοῦ make distinctly for the compound. The same question often arises as to πρὸς: cf. *Cho.* 300 (n.), Wayte on Dem. *Androt.* § 617. So Eur. *fr.* 360. 18 ἐξὸν προπάντων μίαν ὑπερδοῦναι θανεῖν (or ὑπερ?).

280 sq. δυσεινάτορας: 'cruel visitants of a bed.' The words are perhaps so chosen that there may be (as applied to the enemy) an allusion to the sense of 350 sqq. As taken literally of the serpents the meaning is that they creep into the bed for a strange and cruel purpose, viz. to devour. In v. 490 the thought is slightly varied.

πάντρομος = the familiar τρήρων πέλεια. For the alternative πάντροφος Hermann cites Soph. *Ant.* 1282 γυνὴ τέθηκε τοῦδε

παμμήτωρ τέκνου ('true mother,' Jebb). Here the word would apparently imply that she will go through all risks for their sake. But this makes a somewhat heavy demand on the Greek and in no way suits the application to the Chorus.

282 sqq. τοὶ μὲν...τοὶ δ'. It is disputed whether these are two parties of the besiegers, one closely attacking the fortifications and the other acting as more distant artillery, or whether τοὶ μὲν refers to the citizens and τοὶ δ' to the enemy. The arguments for the former view seem conclusive: (a) the ejaculation τί γένωμαι; is called forth by the danger, not by the defence; (b) the emphasis in πανδαμὲι πανομιλεῖ should rather indicate confidence, if it referred to the defenders; (c) πολίταις loses any value as antithetic to πύργους, and would rather be αὐτοῖς if it referred to the persons described as τοὶ μὲν; (d) ποτὶ...στείχουσιν is a less fitting expression of the hastening of the citizens to the ramparts than of the march of the enemy toward the walls; (e) the citizens are not now approaching the ramparts, since they went long ago (30 sqq.); (f) τοὶ μὲν is



wall, as for her nestling brood's sake some ever-trembling dove fears the snake's cruel visit to their bed.

See! yonder they march upon our walls in full array, in every sort! What must become of me? And yonder they shower their jagged stones upon our citizens, assailed from every side! O Gods of race divine, spare ye no means to save the city and the men begotten of Cadmus!

What ground more worth than this will ye take in place of it, if ye give up to the foe our deep-soiled land and the water of Dirce, most rich in nurture of all that Poseidon,

was known to scholl. (q.v.) and was read by Tzetzes (Lycoph. 87) and Eustath. (1602. 7). †. *δυσεινώτορ' ἄγαν* | *τροφὸς* Lachmann. **283** *πανδημεὶ πανομίλει* M. *πανδημὶ* Ald. *πανδαμὶ* Blomfield. **287** *ὀκρυέσσαν* M, corr. m'. **288** *διογενεῖς* owes its *εἰς* to m (after an erasure). **291** *ἀμείψασθε* M, corr. m'. Schol. had *ἀμείψεσθε*. **294** *εὐτραφέστατον* M, corr. rec.

too cold a manner of describing their fellow-citizens.

*πανδαμὶ πανομίλει* = 'in full numbers, and in all arms.' Cf. 59 *πάνοπλος*. There is no contradiction between these words and the statement that there are others (*τοὶ δ'*). The sense is that all the force which would be used in storming is advancing; the skirmishers are not of such a body.—*τί γένωμαι*; In this expression, as in *τί πάθω*; there is properly nothing deliberative. The uses (phraseological) are survivals from the date when the subjunct. was scarcely distinguishable from the future. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 465 *οἶμοι ἐγὼ τί πάθω*; *τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται*; [In Thuc. 2. 52 *ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ τί γίνονται κ.τ.λ.* the deliberative sense may be recognised as 'not knowing what to make of themselves.']

**285** sqq. *ἀμφιβόλοισιν*: 'doubly assailed,' viz. by the storming party and by the slingers. The adj. is proleptic. So in English we might say 'they are between two fires,' when an attack is double, without pressing for the strict meaning 'fore and aft.' The word was in military use (Thuc. 4. 32, 36).—*ἀμφι-* as in *ἀμφιπάτωρ*.—*ὀκρυέσσαν*: a natural touch, particularly with women, who picture the cruel wounds from the 'jagged' stones. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 518 *χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτῳ παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκρύεντι* (where the painful effects are described, from which death results).

**288** sqq. *παντὶ τρόπῳ* = *πάσῃ μηχανῇ, τέχνῃ*. Cf. 111 *πάντως*.—*Διογενεῖς*: a magnificatory appeal to their power (cf. 122).—*στρατὸν*: ambiguous in meaning,

as in 167 (n.). For *Καδμογενῇ* see 127 (n.). The intention of the word here is to remind the Gods of the old dignity of Cadmus and his *affinitas* to themselves.

**291** *ποῖον...γαίας πέδον*: rather than *ποίας*, since *γαίας πέδον* forms one notion ('ground, considered as soil'). Cf. *Cho.* 569 *βαλὼν ἔρκειον πυλῶν* (n.), *Soph. Aj.* 860 *πατρῶον ἐστίας βάθρον* &c.—**δ'** introduces a question of remonstrance: cf. *Cho.* 86 *τί φῶ δ' ἔχουσα τάσδε κηδεῖν χάος*; (n.), Kühner-Gerth II. pp. 262 sq.—*ἀμείψεσθε*: 'get in exchange': *Soph. Tr.* 736 *λόους φρένας* | *τῶν νῦν παρουσῶν τῶνδ' ἀμείψασθαι ποθεν*, *Cho.* 788 *δίδυμα καὶ τριπλᾶ...ἀμείψῃ*, *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1761 *ἀμείψατο δ' ὄνομα Θήρης* | *ἐξ ἔθεν*.

**292** sq. *ἐχθροῖς*: i.e. yours as much as ours.—*τῶν* is demonstrative (cf. 186): 'that well-known....'—*βαθύχθον' αἶαν κ.τ.λ.* No soil is so fertile (*inf.* 580 n.) and no waters are so nutritious. The *πεδία* of Thebes were of rich soil, unlike that of Attica, which was *λεπτόγερως* (Thuc. 1. 2). Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 64 *Δίρκης βαθυσπόρους γῆας*, *Hymn. Apoll.* 228 *Θήβης ἀμ. πεδίων πυρηφόρον*, *Ar. Lys.* 87 *ὡς Βοιωτία*, | *καλὸν γ' ἔχουσα τὸ πεδίων*. Low-lying 'food-bearing' lands of some extent and a constant water-supply account for the rise of the larger communities in early Greece, and also for the great epic struggles.

**294** sq. *ὕδωρ...Διρκαῖον*: 259 (n.).—*εὐτραφέστατον*. Local waters enjoyed various reputations, not only according to their abundance or permanence, but also according to their nutritive quality as *κουροτρόφοι*. Cf. *Suppl.* 867 *ἀλφεισίβοιον ὕδωρ*, | *ἐνθεν ἀεζόμενον* | *ζώφυτον αἶμα βροτ-*

ὄσων ἴησιν Ποσει-  
δᾶν ὁ γαῖάοχος  
Τηθύος τε παῖδες;  
πρὸς τὰδ', ὦ πολιοῦχοι  
θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἕξω  
πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν  
καταρίψοπλον ἄταν  
ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε  
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις,  
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες < ἔστ' >  
εὐεδροί τε στάθητ'  
ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν.

300

305

στρ. β'. οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὦδ' ὠγυγίαν  
'Αἶδα προῖάψαι δορὸς ἄγρην

296 sq. Written as one verse in M. 302 καταρίψοπλον M, καὶ τὰ ῥίψοπλον m. ↓.  
κάρτα ῥίψοπλον M. Schmidt, κῆρα, ῥίψοπλον Lowinski. 305—307 Written in M

οἷσι θάλλει (of the Nile), *Pers.* 33 πολυ-  
θρέμμων Νεῖλος, which is best explained  
from Plutarch (*Is.* 5) as referring to the  
πολυσαρκία which it produces. The locus  
classicus on the subject is *Ath.* 41 F sqq.—  
πωμάτων: *Suppl.* 1038 ποταμούς δ', οἱ διὰ  
χώρας | θελεμὸν πῶμα χέουσιν πολύτεκνοι.

296 ὄσων ἴησιν κ.τ.λ. Euripides  
(*Bacch.* 520) calls Dirce Ἀχελϋῶν θύγατερ.  
Poseidon is regarded as the supreme lord  
of all water, and in any case, since rivers  
are the children of Ocean, he is overlord  
of them as well as of the sea.—γαῖάοχος  
comes from γαῖάοχος (so in Laconian)  
rather than from γαῖά(σ)οχος, but it was  
commonly interpreted in the latter sense  
(‘lord of the land’). Hence e.g. *Anth.*  
*Pal.* 6. 70. 1 ὦ πόντου βασιλεῦ καὶ κοῖραν  
γαίης. It is of course as ὁ γαῖάοχος that  
the god would supply the fountains in-  
land. Hence the article here. [Ety-  
mologically Ποσειδῶν (Ποτιδάν) may be  
related to ποτὸν, ποταμός (*Ahrens Phil.*  
23. 1), but there is no need to suppose  
that Aesch. is thinking of such a con-  
nection.]—Τηθύος τε παῖδες. Tethys  
was the wife of Oceanus (*Ov. Fast.* 5.  
81 *duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida*  
*Tethyn*). Her children are the streams  
and fountains, or the powers identified  
with them. In *Hes. Th.* 365 there are  
3000 Ὀκεανῶναι and as many ποταμοί... |  
υἱέες Ὀκεανοῦ, τοὺς γέινετο πόντια Τηθύς,

*ibid.* 337, 346 τίκτε δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν  
γένος, αἱ κατὰ γαῖαν | ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι.  
Cf. *Hom. Il.* 21. 195 Ὀκεανοῖο | ἐξ οὐπερ  
πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα | καὶ  
πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν,  
*P. V.* 137, *Soph. fr.* 248.

299 πρὸς τὰδ': cannot mean τῶνδε  
χάρην, but = ‘and so.’ Cf. *Eum.* 548  
and, more fully, *Pers.* 173 πρὸς τὰδ' ὥς  
οὕτως ἐχόντων.

300 sqq. τοῖσι μὲν ἕξω. The answer  
to μὲν appears in καὶ (305). Cf. *Cho.* 973  
σεμνοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν θρόνοισι τῶθ' ἡμενοὶ |  
φίλοι τε, καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ., Kühner-Gerth II.  
271.—ἀνδρολέτειραν καταρίψοπλον. The  
two notions are those of death and flight,  
and the picture is of slain men and  
abandoned shields. For the latter notion  
cf. ῥίψασπις, ἀσπίδαποβλής, and *Anacr.*  
*fr.* 26 ἀσπίδα ῥίψ' ἐς ποταμοῦ καλλιρρόου  
προχοάς, *Archil. fr.* 58 ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων  
τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνῳ | ἐντος ἀμώ-  
μητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων, *Hor. Od.* 2.  
7. 9 *celerem fugam | sensi relicta non bene*  
*parmula*. Alcaeus makes the same con-  
fession (*Strab.* 13. 600), which seems to  
have been a convention of lyric bravado.  
For the single -ρ- cf. *Suppl.* 856 πολό-  
ρυτον, *Pind. P.* 6. 37 ἔπος οὐκ ἀπέρψεν,  
*Herod.* 6. 48 Κέρδων ἔραψε.

303 ἄροισθε: from ἀρνεῖμαι (Jebb on  
*Soph. Aj.* 75, Kühner-Blass II. p. 350).—  
τοῖσδε πολίταις: either (1) ‘in the minds



Upholder of the earth, and the children of Tethys pour forth for drink?

Therefore, O guardian Gods, upon them without the walls hurl destruction, with slaughter of men and casting away of shields, and so win glory with the people of our realm. Be saviours of the city and establish firm your seats at our shrill laments and prayers.

Sore pity were it to send down thus to doom a city imme-<sup>2nd</sup> strophe.

as two verses, divided at *εθεδροι* |. **305** *ῥυτορες* M, with *ῥ* over *ο* (m'). Corr. Headlam. **306** *τε* M, but with *ε* by m'. **309** *αἶδα* M, corr. m. *Ἀἶδε* rec. (recalling Homer).

of us citizens,' or (2) 'for these, your fellow-citizens.' For the former cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 95 *πᾶσι δέ κεν Τρῶεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο*, 9. 303 *ἦ γὰρ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο*. The dat. is the same as in Soph. *O. C.* 1446 *ἀνάξιαί γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔσσε δυστυχεῖν*, *Ant.* 904 *καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τίμησα τοῖς φρονούσιν εὖ*, Eur. *Hec.* 309 *ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἀξίος τιμῆς*. For the latter view cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 84 *ὥς ἂν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρῃαι*, 22. 217 *νῦν δὴ νολ' γ' ἔολπα...* | *οἴσεσθαι μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιοῖσι* *πρὸς νῆας* (where see Leaf), *Od.* 14. 370 *ὦ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὀπίσσω*. There is undeniable ambiguity, but the former rendering is commonly assumed and is probably correct.

**306** sq. *σπάθῃ*: not = *ἔσσετε*, but 'establish yourselves' (at this crisis). The tense is that of an act, not of a state. 'Make your stand as beings of happy seats' = 'ensure the safety and well-being of your seats.'—*τε* thus expresses a consequence of *ῥυτορες ἔσσε*.

*ὀξύβοις*: *ὄξυ-* denotes the shrill tones regular in lament: Soph. *El.* 243 *ὀξύτων γόνων*, *inf.* 905, 1014, *Cho.* 818 (n.), *Ath.* 174 F *ὄξυ καὶ γοερὸν*. The dat. is conveniently styled 'causal,' though in origin it is here the same as the dat. of recipient or dat. commodi ('responsive to our prayers'). For the causal use cf. *Cho.* 30, 51, 633, *Suppl.* 517 *καὶ δὴ σφε λείπω χειρὶ καὶ λόγους σέθεν*, *Ag.* 1100 *ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφότοις ἀμυχανῶ*, Soph. *Aj.* 531 *φύβοισι γ' αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμεν*, Eur. *Andr.* 247.

**308** *οικτρὸν*: the antistrophe (320) replies with *κλαντόν*.—*ᾤδ'* belongs to the sentence, not to *ὠγγύλαν*: 'in the way now threatened.'—*ὠγγύλαν* = *ἀρχαίαν*, but with more strength. The sense is practically 'immemorial,' 'pre-historic.' Cf. *Pers.* 978 *τὰς ὠγγύλους...* *Ἀθάνας*, Hes.

*Th.* 806 *Στυγὸς ἀφθιτον ὕδωρ | ὠγγύλιον*, Soph. *O. C.* 1769 *Θήβας...τὰς ὠγγύλους*, Callim. 4. 160 *ὠγγυλίην...Μεροπηίδα νῆσον*, Soph. *Ph.* 141 *σέ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν | πᾶν κράτος ὠγγύλιον*. The origin of the word was lost in antiquity, and it was almost inevitably derived by Greek fancy from an eponymous *ὠγγυλος*, a name which suggests a connection with *Γόγγυς*. According to Pausan. 9. 5. 1 *γῆν τὴν Θηβαῖδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἑκτηνας, βασιλέα δ' εἶναι τῶν Ἑκτηνῶν ἀνδρᾶ αὐτόχθονα ὠγγύλιον* καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπικλησὶς ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἐστὶν ὠγγύλιαι. The Ectenes were followed by Hyantes and Aones, and these were overcome by Cadmus and his Phoenicians. Similarly Strab. 9. 18 *τῆς Βοιωτίας...καλουμένης τότε ὠγγύλιας* (viz. in the time of Cecrops). But Ogygos appears also (Paus. 1. 38. 7) as father of Eleusis, the eponymus of the town in Attica. Moreover Aesch. (*Pers.* 37) calls the Egyptian Thebes *ὠγγύλιον*, and a wide and general use of the word is seen in the quotations given above, together with Hom. *Od.* 1. 88 (of the island of Calypso), *Eum.* 1037 *γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγγυλοῖσιν*, Pind. *N.* 6. 43 *Φλοῦντος ὑπ' ὠγγύλοις ὄρεσιν*. A comparison of the various passages points to the notion of immemorial age combined with some mystery, as in the 'Druidical remains' of modern times. One of the gates of Cadmea was called *ὠγγύλιαι* (Introd. § 16), and this was probably the most ancient.

**309** *Ἀἶδα προΐσται*: from the well-known epic phrase (Hom. *Il.* 1. 3): cf. *ibid.* 5. 190 *Ἀἰδωνῆι προΐσφειν*. Since here it is a city and not a human life that is in question, Aesch. is treating *Ἀἶδα* as 'destruction,' with an eye to its supposed connection with *ἀ-ιδεῖν* (as in Soph. *Aj.* 608 *τὸν ἀπότηρον αἰδῆλον*

δουλίαν ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ  
ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν  
περθομέναν ἀτίμως·

310

τὰς δὲ κεκηρωμένας ἄγεσθαι,  
ἔ ἔ, νέας τε καὶ παλαιὰς  
ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων, περιρ-  
ρηγνυμένων φαρέων.

315

βοᾶ δὲ <κα> κκενουμένα πόλιν,  
λαΐδος ὀλλυμένας μειξοθρόον.  
βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ.

ἀντ. β'.

κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόποις ὠμοδρόπων  
νομίμων προπάροιθεν διαμεΐψαι  
δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν.  
τί; τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω  
βέλτερά τῶνδε πράσσειν·

320

**310** δουλίαν M, corr. rec. ἄγαν δουλίαν, ψαφαρὰν would be no improvement.  
**311** πεδόθεν Heimsoeth. ↓. **313** m' writes ει over η of κεκηρωμένας. ↓. **315** ἱππη-  
δῶν M<sup>a</sup>. περιρρηγνυμένων M, corr. m. **317** γοᾶ Pauw. ↓. δ' ἐκκενουμένα M. (For  
metre see v. 329.) δὲ καὶ κκενουμένα Hermann, but καὶ lacks point. I have written δὲ  
κακκ—(i.e. κατακ—). (Cf. Theogn. 431 κάκου for κάκ κακού.) **318** λαΐδος M, with η  
over α (m'). μειξοθρόον M. **320—322** ἀρτιτρόποις M, with Δ over the second τ (m).

ἄιδαν) and the sense of nothingness or annihilation (cf. 846 ἀφανῇ χέρσον and note on the passage there).

**προ-** as in προβάλλειν, προίημι, *proicere*, not with a temporal notion.—**δορός ἄγαν**: a favourite metaphor: cf. *Ag.* 369.

**310** ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ: modal or circumstantial dative, joined either (1) to what follows; the city is sacked 'with crumbling dust,' i.e. it is both burned and sacked, or (2) to what precedes, i.e. προΐαψαι ψαφ. σποδῶ. The latter appears preferable. The total thought is 'to make it fall conquered (**δορός ἄγαν**), enslave it (**δουλίαν**), burn it (**σποδῶ**), and sack it (**περθομέναν**), and all with the consent of the gods!'

**311** sq. Ἀχαιοῦ: cf. 28. The Achaean is a foreigner in the eyes of Thebes.—**ἀνδρὸς** is added not only where there is compliment but where there is dislike, fear or contempt.—**θεόθεν**: 'by the will of Heaven': cf. *Cho.* 38 (n.), *Pers.* 102. Similarly Διόθεν (*Cho.* 305). Sometimes the word means by actual 'prompting' of the gods (*Ag.* 107).—**ἀτίμως** describes the manner of the sacker, 'with no scruple or regard': cf. *P. V.* 194 ποίω λαβὼν σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιμαίαι | οὕτως ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς αἰκίζεται;

**313** τὰς δὲ κεκηρωμένας κ.τ.λ. The picture is that drawn by Priam in *Il.* 22. 62 sqq. νῖας τ' ὀλλυμένους ἐλκηθέσας τε θύγατρας, | καὶ θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα | βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῇ δημοσῇ, | ἐλκομένας τε νουὸς ὀλοῆς ὑπὸ χειρὶν Ἀχαιῶν. Cf. *ibid.* 9. 590 ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δὲ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, | τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγονσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας, *Eur. Phoen.* 563. An excellent comment on the passage may be seen in the destruction of the German village represented on the column of Marcus Aurelius.—**κεκηρωμένας**: the reference here is to the married women; the unmarried are dealt with in 320 sqq.

**314** ἔ ἔ: the exclamation at this particular point is forced from them by the painful vision.—**νέας**: monosyllabic. Cf. *Eum.* 957 and the pronunciation in *Eur. Cycl.* 28 (νεανίαι), *I. A.* 615 (νεανίδες), *Ar. Vesp.* 1067 (νεανικῆν), and see *Cho.* 86 (n.).—**νέας τε καὶ παλαιάς**: not merely a rhetorical division. Each age deserves its αἰδώς, the one for its modesty, the other for its years.

**315** ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων: cf. *Suppl.* 436 ἀπὸ βρέτεων... | ...ἀγομέναν | ἱππηδὸν ἀμπύκων, 895 ὀλκὴ γὰρ οὐ τοι πλόκαμον οὐδ' αὖ ἀΐεται, *Eur. Andr.* 401 αὐτὴ δὲ



morial, made slave and booty of the spear, crumbling in ashes, sacked with Heaven's will by the Achaean as of none account: sore pity that, bewidowed, the women, young and old, should be led like horses by the hair, and their garments rent about them.

Loud is the clamour when a city is made empty and the captives go to their doom 'mid mingled cries. Grievous truly is the lot my dread foresees.

'Tis woeful for modest maids to travel in hate the road to new homes after no nuptial rites. Nay, the dead, I vow, are happier in their lot.

ὠμοτρόπων rec. The text is sound. †. Many changes have been attempted, e.g. ἀρτιτρόφους Schneider, ὠμοδρόπους Lowinski, ἀρτιτρόπων ὠμοδρόποις Ritschl, ἀρτιδρόπων ὠμοδρόποις Prien &c. Peculiarly eccentric is Wecklein's ὁμφάκων τρυγεράν δρόσον (322). 323 πρὸ λέγω Hoelzlin (cf. schol.). τί γάρ; φθιμένον τοι Blomf., τί γάρ; φθιμένον τὸν πρὸ Burgard. Possibly τί τὸν φθ. γάρ πρὸ λέγω; with the next line for answer to the

δούλη ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων ἔβην, | κόμης ἐπισπασθεῖσα.—περιρρηγνυμένων: not of the rending of garments in grief (limited among the Greeks to the funeral ceremony, *Cho.* 27 sqq.), but the robes are torn in the rough handling of the soldiery, the result being τὸ ἀσχημονεῖν (*Eur. Hec.* 569 sq.).

317 sq. βοᾷ: the present tense realises the imaginary scene. The meaning of βοᾷ is explained in μεξοθρόον. Cf. *Eur. Tro.* 28 πολλοῖς δὲ κωκυτοῖσιν αἰχμαλωτῶν | βοᾷ Σκάμανδρος δεσπότης κληρουμένων.—λαῖδος ὀλλυμένας: 'as the booty goes to its ruin.' λαῖς comprehends both chattels and enslaved persons. To the former ὀλλυμένας is applied in the sense of being 'lost,' i.e. taken in plunder; to the latter in the sense of φθειρομένης = ἐρροῦσης. Paley quotes *Eur. Hec.* 914 μεσονύκτιος ὀλλύμαν. For λεία of persons cf. *Eur. Tro.* 610 ἀγόμεθα λεία (*Androm. loq.*), *Hec.* 881 τὰς αἰχμαλώτους εἶπας, Ἑλλήνων ἄγραν. In *Phoen.* 564 ὄψη δὲ πολλὰς αἰχμαλώτιδας κόρας | βία πρὸς ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων πορθομένας a v.l. is λελησμένας (so here schol. has πορθομένας).—μεξοθρόον. There are (1) the different speeches of Cadmeans and Achaeans (cf. ἀλλόθροον and *Hom. Il.* 4. 435 οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμός θρόος, οὐδ' ἴα γήρυς, | ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμεκτο), (2) the different sorts of cry of the exulting conquerors and the lamenting victims (called in *Ag.* 333 βόην ἀμεικτον).

319 βαρείας: with emphasis; hence τοι. They realise all that it means to them.—προταρβῶ: 'fear in prospect.' Cf. *Suppl.* 1005 πολέμους αἵματ' ὄντας προφοβοῦμαι. [*βαρ. τύχας* is accusative.]

320 κλαυτὸν: antistrophic to οἰκτρὸν (308). They now turn to the fate of the παρθένοι. The reading of M yields an unimpeachable sense: 'It is lamentable for modest (maidens), before the rites for gathering the maidenhead, to journey a loathed way to a home.' The sense of ἀρτιτρόποις ('right-mannered') answers to that of ἀρτίφρων, ἀρτίνοος.—νόμιμα ὠμοδρόπα are the ceremonies (betrothal and wedding ceremony) which go with, or lead to, the consummation of marriage, in which ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν παρθένην δρέπεται. The captors drag off the maidens to their homes (δωμάτων) without such νόμιμα (= νομιζόμενα, *iusta*), and, whereas the ὁδός or 'journey' of the bridal procession should be one of joy, accompanied by the hymeneal chant, this 'bringing home' (*in domum deductio*) will be sullen and hateful (στνγερά). The gen. δωμάτων ὁδόν (cf. *le chemin de...*) can hardly be objected to.

For the thought cf. *Eur. Hec.* 949 ἐξώκισεν τ' οἶκον γάμος οὐ γάμος (of the captive chorus). With ὠμοδρόπων cf. *Sappho fr.* 93 (of the μαλοδροπῆτες and the maidens) and the imitation in *Catull.* 62. 39. In *Suppl.* 1009 the virgins are ὁπώρα. Compare also the use of ὁμφαξ for a young girl (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 20). More common than the metaphor from fruit is that from flowers (*flos virginitalis*). With νομίμων cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 344 οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνήψα φῶς | νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις κ.τ.λ.

διαμείψαι contains a point which ἀμείψαι would lack. The way seems long and bitter, and δια- helps this thought.

323 sq. τί; apparently like *Quid?* ('Is it not thus?'). But this abrupt use

πολλὰ γάρ, εὔτε πόλις δαμασθῆ,  
 ἔξ, δυστυχῇ τε πράσσει.  
 ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει, φονεύ-  
 ει, τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ.  
 καπνῷ δὲ χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν.  
 μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνέει λαοδάμας  
 μαιίνων εὐσέβειαν Ἄρης.  
 στρ. γ'. κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀν' ἄστρ, πρόλιφ' ὀρκάνα  
 πυργώτις· πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνήρ

question. **325** πόλις M, corr. rec. **326** πάσχει rec. The gloss is by no means rare: cf. Soph. *El.* 1026 πάσχειν (Γ) for πράσσειν (cett.), *ibid.* 1103 πράσσοντε, falsely quoted by schol. to *O.C.* 1676 as πάσχοντε. **327** δ' om. Heimsoeth. M writes the whole of φονεύει in the line. **328** τὰ δὲ καὶ πυρφορεῖ rec. (scanning φᾶρών in v. 316). πυρπολεῖ Heimsoeth. ↓. **329** καπνῷ

requires support, and the true text may be τί τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ πρὸ λέγω; 'Nay, what am I to say of him who dies before (meeting with such a fate)?' This question would be answered by the next line. For πρὸ as adverb cf. *Ag.* 264 πρὸ χαιρέτω. For the position of γὰρ see 109 (n.). It would appear that the scholiast so interpreted πρὸ. Otherwise προλέγω = 'declare (openly)'.—τῶνδε: the fate which I describe. With the sense cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1654 ὡς σὲ στενάζω τῶν τεθνηκότων πλέον.

**325** πολλὰ γάρ. γάρ = 'yes.' It would perhaps be best to assume that another portion of the Chorus joins in, expressing agreement with the picture drawn by the previous speaker and giving another description. Hence the apparent lack of due sequence in the events, which has caused some perplexity.—πολλὰ... δυστυχῇ τε is not strictly equivalent to πολλὰ καὶ δυστυχῇ, but τε is exegetic. [Soph. *Ph.* 584 should not be quoted, since πολλὰ... χρηστά θ' is not the reading of the MSS, but is due to Dobree.]

**327** ἄλλος δ'. For δ' in place of γὰρ cf. 235 (n.).—ἄγει: as prisoner (313).—ἄγει, φονεύει = ἡ ἄγει ἡ φονεύει. For the asyndeton cf. 60 (n.), 169, and for the matter Thuc. 2. 92 τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώγησαν.

**328** τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ. The verb is intrans. and τὰ is contained or adverbial accusative. It is not right to supply τὰ μὲν previously with φονεύει. The sense is simply 'and in other cases one bears (and applies) fire.'

**329** καπνῷ δὲ χραίνεται. The thought is not merely of the destruction but of the fair buildings all defiled. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 911 κατὰ δ' αἰθάλων | κηλίδ' οἰκτροτάταν κέχρωσαι (Troy), Pind. *P.* 5. 84 καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον | ἐν Ἀρεί, *Ag.* 809, Plut. *Mor.* 587 C καπνῷ συμμελανθῆναι.

**330** μαινόμενος κ.τ.λ., i.e. the Spirit of Havoc masters a whole army with his madness.—ἐπιπνέει λαοδάμας should be joined, like πνέει πολὺς, λαμπρός &c. In λαοδάμας the notion is of a contagious or epidemic frenzy, affecting all the victors, not an individual here and there. Under ἐπιπνέει there also runs the sense of a wind strengthening a conflagration.

**331** μαιίνων εὐσέβειαν: i.e. his breath pollutes all sense of reverence in the conquerors; but the expression is in effect brachylogic for 'make the conquerors outrage all εὐσέβεια.'—εὐσέβεια is half personified. She is the fair pure female spirit who prompts to right and pious acts, while Ἄρης is the licentious male (μάχλος Ἄρης of *Suppl.* 644) who defiles her in his madness (cf. *Suppl.* 231 μαινόντων γένος, where the reference is sexual). The language of Aesch. is, as usual, extremely condensed, the words being selected to convey parallel meanings. Thus μαιίνων contains the above sexual allusion while on the surface its sense is that of Eur. *Suppl.* 378 ἄμυνε... νόμους βροτῶν μὴ μαινεῖν, fr. *adesp.* 486 οὐ γὰρ τις... | νόμον μαιίνων ἀσφαλῶς γηράσεται. So ἐπιπνέει combines the notion of the hot breath of madness (Soph. *Ant.* 135 μαινομένα ξὺν ὀρμῇ | βακχεύων ἐπέπνει |



Great and grievous are the sufferings when a city is overcome. Man seizes man, makes prisoner, or slays. Yonder he carries fire, and all the town grows foul with smoke. The spirit of Havoc o'ermasters a whole people and pollutes all piety with his mad breath.

Tumult fills the town; the screen of bulwarks fails; man <sup>3rd</sup> strophe.

M, corr. m. Brunck omits δὲ to suit v. 317 as given in M. **330** δὲ πιτνεῖ recc. **332** sq. ποτὶ πτόλιν δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις | M. πρὸ τί recc. Corr. \*ed. προλι- created both ποτι- (or προτι-) and πολι-. ψ. Forms like ἐλιφ' were objected to by transcribers (cf. Eur. *El.* 14 οὗς δ' ἐν δόμοισιν ἐλιπεν ὅτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἐπλεῖ for ἐλιφ') and the absence of the augment created further perplexity. Hermann omits πτόλιν, reading πρὸτι δ' ὀρκάνα. πυρώτις Pauw, παναγρώστις Weil. For the division of the lines contrast 344 sqq. (in M).

ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων) with that of sexual passion (*Suppl.* 17 ἐπιπνοῖα, Plat. *Sympr.* 181 c οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπιπνοῖ).

εὐσεβείαν is to be understood in connection with 328 sq. The conqueror should respect temples and altars: see 569, 1001 and cf. *Ag.* 350 εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολιούχους θεοὺς | τοὺς τῆς ἀλούςης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα, | οὐ τὰν ἐλόντες αὐθις ἀναθαλοῖεν ἄν κ.τ.λ.

**332** sq. κορκορυγαὶ δ' κ.τ.λ. Another presentation of the scene (cf. 325 n.), not a sequel to that already described. For the repeated δὲ cf. *Cho.* 325 φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὄργας· | ὁποῖόςτ' ἐστι δ' ὁ θάσκειν, | ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων, *ibid.* 643—645.

The text of M and its antistrophe are difficult to relate metrically, and the difficulty is increased by the somewhat doubtful meaning of ὀρκάνα. In Eur. *Bacch.* 611 Πενθέως | ὥς εἰς σκοτεινὰς ὀρκάνας πεσοῦμενος the sense is commonly taken as 'nets,' but 'enclosure' (=prison) is at least as probable. Here the schol. says τὸ θηρατικὸν δίκτυον, ὃ καὶ σαργάνη καλεῖται, but the very attempt to identify these words indicates a guess. According to Photius a meaning is ὁ περιέχων τοῖχος οἰκιστῶν ἢ χωρίων· λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρκος, ὃ ἐστὶ περιβόλον φράγμα; also he gives περιφραγμά τι ἀκανθώδες. The connection of ὀρκάνη and ἔρκος is etymologically sound, and, since ἔρκος can be used either of an enclosing net or an enclosing wall of defence, it is entirely probable that ὀρκάνη can possess the same two meanings. Here πυργῶτις at once suggests a 'fortified' wall of defence. The ὀρκάνη is constructed of πύργοι (in the

sense of that word throughout this play): cf. Eur. *Hec.* 910 ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι | πύργων. That there should be meant a 'net of towers' approaching the city for its capture is in the highest degree improbable (even if we allow the anachronism). No mention is made of any attack upon the walls except by ladder, and the sudden and speedy advance (79—119) puts such enquiries out of the question. The metaphor of a net 'of doom' encompassing a city is natural enough (*Ag.* 370 γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου), but a tower brought up here and there would hardly be called a net.

The ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις being therefore = τὸ ἔρκος τῶν πυργωμάτων, the error lies (where it is always suspected on grounds of metre) in ποτὶ πτόλιν. The emendation \*πρόλιφ' (cf. κάλλιφ' Hom. *Il.* 6. 223) accounts for the corruptions. See crit. n. The augment is absent as in 83 ἐλε, *Cho.* 938 ἔλασε &c. This would be encouraged by the frequent Homeric omission with λιπεῖν (e.g. *Od.* 22. 119 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λίπον Ιοί). The aor. is correct among the presents, since the failure of the wall occurs once for all, while the other incidents are continuous or repeated. For the absence of an accus. see 204 sq. (n.), and for the word itself (=προῶδωκε) Thuc. 7. 75, Ar. *Thesm.* 927 ἦν μὴ προλίπωσ' αἱ μυρίαί με μηχαναί, Hdt. 8. 52 τοῦ φυνάγματος προδεωκότος.—πυργῶτις: cf. Eur. *H. F.* 790 δυνδῶτι πέτρα.

**333** πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ: i.e. in close individual fight, which can only occur after the wall has fallen. The schol. quotes Hom. *Il.* 4. 472 ἀνὴρ δ' ἀνδρ' ἐδνοπάλει.

\* δορὶ κλίνεται·  
βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι  
τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων  
ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται.  
ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομᾶν ὁμαίμονες.  
ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέροντι,  
καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ  
ξύννομον, θέλων ἔχειν  
οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον, "λελειμμένοι  
τίς, ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι, λόγος πάρα;"

335

340

ἀντ. γ'. παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς χαμάδις πεσὼν  
ἀλγύνει κυρήσας· πικρὸν δ'

345

334 sq. πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ δορὶ κλίνεται (as one verse) M. κλίνεται μ' (by superscription). This may be mere conjecture, or may be an old variant dating from uncial script (cf. Diphil. *ap.* Poll. 10. 18 καὶ νῦν for κλίνην, Soph. *Ant.* 1342 καὶ θῶ for κλιθῶ &c.). ψ. <ὑπό> δορὶ Robortello, <ἀμφί> δορὶ Hermann. We might also suggest <ἀγχι>. ἀορι G. C. W. Schneider, δούρατι Enger (δόρατι would suffice). κατακαίνεται Paley. 335 βλαχᾶ Verrall. ψ. 337 ἀρτιτρεφεῖς Blomf., ἀρτιβρεφεῖς recc. 338 διαδρομᾶν M, corr. m'. διαδρόμων Schütz. ψ. 339 ξυμβολεῖ M. ξυμβάλλει (i.e. ἀλλ over ολ) m'. 340 sqq. The usual punctuation is ...καλεῖ, | ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν, | οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον λελειμμένοι· | τί κ.τ.λ. Corr. \*ed. ψ. 341 ξύννομον M, corr. recc.

334 κλίνεται: 'is laid low.' Cf. *Pers.* 933 ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 493 ὑπὸ δυσμενέων δούρατι κεκλιμεθα. It is strange that anyone should prefer the colourless *καίνεται*.

335 βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι κ.τ.λ., 'and there resound the bleatings of young mothers, dabbled in blood, for their sucklings.' This, apparently, is the most defensible interpretation of the passage. The alternative is 'and the bleatings of the new-born babes at the breast, dabbled in blood, resound.'—βλαχαὶ is appropriate to either the mothers or their young, the cry and the πόθος being reciprocal. Thus, on the one side, [*Plat.*] *Erigor.* 24. 2 βληχὴ πούλυμγῆς τοκάδων (cf. *Hom.* *Il.* 4. 435 οἶες...ἀζηχὲς μεμακνῖαι, ἀκούουσαι ὅπα ἀρνῶν) and, on the other, *Eur. Cycl.* 48 βλαχαὶ τέκνων, 58 ποθοῦσί σ' ἀμερόκοιτοι | βλαχαὶ συμκρῶν τεκέων.—ἀρτιτρεφεῖς, again, may of course be either active or passive in sense. But if we look at thought rather than language it should be seen that the cries will naturally come from the mothers. ἐπιμαστιδίων and ἀρτιτρεφεῖς are meant to make clear that the reference is to the fate of new-born babes. Older children may be useful as slaves, but these are only an embarrass-

ment to the conquerors, who incontinently despatch them (cf. *Psalm* cxxxvii. 9 *he that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones*). The babes are dead and utter no βληχὴ; the mothers, stained with the blood of their (τῶν) little ones, cry for them.

The language which says εὐχὴ θεῶν, λόγος or βάξις τινός and ποίου κέραγας ἀνδρός; can readily say βλαχαὶ τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων, especially with its general freedom of the objective genitive (*Kühner-Gerth* 1. p. 335).

The adjectives may appear strained with βλαχαὶ, but see 610 (n.): cf. *Soph. Ph.* 695 στόνον...βαρυβρῶτ' ἀποκλαύσειεν αἱματηρόν, where Jebb quotes *Rhes.* 260 κακὸγαμβρον...γόνον (= γόνον περὶ κακοῦ γαμβροῦ). In *Herond.* 8. 74 τὸν ἄπνον κώρυκον πατησάντων = the κώρυκος which causes ἄπνοια.—With βρέμονται cf. *Pind. N.* 11. 8 λύρα δὲ σφι βρέμεται καὶ αἰοιδά, *Ar. Ran.* 680 ἐπιβρέμεται...ἁηδῶν.

338 ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: 'the ὁμαίμονες fall a prey to the scattering pursuit' (Verrall). But a better sense is 'and those who are of one blood are the prey of different plunderers, running this way and that,' i.e. members of the same family are carried off by chance bodies of men in chance directions and so divided from



meets man and lays him low with the spear. Bloodstained the mothers of newborn babes cry plaintively for their sucklings. Harrying bands tear kin apart from kin.

One meets another, each with his load, and he that hath nothing calls upon his like for partner, content with neither less nor equal share. 'If we be last,' he cries, 'what account is there like to be of us?'

All manner of store is shed upon the ground as it may <sup>3rd anti-</sup>strophe.

**342** sq. λελημμένοι M, λελιμμένοι rec. (and schol.). τί \*έκ M, τίν' έκ m'. Corr. \*ed. (after rejecting "λελειμμένα | τίν'" κ.τ.λ.). ψ. λελιμμένον Verrall. τί μ' έκ Schütz, τί δ' έκ Heimsoeth, ποί' έκ Kayser, τίν'...λόγον Dind. Headlam suggests τέλος for λόγος.

**344** sq. παντοδαπός...πεσών | ἀλγύνει κυρήσας· πικρόν δ' κ.τ.λ. M.

**345** ἀλγύνη M<sup>a</sup>. κυρήσας del. Dind., but ψ. κυρήσας πικρόν γ' ὄμμα Hermann. For attempts to fit the metre to various conceptions of the strophe see Weckl. Appendix. If any change were necessary we might read πικρῶμα θαλαμηπόλων and ἀνὴρ δόρατι κλίνεται at v. 334 (πικρῶμα read as πικρόμμα); but πικρόν δ' ὄμμα is better. ψ. <τῶν> θαλαμηπόλων Arnald (better τᾶν).

each other.—διαδρομᾶν in itself is applicable to either the harriers (cf. 207 ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν) or the fugitives (Plut. Sull. 29. 3 βοῆς γυναικεῖας καὶ διαδρομῶν ὡς ἀλισκομένων). Wecklein quotes for the context in general Quint. 3. 69 *profanorum sacrorumque direptio, effrentium praedas repelentiumque discursus*. Here the word is practically concrete ('harrying bands'): cf. 237 (n.) and e.g. Eur. Cycl. 189 μηκάδων ἄρνων τροφαί. [A rendering 'plunderings are sisters to runnings to and fro' is sometimes illustrated by e.g. 481 (q.v.), Ag. 499. Blomfield also cites Ar. Plut. 594 τῆς πτωχείας πένιαν φάμεν εἶναι ἀδελφῆν. But such appropriateness as may attach to these uses of κάσις or ἀδελφός does not belong to the much more specifically coloured ὁμαίμονες.]

**339** ξυμβολαί: 'meets.' The word [συμ]βολαί appears to occur in Bacchyl. 1. 34. The picture conjured up is that of ants. This suits διαδρομᾶν, and cf. [Pseudo]-Phocyl. 168 αἰεὶ δὲ φέρων φορέοντα δῶκει (of ants).

**340** sq. καὶ κενός κενόν κ.τ.λ. For the punctuation and reading see crit. n. The assumption of an actual quotation greatly simplifies the meaning of v. 343, while the emendation λελειμμένοις accounts for the (manifestly original) τίς. The eager looters cry to each other 'if we are left behind (or are too late), what do we count for (=what allowance will be made for us), to judge from what we see?' All the loot will be seized and no provision will be made for late-comers.—

ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι is restrictive (=ὡς εἰκάσαι κ.τ.λ., cf. Soph. O. T. 82 ἀλλ', εἰκάσαι μὲν, ἡδὺς, O. C. 16 χάρος δ' ὅδ' ἱερὸς, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι).

τίς λόγος λελειμμένοις πάρα; = *quae ratio relictorum habebitur?* They are οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

κενός: 'empty-handed': cf. Hdt. 7. 131 ἀπικέστο, οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες, Hom. Il. 2. 298.—οὐτε μείον οὐτ' ἴσον: sub. ἀλλὰ πλέον. For ἴσον substantival cf. Eur. Suppl. 408 ὁ πέννης ἔχων ἴσον, Phoen. 547, Ion 1318.

**344** sq. παντοδαπός δὲ καρπός κ.τ.λ. καρπός has here its wider sense, including all forms of produce as stores. It is the καρποὶ ὕγροί καὶ ξηροί of Xen. Oec. 5. 20 or τὰ ὕγρα καὶ τὰ ξηρά of CIA II. 476, i.e. not only corn, olives, and grapes, but oil, honey and wine. Cf. Ar. Thesm. 420, where the ταμείον contains ἐλαιον, ἀλφιτ', οἶνον and Eccl. 14 στοάς τε καρποῦ βακχίον τε νάματος | πληρεῖς (i.e. the store-rooms of the house). To the καρπός ὕγρός especially refer the lines 347—349, while the first words allude rather to the solids. The participles πεσών (=καταβληθείς, καταρριφθείς)...κυρήσας are synchronous and should be construed together. As Greek says ὁ καρπός πεσών ἐτυχε, ἐκύρησε, or (less frequently) ἐπεσε τυχών, κυρήσας (Kühner-Gerth II. p. 66), so it may say in the participial form ὁ καρπός πεσών κυρήσας in the sense 'having been thrown down as it chanced' (=ὡς ἐκύρησε). For the picture cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 69 *ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum vias omnesque angustas constraverat*.

ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων·  
 πολλὰ δ' ἀκριτόφυρτος  
 γᾶς δόσις οὐτιδανοῖς  
 ἐν ῥοθίοις φορεῖται.  
 δμῳίδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι,  
 τλᾶμον' εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον  
 ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος ὥς  
 δυσμενοῦς ὑπερέτερου  
 ἑλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,  
 παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

350

355

HMIX. ὁ τοι κατόπτης, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ  
 πευθῶ τιν' ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, νέαν φέρει  
 σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν.

349 ῥοθίοις M, corr. recc.

351 τλήμονες M, corr. Blomf. ↓. τλήμον'

346 πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων: 'and the eye of the thrifty housewives is angry and sad.' The θαλαμηπόλος is the γυνὴ ταμίη of Hom. *Od.* 3. 479, who has charge of the οἶνος καὶ σίτος in the θάλαμος: cf. *ibid.* 2. 337 (Telem. goes to the θάλαμος) οὐδὲ νηὶς χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἔκειτο | ἐσθῆς τ' ἐν χηλοῖσιν αἴλις τ' εὐώδες ἔλαιον | ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἶνοιο κ.τ.λ., 15. 99, 22. 10.—πικρὸν may be used of that which feels bitter pain or which expresses bitter feeling. Here the two senses coalesce, 'pained and angry.' For the former cf. Eur. *Or.* 952 πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ πρόσοψις ἀθλία, *Suppl.* 945; for the latter, poet. *ar.* Plut. *Mor.* 823 Α στείχει πολῖταις ὁμῇ ἔχων ἰδεῖν πικρὸν, Dem. *Androt.* 599; and for the coalescence Soph. *Ant.* 423 πικρὰς ὀρνίθους ὀξύν φθόγον, Eur. *Suppl.* 762 ἧ που πικρῶς νιν θέραπες ἦγον ἐκ φόνου.

[ὄμμα might be interpreted as 'spectacle' (θέα schol.). See note on *Cho.* 237 for \*ὀπ-μα=δραμα. But the gen. follows less naturally and a point is lost.]

347 ἀκριτόφυρτος: lit. 'mixed indiscriminately,' i.e. 'in wanton confusion,' cf. ἀκριτόμυθος. The ὑγρὸς καρπὸς is rightly said to be carried away in surging waves (ῥοθίοις) which no one heeds. For ἐν ῥοθίοις modal cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1682 ἐν ἀφανεί τινι μόρῳ φερόμενον and e.g. ἐν δίκῃ.—γᾶς δόσις emphasises the waste, γᾶς being personified. Earth has been generous with her gifts and they are now reckoned nothing worth. With the expression cf. *Ag.* 1001 πολλὰ τοι δόσις ἐκ

Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ | ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπειᾶν.—With φορεῖται cf. Plat. *Crat.* 411 C ρεῖν καὶ φέρεσθαι.

[In ῥόθια there is probably the notion of the streams of waste being driven this way and that in the turmoil. A schol. remarks 'as in a shipwreck,' which makes ἐν ῥοθίοις not modal but 'on the surges.']

350 sqq. δμῳίδες δὲ κ.τ.λ. It is very difficult to make any satisfactory restoration of this passage so that sense, metre and grammar are all rendered entirely normal. The reference is obviously to the young women, who are to become slaves and to find in the arrival of the night no boon to relieve their griefs, but a crown of sorrow to increase them. Whether the grammar ever was perfectly regular, or whether δμῳίδες is a pendent or provisional nominative, cannot be decided. The latter view is quite probable.

In considering the passage as a whole we should take into account (1) e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18. 433 καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνὴν | πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, which supports εὐνὰν... ἀνδρὸς and some part of τλήναι or τλήμων, (2) e.g. *Il.* 8. 487 Ἀχαιοῖς | ἀσπασίῃ τριλλιστος ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή, which strongly suggests that a natural meaning of v. 354 is 'looking forward for an end to come at night,' (3) Hes. *Opp.* 558 μακρὰ γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσὶν (βοηθοί schol.), which indicates the sense of 355 as 'reliever of their sorrows.' [A rendering of ἐπίρροθον as=αὐξητικόν cannot be substantiated. An alternative



chance, a sight to anguish the housewife's eye. In reckless medley rich gifts of the soil go foaming heedlessly to waste.

And the women slaves, young and new to sorrow—their prospect is the captive's unhappy bed, bed of a mate blessed but as victor o'er the foe; dues of the night to lighten their utter grief and pain!

#### LEADER OF FIRST HALF-CHORUS.

Ah, my friends, our spy! He brings us, as I judge, fresh tidings of the host. With haste he is urging in their hubs the legs that bear him hither.

αἰχμάλωτον εὐνὰν Blomf. τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμαλώτων Scaliger. 352 εὐτυχοῦντος.

'insulting' has been proposed (see Leaf on *Il.* 23. 770), but in the only apposite example quoted, viz. *Soph. Ant.* 413 ἐπιρρόθους κακοῖσι, the word is rightly explained by Jebb as 'obstreperous'.]

Putting these considerations together we may treat the last two lines as sarcastic: they must 'look forward to a captive's bed...as the end at night which relieves the utter griefs of the day,' or, in other words, 'the only end brought by night to relieve their troubles will be—the bed of the triumphant enemy.' Under this there runs the usual play upon words; viz. ἀνδρός ('man' and 'husband'), τέλος ('rite' and 'marriage consummation'), ἐλπίς (expectation good or bad). In Greek marriage an ἀνὴρ εὐτυχῶν ('well-to-do') was frankly sought. In this case the ἀνὴρ is indeed εὐτυχῶν, but only ὡς δυσμενὴς ὑπέρτερος (he happens to have got a superiority, but he is a foeman, not the φίλων ἀνὴρ of ordinary wedlock).

We may conclude therefore that any unsoundness lies in v. 351 alone.—δμῶιδες may very well be left as provisional nom. to an ἐλπίζουσι which is replaced by ἐλπίς ἐστί (as ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ is apt to follow a provisional nom.; see note to *Cho.* 1057). If we read τλάμων' εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον the passage runs '(to them) the (only) expectation is that a wretched captive's bed—bed of a man whose well-being is but the well-being of a victorious enemy—will come as that end at night which is to relieve their bitter griefs.' The τλήμων εὐνὴ is thus itself the τέλος and is the subject of μολεῖν. [The metre is as sound thus as with τλάμων' αἰχμ. εὐνὰν, since such lines have the metrical privileges of catalectic trochaics. Cf. Appendix to *Cho.* 24.]

δμῶιδες are not the young women

slaves of the Cadmeans, but the Cadmean young women who are made slaves. With καινοπήμονες cf. *Suppl.* 74 ἀπειρόδακρυ καρδίαν, *Eur. Alc.* 926 παρ' εὐτυχῇ σοι πότμον ἤλθεν ἀπειροκάκῳ τόδ' | ἄλγος, where see Paley for the frequent expression of the pathos of such change of fortune. For their prospect cf. *Hom. Il.* 2. 355 πρὶν τινα παρ Τρώων ἄλόχῃ κατακοιμηθῆναι, *Eur. Tro.* 202, *Verg. Aen.* 3. 323 nec victoris eri tetigit captiva cubile.

356 sq. The κορυφαῖος (with half the Chorus) is facing towards the spectators' left, the παραστάτης (with the other half) towards their right. Hence their ability to see what they respectively describe.

ὁ τοι κατόπτης: τοι connects the remark with the fears just described. The κατόπτης is the Scout of v. 41 (see 66 sqq.).—ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ can only belong to what follows. They can see that it is the Scout, but they can only guess his news; hence στρατοῦ is to be joined with πειθῶ, not feebly with κατόπτης (v. 36 is of course different).—ὦ φίλοι is interjected in interested excitement and is appropriately brought close to νέαν (= περὶ νέον τινός), which implies both importance and alarm: cf. *Suppl.* 720 ἀπροσδοκῆτους τοῦσδε καὶ νέους λόγους, *ibid.* 344, *Cho.* 165 νέον δὲ μύθου τοῦδε κοινωνήσατε, *Eur. I. T.* 237.

358 σπουδῇ: emphatic, cf. 361. The same word occurs in conjunction with νέος in *Eur. Hel.* 602 λέγ', ὡς φέρεται τῇδε τῇ σπουδῇ νέον, *Rhes.* 85 καὶ μὴν ὁδ' Αἰνέας καὶ μάλα σπουδῇ ποδὸς | στείχει νέον τι πράγμ' ἔχων φίλους φράσαι.

διώκων πομπίμους χνῶας ποδῶν: he is racing at chariot speed, but on his legs. This strange-looking expression is justified by several considerations: (a) ποδῶν must be treated (like στρατοῦ of 64) as

2nd  
episode

HMIX. καὶ μὴν ἀναξ ὄδ' αὐτὸς Οἰδίπου τόκος  
εἰς ἀρτίκολλον ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν.  
σπουδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα.

360

## ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

λέγοιμ' ἂν εἰδὼς εἶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων,  
ὥς τ' ἐν πύλαις ἕκαστος εἴληχεν πάλον.  
Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν  
βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἴσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔα περᾶν  
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.

365

aīs Butler. 360 εἰς' ἀρτίκολλον M, corr. Porson. ὥστ' ἀρτίκολλον Dind. Paley suggests εἰς' ἀρτίκολλος. 361 οὐ καταρτίζει recc. †. 363 ὅτ' M, ὥστ' M<sup>2</sup>. There may be no significance in this (cf. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 40 ὅτε (F) for ὥστε (cett.)),

gen. defining the metaphor, and to some extent a παρὰ προσδοκίαν: 'he is speeding the rapid axles—of his legs.' A similar metaph. appears in Cho. 672 δεῦρ' ἀπεξῆλθον πόδας, where the only πᾶλοι are the feet (cf. Shak. Cor. 1. 1. 121 Our steed the leg); (b) the metaphor was probably proverbial. The English 'on Shanks's pony' is a vulgarism, but that is no criterion of the honour or dishonour of a corresponding Greek phrase; (c) διώκειν πομπίμους χνύδας is entirely apt for speed on the race-course, and the thought here is similar to that of Eur. Or. 456 καὶ μὴν γέροντι δεῦρ' ἀμιλλᾶται ποδὶ | ... Τυνδάρειω. For διώκων cf. Pers. 85 Σύμῳ ἀρμα διώκων, Orac. ap. Hdt. 7. 140, Eum. 406 διώκωνσ' ἦλθον ἀρτυτον πόδα, Eur. H. F. 1040 διώκων ἦλυσιν, Or. 1344: (d) a word like χνύδας would lend itself readily to metaphor, and was doubtless so applied (with limiting adj. or gen.) to any joint or socket playing the same part in locomotion as the nave or axle-pipe of a wheel: (e) ποδῶν is not 'feet,' but includes the whole leg with its joints at either end: cf. Cho. 980, Luc. Alex. 59 διασάπεις τὸν πόδα μέχρι τοῦ βουβῶνος, inf. 776 καμψίπους. What the χνόαι ποδῶν are at each extremity of the 'axle' is shewn in Hom. Il. 5. 305 ἐνθα τε μηρὸς | ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται as compared with Soph. Tr. 779 μάρψας ποδὸς νιν, ἀρθρον ἢ λυγίζεται (at the ankle). The notion is somewhat similar to that in γόνατα ἐλαφρά; and with the whole phrase cf. Sappho's πύκνα δύνεντες πτέρω.

359 sq. καὶ μὴν: 231 (n.). Exactly like the present passage are Soph. Aj. 1168 καὶ μὴν ἐς αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὀδε πλησίον,

O. C. 549 καὶ μὴν ἀναξ ὄδ' ἡμῖν... | Θησεύς κ.τ.λ., Eur. Hec. 665, Rhes. 85. With ὄδ' αὐτὸς... εἰς ἀρτίκολλον cf. Soph. Tr. 58 ἐγγὺς δ' ὄδ' αὐτὸς ἀρτίπους θρώσκει δόμους (where schol. has ἀρτίως καὶ ἡρμωμένως τῷ καιρῷ). In Soph. Ant. 386 ὄδ' ἐκ δόμων ἀγορρὸς εἰς δέον (al. μέσον) περᾶ the reply is ποῖα ξύμμετρος προσβην τύχη; (which suggests for the doubtful word either μέτρον or ἀρμόν). The construction is (πάρεστιν) εἰς ἀρτίκολλον (ὥστε) μαθεῖν.

Οἰδίπου τόκος: not a fill-gap, but the most respectful term.—ἀρτίκολλον is 'the nick' of time: cf. Cho. 578, Ath. 248 c τὸ ποτίκολλον ἄτε ξύλον παρὰ ξύλῳ, ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος εἰρηκεν ποιητής. [There is obviously no room for the fut. εἰς'.]

361 οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα: 'does not keep even pace,' i.e. prevents his steps from being normal, or such as are customary in his walk. Walking fast in the streets was looked upon as undignified: cf. Eur. Or. 729 θάσσον ἢ μ' ἐχρῆν προβαίνων ἰκήμεν δι' ἀστεος, Dem. 37. 52 ταχέως βαδίζει (as an accusative), 45. 77, Arist. Eth. 4. 9 κίνησις βραδεία (as a mark of the μεγαλόψυχος). In a king such haste is marked (Eur. Bacch. 212, Soph. O. C. 890 οὐ χάριν | δεῦρ' ἦξα θάσσον ἢ καθ' ἥδονην ποδός). He is, of course, not said to run, like the messenger.—ἀπαρτίζει is intrans., as in [Pseudo-]Plut. de metris § 3, and so should be taken Herond. 7. 24, where shoes act ὥστ' ἀπαρτίσαι χωλοῦς ('so that the lame walk normally'). The construction of πόδα is that familiar in e.g. Ar. Eccl. 162 οὐκ ἂν προβαίην τὸν πόδα τὸν ἕτερον, Eur. Hec. 53 περᾶ... πόδα (πόδα being virtually a



## LEADER OF SECOND HALF-CHORUS.

And see, yonder the king himself, the son of Oedipus, apt to the time to learn what the Scout has to tell. He likewise hastens with pace out of his wont.

[The SCOUT enters hurriedly from the left; ETEOCLES (followed by the six champions and by attendants) from the right.

## The SCOUT.

Let me recount—I know them well—the doings of the enemy, how his lot in the gates hath fallen to each man.

Already at the Proetid gate Tydeus is roaring; but the seer forbids him cross the passage of Ismenus, for the victims

but, as recc. have *πάλω*, the variants may point to readings *ῶ τ'...πάλω* or *ὄν τ'...πάλον*.  
*ὥς* Blomf. †. 365 Qu. *Ἰσμηνον*? †. 366 *γίνεται* M.

contained accus. = *ποδὸς ὄρεγμα*). A trans. use of *ἀπαρτίζειν* seems to have no warrant. [It would be much inferior to understand the sense as 'is irregular in pace,' i.e. his steps are not equal or alike. Eteocles may come in haste, but he does not come skippingly.]

362 *εὔ*: with *εἰδώς*. The position helps the emphasis. The abruptness of the Scout, who omits any salutation, is in keeping with the situation.

363 *ὥς τ' : τ'* is exegetic. See crit. n.—*ἐν πύλαις*: may mean (1) 'among the gates,' i.e. 'in the distribution of the gates,' or (2) local 'at the gates,' the expression being condensed for *λαγχάνειν στάσιν ἐν πύλαις*. Though the latter might appear the more difficult, it is practically proved by 438 *λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα*. For the manner of drawing the lots and dividing the gates see note to v. 445.

364 *Τυδεὺς μὲν*: Tydeus is mentioned first as being the leading spirit (cf. 558 sqq.). The gate which he draws happens to be the Proetid (Introd. § 16), but this is not otherwise the 'first' gate according to any necessary arrangement.—*μὲν* is not answered by *δ'* of the next line, but begins the enumeration, and is in contrast with what is said of the others (*δ'* of v. 410 &c.). There is no misplacement for *ἤδη μὲν βρέμει*.—*ἤδη*. Tydeus is impatient. The poet brings the champions close to the city so that the *ἄγγελος* may see their actions and accoutrements. The delay imposed by Amphiarus is the dramatist's device for enabling him to spend time over the descriptions.

365 *πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνόν*: *Ἰσμηνόν* must be adjective, since *πόρος* apparently cannot be treated (like *ποταμός*) as in apposition. Either a gen. or an adj. is employed, as in *Αἰγαῖος πόρος*, *Ἀχερούσιον πόρον* (Eur. *H. F.* 838), *Σκαμάνδριον οἶσμα* (Eur. *Hel.* 368). In Eur. *Suppl.* 1 *Ἐλευσίνος χθονός* is not gen. of *Ἐλευσίς χθών* but of *Ἐλευσίνος χθών*. [The form *Ἰσμήνιον* is itself just possible: see 115; or *Ἰσμηνον* = the Aeolic *Ἰσμηνον* (for *Ἰσμήνιον*) may be the accentuation.]—*οὐκ ἐὰν περᾶν*. If the enemy had not been prevented from attacking at once, the present delay of Eteocles would have been absurd (Introd. § 21). The (supposed) comment of Euripides (*Phoen.* 751) would be in a large measure disposed of by this consideration. The present passage shows how near the Ismenus must have been to the Proetid gate (Introd. §§ 15, 16).

366 *ὁ μάντις*: Amphiarus, between whom and Tydeus there was a special dislike (558 sqq.). An epic army necessarily contains 'the seer' (e.g. Chalcas and Helenus), but the reference here is definite.—*οὐ γὰρ...καλά*. This passage might have warned Cobet against his besetting sin of discerning *foeda emblemata* in e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 4. 18 *γίνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἰέναι καλὰ* (*Nov. Lect.* p. 386), *An.* 6. 4. 9 (*Nov. Lect.* p. 477). Doubtless the article makes a difference, and doubtless *καλά* might be omitted, but there the argument ends.—*σφάγια* (see 216) were consulted for omens as well as the offerings to the supernals. [There is no reference, as Wecklein imagines, to the sacrifice called *διαβατήρια*. This was offered on crossing

Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος  
 μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὥς δράκων βοᾷ.  
 θείνει δ' ὀνείδει μάντιν Οἰκλείδην σοφὸν  
 σαίνειν μόνον τε καὶ μάχην ἀνυχία. 370  
 τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους  
 σείει, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω  
 χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον.  
 ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε,  
 φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον. 375

<sup>λε μ</sup> 367 λιμένος M (λε by m, μ by m'). 368 αὐγαῖσιν Hartung. A previous suggestion αὐγαῖσιν...θοᾶ ('fidgets') is here withdrawn. †. 369 θένει M, corr. recc. The usual punctuation is ...σοφόν, | σαίνειν. †. 372 ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω M, γρ. τῷ μ', δὲ τῷ (or τοῦ)

the enemy's border; here we are concerned only with the sacrifices before a battle. It is not only Tydeus who is checked, it is all the champions. We need not therefore refer to the Roman *peremnia*.]

367 μαργῶν: i.e. δορμαργος, explained by καὶ κ.τ.λ. The chief notion in the word is of mad greed.

368 μεσημβριναῖς: the snake is most excited at the hottest part of the day: cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 434 (anguis) *flam-mantia lumina torquens* | *sacvit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu*, Ov. *Met.* 2. 175 *serpens...incaluit sumpsitque novus fervoribus iras*.—κλαγγαῖσιν...βοᾷ may be bad natural history, but cf. *Hymn. Apoll.* 360 (182) *θεοπέσση δ' ἐνοπή γένετ' ἀσπετος* (of the δράκαινα at Pytho), Ap. Rhod. 4. 129, Pind. *O.* 8. 40 *εἰς* (sc. δράκων) δ' ἐσόρουσε βοάσας (where Gildersleeve remarks 'mythical serpents make mythical outcry,' although that explanation hardly accounts for a conception on the part of Aeschylus). It would seem that the hissing of the snake was popularly exaggerated, and that Aesch. (like Pindar) is drawing upon tradition rather than upon personal observation.

369 θένει: cf. *Suppl.* 475 *μαστικ-τῆρα καρδίας λόγον*, *Eum.* 136 *ἀντίκεντρα* (ὀνείδην), Soph. *Aj.* 724 *ὀνείδεσιν ἡρασσον*, Hor. *O.* 3. 12. 3 *patruae verbera linguae*. It in no way follows from this that Amphiaras is within hearing (cf. 557), and the passage therefore lends no argument as to the position of the gates.—Οἰκλείδην. The name Ἀμφιάραος or Ἀμφιάρεως is not easy to accommodate to the somewhat precise metre of Aeschylus, although *inf.* 556 we have Ἀμφιάρω.

Nevertheless the substitution of the patronymic has another motive. Oecles was himself a famous warrior who had served with Heracles against Laomedon (Apollod. 11. 6. 4), and the title is here laudatory (cf. Pind. *O.* 6. 13, Bacchyl. 8. 16).

If σοφόν is simply epithet to Οἰκλείδην it must be intended to emphasise the recklessness of Tydeus, who in his unwisdom θένει...μάντιν...σοφόν, an expression which suggests almost a blasphemy. But it is more effective, and makes a neater construction, to join σοφὸν σαίνειν. The 'wisdom' of the seer, says Tydeus, lies in shunning battle.

370 σαίνειν. A dog fawns upon his master in order to escape punishment; hence the verb obtained a wider meaning of 'deprecating'; cf. 691 *τί οὖν ἐτ' ἂν σαίνομεν δλέθριον μόνον*; In *P. V.* 860 *προσηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ* | *μέλ-λουσ' ἔσεσθαι*. τῶνδε προσσαίνει \* τι, we should probably read *προσηγορεύθης*. "ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ | μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθαι, τί τόδ' ἔπος σαίνεις ἐτι;" ('why do you any longer deprecate that name?').—μόρον τε καὶ μάχην: not only death, but fighting at all.

371 sq. τρεῖς: an unusual and ostentatious number, while κατασκίους implies equally ostentatious size. Aristophanes (*Ach.* 964) makes Lamachus similarly imposing (ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύρινος, δε τὴν Γοργόνα | πάλαι κραδαίων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους, *ibid.* 1109). On *Ar. Pac.* 395 *εἰ τι Πεισάνδρου βδελύττει τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ὀφρύς* the schol. remarks *ἐχρηστο τριλοφία καὶ ὅπλοις ἐπισήμους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀνδρείους εἶναι μὴ ὄν*. In *Ar.* 94 the ἐποψ is distinguished by his τριλοφία. A Greek helmet might have no crest,



refuse fair omens. But Tydeus, rampant with passion for the fight, cries with the clamours of a serpent at noonday. And he lashes with ill words the seer, Oecles' son, 'skilled to cringe in faintheartedness at death and fight.' With shouts like these he tosses three overshadowing plumes, his helmet's mane, and from beneath his shield within bells wrought of bronze give fearsome clamourings. On his shield he bears this insolent device; 'tis a sky of crafty work ablaze with stars, and in the middle a bright

recc. It is just possible that σῶ is due to σό- written over φό- of φόβον in the next line (i.e. φόβον). I formerly suggested κράσπεδον δὲ τῷ ('and as a fringe thereto'), comparing the δικτυωτὸς θύσανος with bells in Diodor. 18. 26; but I now prefer the text. †.

either one or two upright crests, a falling crest or mane, a falling crest flanked by two uprights, but seldom three falling crests. The motive of the λόφοι was *in terrorem*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 620 *terribilem cristis galeam*, Hom. *Il.* 11. 42 δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἐνευεν, Tyrt. 9 (7). 26 κινεῖτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 19. 1, Theoc. 23. 186, Lucr. 2. 632 *terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*, Shak. *Cor.* 3. 3. 126 *Your enemies, with nodding of their plumes, | Fan you into despair*. While speaking as above, Tydeus σείει τοὺς λόφους and jingles his bells.

**372 κράνους χάλυμ'**: not a merely rhetorical addition, but conveying two notions, (1) in describing the crests as falling and not upright, (2) in intimating that they were (as a 'mane') made of horse-hair: cf. *Il.* 19. 382 ἵππων τρυφάλεια, περισσείοντο δ' ἔθειραι, and also ἵπποδάσεια and the *hirsuta iuba* of Propert. 4. 11. 19.

**ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω**: 'within, under the shield.' ἔσωθεν is not required; the bells ἔσω κλάζουσι although the sound may come ἔσωθεν. For the bells cf. Soph. *fr.* 775 σὺν σάκει κωδωνοκρότω. That they were underneath appears also from [Eur.] *Rhes.* 384 κλύε μὲν κόμπους κωδωνοκρότους | παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας. Their use is partly for mere effect (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 672 Α κώδωνες δὲ πολλοὶ κατακρέμανται τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὑποκομποῦντες ἐν τῷ βαδίσει), partly for driving away evil influences (Luc. *Philops.* 15). [For the reading see crit. n.]

**373 κλάζουσι...φόβον**: cf. 116 κινύρονται φόνον, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 306 πολλοῖσι μὲν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον. The sense of φόβον is that of 'an attempt at frightening,' 'scare.' The Scout does not acknowledge actual 'fear' as the result. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 4. 49 *magnum illa*

*terrorem intulerat Iovi | fidens iuventus horrida brachis* (which should surely be understood in this sense).

**374 sqq. ἔχει...ἐπ' ἀσπίδος**. For devices on shields see *Introd.* p. lii. This shield, like the rest on the Argive side, was evidently round, otherwise the οὐρανός would be inappropriate. A black ground would have stars and a moon wrought upon it in metal, presumably gold (421, 631). Euripides (*El.* 464) imitates this emblem with less truth to nature (ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φάεθων | κύκλος ἀελίοιο | ...ἀστρων τ' αἰθέριοι χοροί).

**ὑπέρφρον**. The arrogance consists in representing himself as making the other warriors hide their diminished heads. Cf. Sappho 3 ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν | ἀψ' ἀποκρύπτουσι φάνεον εἶδος, | ὅπποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη, Bacchyl. 9. 27, Bion 10 (16). 3, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 110 ἀλλὰ μοι Εὐφράντη μίλα πρὸς δέκα· καὶ γὰρ ἀπείρους | ἀστέρας ἐν μήνῃ φέγγος ὑπερτίθεται (where Mackail quotes Wotton's *You common people of the skies, | What are you, when the moon shall rise?*), Hor. *Od.* 1. 12. 45 *micat inter omnes | Iulium sidus, velut inter ignes | luna minores*, *Carm. popul.* 50 (Hiller). 11. This insolence is emphasised by the insistence in λαμπρά, πανσέληνος, μέσῳ, πρέσβιστον, ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει. For the repetition of the word ἀσπίδος see 43 sq., 261 sq., and ἀστρων...ἀστρων next.

**375 φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἀστροῖς**: lit. 'blazing under the heavenly bodies,' but this use of the dat. (often simply of accompaniment) comes to be practically indistinguishable from that of the genitive. Cf. Bacchyl. 3. 17 λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός, Pind. *fr.* 48 αἰθόμενα δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις, Soph. *O. T.* 202 ὑπὸ σφ' φθίσον κεραυνῷ, *Cho.* 28 (n.).

**τετυγμένον**: i.e. 'wrought,' 'worked,'

λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,  
 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμὸς πρέπει.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις σάγαις  
 βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις, μάχης ἐρῶν,  
 ἵππος χαλινῶν ὥς κατασθμαίνων μένει,  
 ὅστις βοῇν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει μένων.  
 τίν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν  
 κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;  
 ET. κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὕτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμι' ἐγώ,  
 οὐδ' ἐλκοποιὰ γίνεται τὰ σήματα.  
 λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἀνευ δορός.  
 καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
 ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν,  
 τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἢ ἀνοία τινί.

380

385

377 ἄστρον M<sup>a</sup>.378 ὑπερκόμποις Blomf. (cf. 391). ἀγᾶις M, corr. m<sup>i</sup>.

379 μάχης δ' ἐρῶν Brunck.

380 χαλινῶν δ' m<sup>i</sup>. κατασθμαίνει μένων Robortello.

and not merely painted, the notion of art and care being implied as in the Homeric *νυκτὸς*, *ποιητὸς*, *πηκτὸς*; e.g. *Il.* 23. 718 *τρίποδος ποιητοῦ*, *ibid.* 741 *ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα τετυγμένον* (= 'with work of art upon it').

376 sq. λαμπρὰ κ.τ.λ. The moon which represents Tydeus is no less than at the full, it is brilliant, it occupies the middle of the shield (the *ὀμφαλός*).—*πρέσβιστον ἄστρον* is perhaps better taken predicatively with *πρέπει* than in simple apposition to *πανσέληνος*. Not only is *ἄστρον* technically the more probable original; it is also superior to *ἄστρον* as adding some point by balancing *νυκτὸς*; viz. 'the chief of the heavenly bodies, the very eye of the night.' The sun and moon are included among *ἄστρον*; cf. *Ath.* 276 D *τὸ τῆς σελήνης ἄστρον*, *Verg. Aen.* 9. 405 *astrorum decus* (the moon). Yet the schol. on *Arat. Phaen.* 11 calls *Pind. fr.* 107. 2 *ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον* (of the sun) a 'peculiar' use.—*πρέσβιστον*: it *πρεσβύεται* τῶν ἄστρον; cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1365 *εἰ δὲ τι πρεσβύτερον...κακοῦ κακόν*.

ὀφθαλμός: combining two thoughts: (1) without it the night would be blind: cf. *Pind. O.* 3. 20 *διχόμηνις ὄλον...* | *ἐσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε μήνα*. The Night is personified, as is *ἡμέρα* in *Soph. Ant.* 100 *ἀκτὶς ἀελίου...χρυσέας ἀμέρας βλέφαρον*: (2) it is the 'darling' or chief possession: cf. 517, *Pind. O.* 6. 16 *ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς*.—*πρέπει*: 'stands

out.' See *Cho.* 12 (n.), *sup.* 117, *Suppl.* 727.

378 ἀλύων: with *σάγαις* as instrumental. His folly is shewn in emblem, plumes, and bells, which are all included in *σάγαις*.

379 sqq. βοᾷ κ.τ.λ. The construction is *μάχης ἐρῶν βοᾷ, ὡς ἵππος (βοᾷ) μένει κατασθμαίνων χαλινῶν*. In *παρ' ὄχθαις* the dat. is preferred to the accus., with the notion that he stands at the river like a horse at the barrier. The metaphor is not from a horse waiting for battle, but (as Verrall has seen) from one waiting for a chariot-race (see 383). The former notion has its place (*Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1258 *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀρήιος ἵππος ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο | σκαρθμῷ ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον*), but the place is not here.—*μένει*: with impatient temper, often shown in fierce or strong breathing: cf. *Eum.* 654 *οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει*, *P. V.* 746 *ποταμὸς ἐκφυσᾷ μένος*. The word is used by Homer (*Il.* 23. 468) of the mettle shown by horses in the chariot-race. [The dat. will not follow *κατασθμαίνων*. We cannot therefore compare *Ag.* 248 *χαλινῶν ἀναύδῳ μένει* (where, it may be remarked, *μένει* is no synonym of *σθένει*).]

381 ὅστις. Paley should not say that this is 'wrongly used for *ὅς*.' The sense is clearly 'when (or if) he.'—*βοῇν σάλπιγγος*. The trumpet begins either a battle or a race: cf. *Soph. El.* 709 *χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦξαν* (the charioteers),



full moon shows forth preeminent among the stars, the very eye of night. With his accoutrements thus madly overweening he shouts upon the river-bank in lust for fight, like a steed that pants with fierceness upon the bit, when it waits fretting for the trumpet's blare.

Against him whom wilt thou post? Who is there, safe and sure, to stand champion of Proetus' gates when the barriers are unloosed?

ET. A man's bedizenments can daunt not me. Your blazons are no wound-makers, and crest and bell have no bite without the spear. Nay, that night of which you tell, with its place upon the shield and its bright sheen of stars—perchance a man may find the folly prove prophet to him. For should night

βρέμει Schütz. †.

385 γίνεταί Μ.

381 ὀρμαίνων μένει recc. ὀργαίνει Hermann. κλύων Tyrwhitt. †.

389 ἡ ἀνοία τινί Μ, ἡ ἀνοία τινί m, ἡ ἄνοια recc. ἐννοία Blomf.,

Verg. *Aen.* 5. 113 *et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos*; and (of battle) *Pers.* 398, Eur. *Phoen.* 1378 σάλπιγγος ἤχη σῆμα φωνίου μάχης.

382 Προΐτου: the usual eponymus is found for the πόλαι Προΐτιδες. Pausanias (9. 8. 4) says he was ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, but knows nothing more of him.

383 κληῖθρων λυθέντων: not 'when the bars of the gates are unloosed' (for why should the Cadmeans do this?), but the metaphor of the impatient steed at the ἀφεσις of the hippodrome is maintained. The κληῖθρα are those of the *carceres* (οἰκήματα) from which the chariots are let free. See *Dict. Ant.* 1. 964.

384 κόσμον μὲν: μὲν is not answered directly, but by the thought, viz. 'but it is the spear that counts.'—τρέσαμ': 423 (n.).

385 οὐδ' ἔλκοποιά κ.τ.λ. From Alcaeus (schol.). Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 684 οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ὄψει τραῦμα, μὴ δρώσης χερσὶς, Plut. *Them.* 8. 1 οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων, οὔτε κραναὶ κομπῶδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι δεινὸν κ.τ.λ., Linn. 10. 39 *non enim cristas vulnere facere*, Tac. *Agr.* 32. —γίνεταί: not simply ἐστί, but the fact of their being σήματα does not 'make them into' workers of wounds.—τὰ is contemptuous generic. Cf. 417. The force is that of the lightly pronounced Shakespearian 'your.' [Not 'the said....']

386 λόφοι δέ: δέ explains rather than connects.—οὐ δάκνουσ': with the notion of an animal which may bark more than it bites or hiss more than it stings.

387 sq. καὶ νύκτα ταύτην...τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο. We should by no means call this an attraction to the case of the relative (as in *urbem quam statuo vestra est*). It is simply an instance of an accus. beginning the sentence in a manner which is not carried out according to promise. ἦν λέγεις...κυρεῖν interrupts the formally grammatical expression, and we have what is dramatically more natural in the mouth of an impatient or scornful man, viz. a virtual aposiopesis followed by a new beginning τάχ' ἂν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 449 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον δὲ πάλαι ζητεῖς | ...οὗτος ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε, Hdt. 2. 106 τὰς δὲ στήλας τὰς ἴστας κατὰ τὰς χώρας... αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεούσαι.—κυρεῖν is more than εἶναι, and implies (like *τυγχάνειν*) a certain fitness, which is explained in the next words.—οὐρανοῦ: depends either on (1) νύκτα, 'night-sky' (more strictly of course 'sky night'), the gen. being necessary (cf. 64) to explain how a 'night' can take shape upon a shield, or less well (2) on ἀστροῖσι: 'with the stars of a sky' (and not merely bright spots called ἀστρα).

389 τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἡ ἀνοία τινί. If the reading is correct we must emphasise μάντις: 'the folly of it may perhaps prove prophetic.' Without such emphasis we should require an epithet, e.g. 'an evil prophet.' Suspicion has attached to the quantity ἀνοία, but the doublet forms clearly existed. Cf. 672 εὐκλείαν, Soph. *fr.* 524 *τερπνῶς γὰρ δεῖ πάντας ἡ ἀνοία τρέφει*, 748 *παλιρροία βλου*, Ph. 129 *ὡς ἂν ἀγνοία προσῇ*, Tr. 350 *ἀγνοία μ' ἔχει*, Eur. *Andr.* 520 ἀνοία

εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι, 390  
 τῷ τοι φέροντι σῆμ' ὑπέρκομπον τόδε  
 γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον,  
 καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τήνδ' ὕβριν μαντεύεται.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ Τυδεῖ κεδνὸν Ἀστακοῦ τόκον  
 τόνδ' ἀντιτάξω προστάτην πυλωμάτων, 395  
 μάλ' εὐγενῇ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον  
 τιμῶντα καὶ στυγοῦνθ' ὑπέρφρονας λόγους·  
 αἰσχυρῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ' εἶναι φιλεῖ.  
 σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὧν Ἄρης ἐφέισατο,  
 ρίζωμ' ἀνεῖται, κάρτα δ' ἔστ' ἐγχώριος, 400  
 Μελάνιππος. ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ.  
 Δίκη δ' ὁμαίμων κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται  
 εἵργειν τεκούσῃ μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

ἀγνοία Schwenk. Perhaps \*ἀλλοία (which I now prefer to \*ἀντία). 391 ὑπέρκομπον recc. 392 ὀρθῶς γ' rec. ὀρθῶς τ' H. Voss. 393 μαντεύεται M and recc.,

(anapaests), Eustath. p. 1579. 30 καὶ ἡ ἀναιδέα δὲ φησι (sc. Ael. Dionys.) καὶ ἡ προνοία, ὧν πάντων ἐκτείνεται μὲν ἡ τελευταία ἡ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῆς ὀξύνεται. Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν. ὧ προνοία (read παρανοία) καὶ ἀναιδέα, Choerobosc. (Bekk. Anecd. p. 1314) ἀλήθεια κοινῶς καὶ ἀληθεῖα Ἀττικῶς, Chandler<sup>2</sup> § 103, and Ionic ἀνοή &c.

In sense ἡ ἀνοία is explained by ἀλύνων and context (378). It consists in the madness of the boasting and its inevitable φθόνος. With *τινί* in oblique reference to a definite person cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1138 τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοῦπος ἔρχεται *τινι*, *Ant.* 751, *Ar. Ran.* 552, *Eur. Ion* 1311, *H. F.* 748, *Theoc.* 5. 120 &c. With the thought cf. Shak. *Henry V.* 3. 7 *RAM. The armour that I saw in your tent to-night, are those stars or suns upon it?* *CON. Stars, my lord. DAU. Some of them will fall to-morrow, I hope.* [The line is thus clearly defensible at every point, but, if any alteration should be made, it would perhaps be to *μάντις ἀλλοία*. ἀλλοῖος = 'adverse.' Cf. *Hdt.* 5. 40 ἵνα μὴ τι ἀλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ βουλευσάνται, *Dem.* 1442. 11, *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 1020. So ἕτερος, ἀλλότριος.]

390 θανόντι: synchronous with πέσοι. See *Cho.* 124 (n.) and add *Ag.* 957 φυλλὰς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους | σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα.

391 sq. τῷ τοι φέροντι: φέροντι is emphatic.—ὀρθῶς = 'with true interpretation'; ἐνδίκως = 'with just interpretation.' For the former cf. *Soph. Ant.* 99 ἄνους μὲν ἐρχη τοῖς φίλοις δ' ὀρθῶς φίλη (i.e. φίλη in the true sense), *Eur. H. F.* 56 οἱ δ' ὄντες ὀρθῶς (sc. φίλοι), *I. A.* 560.

393 καὐτὸς...μαντεύεται: 'and so it is against himself that he is boding thus.' The alteration to the fut. has been due to a misunderstanding of καί.—τήνδ' ὕβριν: contained acc. = τήνδε τὴν ὑβριστικὴν μαντείαν.

394 ἐγὼ δέ: 'and now for my part.' The use of Τυδεῖ instead of e.g. αὐτῷ has its purpose. 'Against a Tydeus I will set a Melanippus' (one quite as noble, being Ἀστακοῦ τόκον, and otherwise superior).

396 sq. εὐγενῇ τε καὶ κ.τ.λ. For the connection between εὐγένεια and αἰδώς (here αἰσχύνῃ) see Paley's note.—θρόνον is applicable to either a teacher (= καθ' ἑδραν in *Plat. Prot.* 315 c) or a divinity (*Eum.* 514 ὦ Δίκα, | ὧ θρόνοι τ' Ἐρινύων, *ibid.* 163 Δίκας θρόνος, *Soph. Ant.* 854 Δίκας βάθρον). In either case it is the seat of authority. The art. τὸν particularises: 'among authorities he honours that of Modesty.'—καὶ στυγοῦνθ': 'and (consequently) showing (221) hatred of...':



fall upon his eyes in death, 'tis to the bearer that this arrogant device might answer to its name with truth and justice, and so his insolent presaging is against himself. For my part, against a Tydeus I will post this doughty son of Astacus for champion of the portals. Right noble is he, and one who reveres the throne of Modesty and abhors presumptuous speech. His rule is to be slow to deeds unseemly, and yet no weakling. A young shoot sprung from the Sown men whom Ares spared, and son of our soil indeed, is Melanippus.

For the achievement, Ares will decide it with his dice; but of a surety the Justice of kindred blood sends him with charge to fend off the foeman's spear from the mother who gave him birth.

[MELANIPPUS *departs* (to left).]

μαντεύεται m. ↓.

394 M has a paragraphus before the line. 401 \*Arews schol. (q.v.). 402 δμαίων M. m has written δ nearly over the first μ (i.e. δ δαίμων, whence δίκη δ' Turneb.).

cf. Pind. *P.* 4. 284 εμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μῶσιν.

398 αίσχρων γάρ κ.τ.λ.: 'yes, it is his mind to be slow to deeds of shame, but (yet) no coward.' It should perhaps hardly be necessary to point out that the construction is φιλεῖ αἰσχρῶν (μὲν) ἀργὸς εἶναι, μὴ κακὸς δέ, otherwise οὐ would be required for μῆ.—κακὸς with the sense of e.g. Eur. *I.* 1012 κακὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ λίαν ταρβεῖ.

399 σπαρτῶν... ἐφέλατο. Of the Sparti, sprung from the serpent's teeth sown by Cadmus (Apollodor. 3. 4. 1, Eur. *Phoen.* 657), there were five survivors, who assisted Cadmus in founding Thebes and became the ancestors of the Theban nobility. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 4 ἐνθ' ὁ γηγενὴς | σπαρτῶν στάχυν ἐβλασεν, ὦν γένους Ἄρης | ἔσωσ' ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγον, οἱ Κάδμου πόλιν | τεκνοῦσι παίδων παισίν, 794, &c. See *Introd.* § 7.

400 ῥέξωμ': cf. ἔρνος, ὄξος, θάλος.—κάρτα δ' ἐστ' ἐγχώριος: 'he is in very truth a man of the soil (χώρα),' being earthborn. This use of κάρτα in playing upon words, i.e. where a novel interpretation is emphasised, is frequent (cf. 402, 923 κάρτα δ' εἶσ' δμαῖοι). Two of the five Sparti bore the appropriate names Χθόνιος and Οὐδαῖος.

401 ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις κ.τ.λ. At no time will Eteocles boast or assume victory (even in v. 389 he will only say τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο). See note to 549. It is in this respect that he differs from the enemy

and therefore has an advantage over them. He will send Melanippus, and with Mel. will go Right at least; but, as for the actual result, he will assert nothing. With the thought cf. Soph. *Ant.* 328 τοῦτο γὰρ τύχη κρινεῖ, Pind. *I.* 4. 11 κρίνεται δ' ἀλὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν, Bacchyl. 17. 45 πρόσθε χειρῶν βίαν | δεῖξομεν· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ οὐδὲν δαίμων κρινεῖ, Shak. *K. L.* 3. 7. 80 Come on, and take the chance of anger. There is emphasis upon ἐν κύβοις as well as on Ἄρης, since (Bacchyl. 5. 129) οὐ γὰρ | ... Ἄρης | κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμῳ, | τυφλὰ δ' ἐκ χειρῶν βέλη | ψυχὰς ἐπὶ δυσμενέων φοῖτ' ἀνάντων τε φέρει | τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλῃ. Ares is ἀλλοπρόσαλλος and τυφλός. For the dice of war cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 183 ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος, 446 ῥίπτεις κυβεῶν τὸν πρὸς Ἀργεῖους Ἄρη.—ἔργον is the fight and its result. According to Pausanias Mel. slew Tydeus and was himself slain by Amphiaras.

402 δμαίων κάρτα: cf. 400: 'the Justice of blood-connection indeed' (explained by τεκούση μητρί). He is a child of the land in no merely metaphorical sense.—Δίκη is the embodiment of the fitness of things and Δίκη... δμαίων corresponds to e.g. Zeus Ὀμῶνιος, Φίλιος &c.—νιν προστέλλεται: he bears her commission. [κάρτα might otherwise be taken with the whole clause as signifying, 'there can be no doubt that Δίκη goes with him, whatever Ares may do.']

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τὸν ἄμόν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν

θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὡς δικαίως πόλεως

405

πρόμαχος ὄρνυται· τρέμω δ' αἵματη-

φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων

ὀλομένων ιδέσθαι.

ΑΓ. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί·

Καπανεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραισιν εἵληχεν πύλαις,

410

γίγας ὃδ' ἄλλος τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου

μείζων, ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φρονεῖ,

πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δειν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι τύχη·

404 ἄμόν M, ἄμόν M<sup>a</sup>. †. νυν M.  
Heimsoeth is not required for metre.

405 δίκαιος Porson. διὰ δίκας of  
406 πρόμαχος M, corr. m'. M divides

404 sqq. It should be noted, in each of the lyrical comments of the Chorus, that it takes up the words or thought of the last speaker (e.g. in *δικαίως* after *Δίκη κ.τ.λ.*). Hence *νυν*. Eteocles has said that Ares will decide with dice: 'it lies with the Gods.' The Chorus responds 'Well, may the Gods grant that it be *our* champion who wins.'—*εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν* refers to the expression in v. 401.—*τὸν ἄμόν* bears more emphasis than *ἄμόν* alone ('ours, not theirs').—*ἀντίπαλον* is not strictly=*πρόμαχον*, but describes him relatively to the contest itself, 'the opponent on our side.'—[*ἄμόν* is originally more correct than *ἄμόν*, since the spiritus asper only comes into *ἡμεῖς*, *ἡμέτερος* from *ὑμεῖς*, *ὑμέτερος*. Brugmann *Gk. Gr.* § 291. But *ἄμόν* appears to have been universally established before the date of tragedy. Kühner-Blass<sup>3</sup> I, p. 602.]

405 ὡς=οὕτως ὡς: '(in the same way) as he sets forth with right on his side.' We might also treat ὡς as=ὅτι οὕτως (cf. 83), but should not regard it as=ἐπεὶ.

406 sq. *τρέμω κ.τ.λ.* The construction is *τρέμω ιδέσθαι μόρους ὀλομένων ὑπὲρ φίλων* ('perishing on behalf of their dear ones'). The order is rather awkward through this juxtaposition of two genitives not in agreement. For a similar disregard of possible ambiguity cf. 424 *καὶ τῶδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τικτεται*, 1016 (n.). But the phrase *ιδέσθαι ὑπὲρ φίλων* was so well recognised that a Greek hearer could hardly be misled. It is scarcely correct to say that *ὀλομένων* stands for *τῶν ὀλο-*

*μένων*. It is rather *τινῶν* (=ἦν *τινες ὀλωνται*). Cf. *Cho.* 360 (n.) and add *Ag.* 39 *μαθοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι*, *fr. adesp.* 414. 2 *καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κἂν κακοῖσι κειμένων | σοφὴ κέκλημαι*.—*τρέμω ...ιδέσθαι*: not 'I shudder at seeing,' but 'with fear to see.' See note to 707 *πέφρικα τὰν...θεὸν...τελέσαι*.—*αἵματηφόρους*: active; 'bringing blood.' The Chorus of females shrinks from the sight or thought of blood. *μόροι* have various forms, not necessarily including bloodshed, and the adj. defines *μόρους* with a visualisation.

409 οὕτως: 'as you say.' Their own words *εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοὶ* are repeated with solemn emphasis.

410 *Καπανεὺς*: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 180 sqq., 1129 sqq. and contrast the character given in Eur. *Suppl.* 862 sqq. The name was readily associated in the Greek mind with *καπνός* in the sense of 'boaster' (so Paley *Introd. Eur.* p. xxxii). A play upon the words occurs in Eur. *Suppl.* 496 *Καπανεὺς κεράνιον | δέμας καπνοῦται*. See further the note on 427 sqq. From the present and similar passages (taken from the epic) the name Capaneus became proverbial for a climber on a ladder. See the passage (from Aristoph.) in Ath. 238 c (where for *ἀναβῆναι τι πρὸς | κλιμάκιον Καπανεὺς* we should perhaps read *ἀναβῆναι τι πρὸς | <ὕψος> ἐν κλιμακίδι*).

ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραισιν: *Introd.* § 16. There is no intended implication that these gates are next to the *Προίτιδες*; but Capaneus comes second in the lots, and,



CHO. May the gods grant that ours be the man who wins, <sup>1st</sup> for 'tis with justice he sets forth to champion the land! Yet <sup>strophe.</sup> I shudder from fear to see the bloody deaths of men slain for their kin.

SCOUT. For him, e'en so! May the gods grant he win!

At the Electrae gates Capaneus hath his lot; another Giant this, greater than he last reckoned. His boast is proud, too proud for man, and at the walls he hurls dread threats, which may the event not crown. For, 'with the will of Heaven or

with τρέμω | δ' αἱματηφόρους μόρους | ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.  
δοῖεν M, with B'A' over the two words respectively (m).  
κράνοι m'.

409 τούτων M<sup>a</sup>. θεοί

413 κραίνοι M,

for he is named, his gate is named also. For the condensed expression (= ἐλληγεν ὥστε ἐπ' ἥλ. στήναι) see 363 (n.).

411 γίγας δδ' ἄλλος κ.τ.λ.: commonly taken as 'a giant, in this case...' according to the common idiom of ἄλλος seen in e.g. Eur. *Ion* 161 ὅδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει | κύκνος (after mention of an eagle), Cho. 187 (n.), Xen. *An.* 1. 5. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον. This rendering is due to a false interpretation of γίγας as denoting size. It appears to have been mentioned in the original *Thebais* that Tydeus was short of stature (so Hom. *Il.* 5. 801 Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἦν δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής). Sturdy strength in short men is remarked upon also in Pind. *I.* 3. 67 sqq. οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὀριωνεῖαν ἔλαχεν (sc. Melissus) | ... καίτοι πότ' Ἀνταῖον δόμοις | Θηβῶν ἀπὸ Καδμεῖαν μορφάν βραχύς, ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμπτos κ.τ.λ. (viz. Heracles). Doubtless therefore Capaneus was μέγας even in this sense, which may very well be glanced at. But the true meaning of γίγας is that of a blustering opponent of the Olympians. So here 'another Gigas, greater than the one already counted.' μέγας γίγας is to be understood exactly as in the English, i.e. 'a greater Giant' = 'a more pronounced Giant.' Capaneus is worse than Tydeus in his wild conduct and disregard of the gods, particularly in disputing the supremacy of Zeus Γιγαντολέτωρ (Luc. *Tim.* 4). Such a sense of μέγας deserves a more frank recognition. Cf. *inf.* 560 μέγιστον... διδάσκαλον, 598 μέγας προφήτης, Ath. 352 A πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα, ἵνα λάβῃ τι, αὐτὸς ἔφη μέγας εἶναι πτωχός, Soph. *Ph.* 586 φίλος μέγιστος, *Aj.* 1331, *El.* 46 μέγιστος δορυξένων, Aeschin. *Tim.* 22 (68), Eur. *fr.* 692 τοῖς μὲν δίκαιοις

ἐνδίκος, τοῖς δ' αὖτε κακοῖς | πάντων μέγιστος πολέμιος. It is a mistake to alter Eur. *H. F.* 341 σὺ δ' ἦσθ' ἀρ' ἦσσαν ἢ δόκει εἶναι φίλος τοῖς ἦσσαν. Similarly Andr. 86 Ἑρμῖον γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰ φύλαξ.

The salient characteristic of the Γιγάντες was ὕβρις or ἀτασθαλία: cf. Bacchyl. 15. 62 κείνα (sc. ὕβρις) καὶ ὑπερφιάλους | γᾶς παῖδας ὄλεσσαν Γιγάντας, Hom. *Od.* 7. 206 ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων (with mention of the Cyclopes, of whom it is said in 9. 275 οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν, | οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων), Eur. *Bacch.* 541 ἄγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον, | φόνιον δ' ὥστε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς (with reference to the impiety of Pentheus and his descent from the serpent's teeth), *ibid.* 995 τὸν ἄθεον ἀνομῶν... γόνον γηγενή, Shak. *Hamlet* 4. 5. 99 *What is the cause, Laertes, | That thy rebellion looks so giant-like?* The association of Capaneus with the Giants in this sense was apparently in the epic: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1130 ἀσπίδος τύποις ἐπὶ γίγας ἐπ' ὤμοις γηγενῆς δλην πόλιν | φέρων, Pseud.-Hom. *Batrachom.* 282 ὦ ποτε καὶ Καπανῆα κατέκτανες ὄβριμον ἄνδρα | καὶ μέγαν Ἑγκέλαδον καὶ ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων.—λελεγμένον: not simply = εἰρημένον, but 'told' (=reckoned, counted).

412 ὁ κόμπος: 'the vaunt (in this case),' the article implying that some vaunting emblem is presupposed.—οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπων: Tydeus had been arrogant, but not, like Capaneus, flatly impious.

413 πύργους... ἀπειλεῖ: he literally addresses the defences. The emphatic word is δαίν', 'monstrous.'—τύχη may be either 'the event' (or 'success,' τὸ τυχεῖν) or the personified *Fortuna*.

θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν  
 καὶ μὴ θέλοντος φησὶν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς  
 ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψασαν ἐμποδῶν σχέθειν.  
 τὰς δ' ἀστραπάς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς  
 μεσημβρινούσιν θάλπεσιν προσήκασεν.  
 ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον,  
 φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὠπλισμένη·  
 χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν "πρήσω πόλιν."  
 τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται;  
 τίς ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ;

415 sq. The text is sound, but has been vitiated by 'emendation' to *σχεθεῖν* (cf. 75 c.n.), whence οὐδ' ἂν τὴν Hirschig, οὐδὲ τὰν Meineke, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἂν (\*ed. previously). Other changes have been more violent. *ἔριν* <ἂν> is not Aeschylean metre. ↓.

414 θεοῦ τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The epic contained this: cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 498 ὥμοσεν πόλιν | πέρσειν θεοῦ θέλοντος ἦν τε μὴ θέλη. The expression as in *Cycl.* 331 κὰν θέλη κὰν μὴ θέλη. The stress on *θεοῦ* must not be overlooked.

415 sq. οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς...σχεθεῖν. The common reading is *σχεθεῖν*: cf. 75 (n.). It is this substitution of the aor. which has caused all the trouble of the passage. Capaneus, using the generic, or anticipatory vivid, present, would say οὐδ' ἡ Διὸς ἔρις με ἴσχει (ἐπέχει): 'the opposition of Zeus is no hindrance to me.' Such a use of the pres. is favoured by Aesch. (cf. *P. V.* 183, 793, *Cho.* 548 n.).—*Διὸς* is emphatic, and the word *ἔριν* places Zeus in the position of a baffled antagonist. It would be too strong, even for Capaneus, to say τὸν Δία εἰς ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψαντα, but the text differs from that sense only in so far as it keeps in the background an actual appearance of Zeus in person. The shape which his *ἔρις* would take is naturally that of the thunderbolt, and Aesch. is thinking of *e.g.* Hom. *Il.* 8. 133 βροντήσας δ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἀφήκ' ἀργήτα κεραυνόν, | καὶ δὲ πρόσθ' ἵππων Διομήδεος ἦκε χαμᾶζε. That this particular form of vaunt also appeared in the epic is seen from the almost identical Καπανεὺς...ἐκόμπασε | μηδ' ἂν τὸ σεμνὸν πῦρ νιν εἰργαθεῖν Διὸς Eur. *Phoen.* 1175.—πέδῳ: for the needlessness of *πέδοι* see *Cho.* 47 (n.). In Soph. *El.* 747 πῖπτοντος πέδῳ should also be retained.

[The grammar is indefensible if *σχεθεῖν* is read. Though it is easy to suggest οὐδ' ἔτ' ἂν or (with Meineke) οὐδὲ τὰν (ταν

becoming *τὴν* for obvious reasons) there is no probability in such conjectures. The article is effective and necessary: 'not even the (great) opposition of Zeus (itself)': cf. Shak. *K. L.* 3. 7. 67 *the winged vengeance*. Nor can we read *ἔριν* <ἂν> πέδῳ κ.τ.λ. since Aesch. does not break in this way an anapaestic first foot. Such a severance occurs once or twice in Euripides, but is obviously more natural where the anapaest is formed by a prepos. and its case, or by *e.g.* ἵνα μὴ (Eur. *fr.* 953. 21). In Eur. *fr.* 112. 2 λάλος ἐστὶν οὗτος· οὐκ ἐρωτῶσιν λέγει the true reading is perhaps λάλος τις οὗτος κ.τ.λ., and in Soph. *fr.* 356 ταχὺ δ' αὐτὸ δείξει τοῦργον it is better to read τάχ' αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ. For *σχεθεῖν* without *ἂν* we shall not find a true parallel among any of the certain instances quoted (*e.g.* Goodwin *M. & T.* § 127) for a *verbum declarandi* followed by an aor. as a quasi-future. In most of the uncertain instances we have either the common corruption -σασθαι, -σαι for -σεσθαι, -σειν, or else an obvious ground for suspecting loss of *ἂν*. Manifestly by no means parallel are (a) the cases in which εἰπεῖν, λέγω, or φημί may mean 'bid' (see *Cho.* 143 n.), among which should be included oracular utterances, which order rather than announce, *e.g.* Eur. *Ion* 534—536, *P. V.* 694 βάξας ἦλθεν Ἰνάχω... | κεῖ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν | κεραυνόν (where the ingenious πυρῶπ' ἂν of Sikes and Willson is not needed), (b) the cases of gnomic aor. (as in Soph. *Aj.* 1082, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 159), (c) the cases in which φημί = κατὰ-φημι (αἰνῶ), 'consent,' *e.g.* Theoc. 27. 59 φῆς μοι πάντα δόμεν after ἄλλην ἀμπε-



without,' he vows, 'I will lay waste the town; nor doth it stay me, though Zeus cast on the ground his hindrance in my path.' Lightning-flashes and the strikings of thunderbolts he likened to sun-heat at midday. For device he carries a firebearer, armourless, in whose grip for weapon is a blazing torch, and in letters of gold he speaks: 'I will fire the town.' Against such a champion send—Who will stand to meet him? Who will abide a man, undaunted by all his boasts?

**416** πέδοι Dind. ↓. ἐκποδῶν rec. (in the form ἐκ ποδῶν).

Herwerden. ↓.

**422** In πέμπε the final ε is made by m'.

**420** ὠπλισμένῳ

**423** κομπά-

σαντα M, with ζον over σαν (m'). ↓

χώνη τῆς σῆς τοι μείζονα δώσω, or in which ὀμνυμι (a word to the same purpose) is used (Hom. *Od.* 4. 253). In Soph. *Ph.* 1329 ἴσθι...ἐντυχεῖν was emended by Porson (ἀν τυχεῖν). See also Jebb on Soph. *El.* 442 (Append.). Two instances are left, viz. Eur. *Or.* 1527 μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι σὴν καθαιμάξαι δέρην, where δοκεῖς = προσδοκᾷς, and Hom. *Il.* 13. 666 πολλὰκι γὰρ οἱ εἵπε γέρον ἀγαθὸς Πολυίδος | νοῦσ' ὅπ' ἀργαλέη φθίσσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν | ἦ μετ' Ἀχαιῶν νηυσὶν ὑπὸ Τρῳέσσι δαμῆναι, where εἵπε is virtually a verb of bidding to make a choice.]

**417** sq. τὰς δ' ἀστραπὰς: the article is contemptuous generic, as in 385 (n.).—**μυσημβρινοῖσιν** κ.τ.λ.: i.e. he declared that they were no worse than the sun at his hottest. The notion is made the easier to the Greek from the use of **βολὰς** of the sun also: cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 607 ἥλιοιο βολαί. That ἀκτινοβολία itself is a weapon of the gods appears from e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 780 F νεμεσᾷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀπομιμουμένοις βροντὰς καὶ κερανοὺς καὶ ἀκτινοβολίας. Aeschylus would almost certainly derive this matter from the epic.—**προσήκασεν**: the tense refers to the time when he was heard to make the assertion of 414 sqq.

**419** γυμνόν: 'without armour' (in contempt of the enemy).—**πυρφόρον** can hardly be simply identical with **πῦρ φέροντα**, but is a title of an occupation, e.g. of the official **πυρφόρος** of an army (Hdt. 8. 6, Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 13. 2). The combination **ἄνδρα πυρφόρον** is like that of **ἄνδρα λατρὸν, αἰοδόν** &c. For the reply to this device see 431. In Eur. *Phoen.* 1121 it is Tydeus who has upon his shield Prometheus bearing a torch ὡς πρῶτον πόλιν.

**420** διὰ χερῶν: i.e. in the emblem; you will see it in his hands. The sense

is virtually 'and what he bears (as weapon) in his hands is a torch.' The plural **χερῶν** should signify that the heavy torch requires a use of both hands. It can scarcely mean (with the sing. **λαμπάς** and without more help) that he has a torch in each hand, although torch-bearers are sometimes so represented. In Eur. *Bacch.* 732 θύρσοις διὰ χερῶν ὠπλισμένοι the plur. naturally refers to the several persons. When Zeus holds his thunderbolt (500) it is διὰ χερὸς.

**421** χρυσοῖς...γράμμασιν: the letters are seen issuing from the mouth, as in mediaeval and Renaissance pictures: so 633. For the work on shields see *Introd.* p. lii. The riches of the Achaeans of Argos (cf. **πολύχρυσοι** of Mycenae) may have been dwelt upon in the epic: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 130 χρυσοῦ καναχῆς ὑπερσπλάις.

**423** **κομπάσαντα**: synchronous with **τρέσας**: 'having felt no fear on hearing him boast...' ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκόμψασεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτρεσεν ἐκείνος would become τὸν ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα οὐκ ἔτρεσεν. Not 'the man who has (now) made this boast,' a meaning for which the Greek is too curt and which is less vigorous in the picture. The use of **μῆ** calls for note. οὐ could not be substituted, since **τίς...οὐ τρέσας μενεῖ**; would suggest the customary use of **τίς οὐ** as = **πᾶς τίς**, i.e. the sense would naturally be 'who will await him and not turn coward?' (with implied answer οὐδεῖς), otherwise expressed by **πᾶς τίς τρέσειεν ἂν μένων**. On the other hand **μῆ** cannot be the same as in generic expressions with the article (**τίς ὁ μῆ τρέσας**); it is due to the sense, which is that of a wish, **εἴθε τίς μένοι**, or an injunction, **μενέτω τίς**. This would have been more obvious if **τίς ἂν μένοι**; had been substituted for its equivalent **τίς μενεῖ**; Cf. Hdt. 3. 127 **τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο**

ΕΤ. καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται.  
 τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων 425  
 ἢ γλώσσει ἀληθῆς γίγνεται κατήγορος.  
 Καπανεύς δ' ἀπειλεῖ δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένους  
 θεοὺς ἀτίζων, κάπογυμνάζων στόμα  
 χαρᾷ ματαία θνητὸς ὦν ἐς οὐρανὸν  
 πέμπει γεγωνὰ Ζηνὶ κυμαίνοντι ἔπη. 430  
 πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκῃ τὸν πυρφόρον  
 ἥξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον  
 μεσημβρινοῖσιν θάλπεσιν τοῖς ἡλίῳ.

424 The person-sign comes from m'. *κᾶν τῷδε* Hartung, καὶ τῷδε κόμπω Keck. ψ.  
 425 ἀνδράσι M. 426 γλώτ' M, γλώττ' m. γίγνεται M. 427 παρεσκευασμένους M<sup>a</sup>

ἐπιτελέσει σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ;  
 (=ἐπιτελεσάτω τις), Xen. Mem. 3. 1. 10  
 τί οὖν οὐ σκοποῦμεν πῶς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ  
 διαμαρτάνοιμεν; (=μὴ διαμαρτάνωμεν put  
 indirectly). Briefly put, since *τίς* *μενεῖ*;  
 is one form of bidding (=μενέτω τις), we  
 may substitute *τίς* *μενεῖ* μὴ *τρέσας*; for  
*μενέτω τις* μὴ *τρέσας*.

*τρέσας*: 'turning coward,' still retained  
 some of its Homeric sense of running  
 away (Il. 11. 744 αὐτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπειοὶ  
 ἔτρεσαν Ἀλλυδῖς ἄλλος). Cf. Plut. Mor.  
 191 C μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην,  
 πάντας τοὺς τρέσαντας κ.τ.λ. With *μενεῖ*  
 cf. 34, Eur. H. F. 163 δὲ μὲν βλέπει τε  
 κἀντιδέρκεται, and μενεδῆσιος, μενεπτόλεμος,  
 μεναίχμης &c.

424 καὶ τῷδε: 'in his case, again,'  
*quod ad hunc attinet* (Blomfield). The  
 separation of this dat. of reference from the  
 juxtaposed κέρδει (cf. 407 (n.), 1016  
 (n.)) is made the easier by the frequency  
 of such a combination as κέρδει κέρδος.  
 Cf. Soph. El. 235 μὴ τίκτειν σ' ἄταν  
 ἄταις, Eur. Or. 1257 πῆματα πῆμασιν  
 ἐξείρη, with Aesch. Ag. 1338, Suppl.  
 452 sqq., Soph. O. T. 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν  
 ἄλλω προσίδοις...δρμενον.—ἄλλο: 'further.'  
 The previous impious conduct of Tydeus  
 was one κέρδος: here 'further' is a gain  
 added to that gain.—τίκτεται: with the  
 notion of τόκος 'interest.' Our advantage  
 grows the greater, like money at interest,  
 as we proceed from Tydeus to Capaneus.

425 sq. τῶν τοι κ.τ.λ. The gnomic  
 character of these lines appears from τοι,  
 from the use of the articles, and from the  
 addition of ἀνδράσιν, which often  
 marks such utterances (cf. Cho. 532 οἱ τοι  
 μάταιον ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον πέλει). The sense  
 is determined by that emphasis on

ματῶν which is indicated by its peculiar  
 position: 'when a man is frenzied,  
 his tongue can be trusted to accuse his  
 thoughts,' i.e. the use of language to 'con-  
 ceal thought' occurs only when there is  
 sanity enough for caution. When men  
 are reckless the tongue betrays their  
 moods and proud thoughts (φρονημάτων);  
 it is then that out of the fulness of the  
 heart the mouth speaketh. μάταιος (like  
 μάτην) is used of the absence of (1) truth,  
 (2) wisdom, (3) effect, although these senses  
 are not always separable in the Greek  
 consciousness. See note on Cho. 845.  
 In the meaning of mad folly, cf. inf. 429,  
 Cho. 287, Ag. 1148, Ar. Pac. 95 τί μάτην  
 οὐχ ὑγιαίνεις; Soph. Aj. 635 ὁ νοσῶν  
 μάταν. In Soph. Ant. 1339 ἀγοιτ' ἂν  
 μάταιον ἄνδρ' ἐκποδῶν the notion is of  
 'rash folly' (Jebb), Eur. I. T. 275 ἄλλος  
 δὲ τις μάταιος, ἀνομία θρασύς, ἐγέλασεν  
 εὐχαῖς.

427 sqq. Καπανεύς δ' κ.τ.λ. The  
 thought continues 'and Capaneus is  
 frenzied, and means what he professes.  
 He is prepared to act, when he flouts the  
 gods.'—δρᾶν is emphatic, and implies the  
 usual antithesis of λόγος and ἔργον. Ca-  
 paneus is not a καπνός in this instance.  
 In further illustration of καπνός cf. schol.  
 on Ar. Av. 823 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καπνός, ὅτι  
 πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει, Ar.  
 Vespr. 323 ἄλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, μέγα βροντή-  
 σας | ἢ με πόησον καπνὸν ἐξαίφνης, | ἢ  
 Προξενίδην, while the Proxenesides in ques-  
 tion is called (Av. 1126) ὁ Κομπασεύς.  
 That the phrase was not below tragic  
 regard appears from Eur. Hipp. 954 πολ-  
 λῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνός.

θεοὺς is stressed, defining the particular  
 nature of his wild folly (ματῶν). In



probably for the  
to defeat  
the enemy

ET. Here too is gain on gain with interest. When madness swells men's thoughts, the tongue proves true accuser. When Capaneus speaks threats, he is prepared for deeds in setting the Gods at naught. It is with a madman's glee that he tries his mouth's full strength and sends to heaven—mortal though he is—his message of swelling words to reach the ear of Zeus. To him, I trow, will come fit answer—that firebearer the thunderbolt, shaped to no likeness with the midday hotness of the sun.

(with ε superscr.). Alterations of the line (e.g. Dindorf's ἀπειλεῖ πᾶν παρεσκευασμένος | δρᾶν, θεοῦς) are due to failure to interpret. †. 430 γεγωνᾷ M, γεγωνᾷ m. Corr. Brunck. 431 πυρφόρων M, corr. recc. πυρπνόν (Blomfield) spoils a point. †.

construction θεοὺς ἀτίξων should be joined to the preceding words, while a new clause begins with κάπογυμνάζων.

428 sqq. κάπογυμνάζων κ.τ.λ., lit. 'and, trying the full strength of his mouth with infatuated glee, he, though a mortal, sends to heaven, reaching to the ear of Zeus, swelling words.'—χαρᾷ ματαίᾳ is a powerful expression for the well-known joy and self-approval of the madman in an insane and disastrous act, like that of Herakles in *Hercules Furens*. On the whole the words go best with ἀπογυμνάζων στόμα.—ἀπογυμνάζων: putting it to the fullest test as to what it can do in the way of blasphemy. Cf. *Cho.* 716 στομάτων ... ἰσχύον.—στόμα is sarcastic; usually it is σῶμα that ἀπογυμνάζεται. Capaneus is ready to act, but, after all, he is only as yet trying what his mouth can do; what he will actually do ἐν ἔργῳ remains to be seen (431).

429 sq. ἐς οὐρανὸν πέμπει. The notion is of a challenge or ultimatum, πέμπειν being the term used when sovereign sends to sovereign. Hence the point of the antithesis in θνητὸς ὦν ἐς οὐρανόν: he 'treats with heaven' in this style. There is of course present also the sense of Capaneus shouting his loudest (οὐράνιον). Nor must we forget the use of πέμπειν in connection with thanks, prayers and offerings (Terpander *fr.* 1. 3 Ζεῦ, σοὶ πέμπω ταύταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν). Instead of prayers Capaneus 'sends' insults. Cf. Patrocles *fr.* 1. 3 τί δῆτα θνητοὶ πόλλ' ἀπειλοῦμεν μάτην | δεινοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι πέμποντες λόγους;

γεγωνᾷ Ζηνί: to be joined. γέγωνα and its adj. express distinctness of a far-carrying voice. Cf. *Ath.* 622 Ε γεγωνό-τερον δ' ἐφθέγγετο, ὡς πάντας ἀκούειν, *ibid.* 450 F (from Antiphanes) βοῶν ἴσθησι γεγωνόν | καὶ διὰ πόντιον οἶμα καὶ ἡπείρου

διὰ πάσης, *Hom. Od.* 9. 473 ὅσων τε γέγωνε βοήσας, *Eur. Or.* 1220.—κυμαίνοντ': a metaphor from a swelling sea, used of passion and pride: cf. *Plut. Mor.* 713 Ε κυμαίνοντι καὶ κορυσομένῳ πρὸς ἔριν ἢ φιλονικίαν, 754 C μόλις... τὸ φρύσγμα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἀφίησιν, ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ κυμαίνει.

431 πέποιθα: 37 (n.).—ἐν δίκῃ: not merely 'justly,' but 'aptly,' 'fitly,' i.e. since he has adopted his vaunting device of a πυρφόρος, he may look for the great (τόν) πυρφόρον. The sense in δίκη is logical rather than ethical. So πρὸς δίκην (*Cho.* 883). See note *inf.* 584 (δίκαιον). Less well ἐν Δίκῃ (like ἐν θεοῖς). The punishment of the boaster will be by the thunderbolt, as in the case of Salmoneus and in *Hes. Th.* 514 ὕβριστήν δὲ Μενότιον εὐρύστα Ζεὺς | εἰς Ἑρεβος κατέπεμψε βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ | εἵνεκ' ἀτασθαλίας τε καὶ ἡγορέης ὑπερόπλου. But in this instance there is a special appropriateness. With lightness (the original 'fire-bearer') the epithet πυρφόρος had a special connection: cf. *Pind. N.* 10. 71 πυρφόρον... ψολόεντα κεραυνόν, *Soph. O.T.* 200 τῶν πυρφόρων ἀστραπᾶν κράτη, *Ph.* 1198 πυρφόρος ἀστεροπητής. The fate of Capaneus is described in *Soph. Ant.* 131, when Zeus παλτῷ ριπτεῖ πυρὶ βαλβίδων | ἐπ' ἄκρων ἤδη | νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάζει | ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰρ πέσε τανταλωθεῖς | πυρφόρος.—κεραυνόν is of course personified.

432 sq. οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον κ.τ.λ.: 'in no wise changed (from its nature) to resemble the midday heat of the sun.' Capaneus τὰς κεραυνίους βολὰς προσήκασεν μεσ. θάλπεσιν. Eteocles replies that κεραυνός will not alter its usual character so as to fit his comparison. For the use of ἐξ- cf. *Cho.* 547 ἐκδρακονταωθείς, *Eur. Bacch.* 1330 δάμαρ τε σὴ | ἐκθηριωθείς' ὄφεος ἀλλάξει τύπον, *Suppl.* 703 λόχος δ' ὀδόντων ὄφεος ἐξηνδρωμένος. [The notion

άνηρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κεί στόμ' ἀργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,  
 αἰθων τέτακται λῆμα, Πολυφόντου βία, 435  
 φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας  
 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς.  
 λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ὅλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται,  
 κεραυνοῦ δέ μιν βέλος ἐπισχέθαι,  
 πρὶν ἐμὸν ἐσθορεῖν δόμον πωλικῶν θ'  
 ἐδωλίων ὑπερκόπῳ  
 δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάζαι. 440

434 στόμαργός M. Corr. \*ed. ↓. 435 αἰθων recc. 436 φερέγγυον M, corr. m.  
 437 σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν Heimsoeth (after rec.) with much probability. The schol.  
 (q.v.) had this reading. False grammatical adaptation is frequent in MSS (cf. Ath.  
 462 A ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις τόποις for τόπος, Xen. An. 1. 9. 14 καὶ ἄλλοις δῶροις ἐτίμα (vulg.)  
 for καὶ ἄλλῃ δώροις). 438 ἐν πύλαισι ληχότα M, corr. m. Plato's τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου

of 'thoroughly' is not excluded in such examples.] It is true that in *Ag.* 1243 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα the sense is 'in no way feigned, wrought up by art,' and hence some editors accept that meaning here and eject the next verse. But all that the Greek explicitly says in the word is 'worked out into a resemblance,' the rest being determined by the context and added in the translation. It is, moreover, a mistake to call the next verse poor or flat. It is, on the contrary, a sarcastic retort to v. 418, and τοῖς ἡλίου, so far from being a lame addition, is emphatic: 'It will be no case of mere sun-heat.' The article is also necessary: 'those of which he spoke' (or 'his'). [It is possible also to render 'in no way adequately represented (as he declares) by the midday heat.']

434 ἀνὴρ δ': i.e. and apart from the help of Zeus, we will post as human champion &c.

κεῖ \*στόμ' ἀργός ἐστ': our champion is στόμα μὲν ἀργός, λῆμα δὲ αἰθων. Cf. Soph. Ph. 97 γλώσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν, inf. 541 ἀνὴρ ἀκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρα τὸ δρασμιον, sup. 398, Pind. N. 8. 24 ἀγλωσσον μὲν, ἦτορ δ' ἀλκιμον.—στόμαργος of M would of course refer to Capaneus. The word is formed by haplology from \*στομό-μαργος (cf. μελανθής), whereas γλωσσάργος is by dissimilation from \*γλωσσάλγος (the two words are combined in Eur. Med. 525 τὴν σὴν στόμαργον, ὦ γύναι, γλωσσάργιαν). But 'even if he is a furious talker' is without

point. We do not pick a champion against a foeman 'even if' the foeman be a loud talker, but we do select one who is gallant of spirit, 'even if' he is no talker.—ἄγαν intends no disparagement. The word either (1) = 'exceedingly' (i.e. 'very'), as in *Eum.* 340 θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλευθερος, or (2) gently deprecates such extreme taciturnity. The trait would be taken from the epic: a silent man, even an over-silent man, but a great fighter.

435 τέτακται: i.e. I have already decided to appoint him; a more spirited way of saying ταχθήσεται or τετάξεται.—Πολυφόντου βία is perhaps not a mere periphrasis or epic borrowing, but deliberately a more complimentary manner of presenting Πολυφόντης, as a power rather than a person.

436 φρούρημα: either (1) in simple apposition for further description, or (2) predicative 'as a trusty defence.' For such verbal neuters used of persons cf. *Cho.* 1000 ξένων ἀπαύδλημα, *ibid.* 15 (n.), Soph. Ant. 320 λάλημα...ἐκπεφυκὸς εἶ.—φερέγγυον: he is such for two reasons (according to the text of M); (a) Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι (causal or instrumental), (b) σὺν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ('by grace of other gods'), the two causes being connected by τ'.

προστατηρίας. The epic would doubtless explain the special reason why Polyphontes is under the care of Artemis. A schol. states that he was her priest, but we do not know whether this is anything more than a guess. It is perhaps



Against him we have set a man, though passing slow of mouth,  
fiery of courage, strong Polyphontes, sure guard and safe by  
grace of protecting Artemis and of other Gods withal. Proceed!  
Another! and the gate that he hath drawn.

[Exit POLYPHONTES.

CHO. May the loud boaster o'er the land be brought to  
naught, and may lightning aim the bolt that stops his way, ere  
he burst into my home and with outrageous spear make waste  
its maiden bowers!

λέγωμεν ἄλλον ἄλλῃ πρὸς πόλει τεταγμένον (*Rep.* 550 C) is only 'a playful adaptation' (Adam). Yet Wecklein would force *πόλη* upon Plato. 440 μιν M. The substitution of *νιν* (Brunck) is unwarranted in lyrics. 441 sqq. M divides with δόμον | πωλικῶν θ' ἔδωλιν |. 441 πωλικῶν τ' M, corr. rec. 442 ὑπερκόμπω

natural to suppose (with Weil) that the Ἠλεκτραι πόλαι were sacred to her, and that a statue or temple of Artemis stood before it. This is supported by a name Ἠλεκτρῆς given to Selene in *Orphic Hymn* 8. 6 (Weckl.). The notion of connecting Ἠλέκτρα with λέκτρον (for a virgin goddess) was old. Aelian (*V. H.* 4. 26) gives this derivation (= ἄλεκτρος) as from Xanthus, a writer before the time of Stesichorus. The title προστάτης may, however, be used without such local reference. It is true that θεοὶ προστάται or προστάται are commonly said to be those in front of doors and gateways, and in *Soph. El.* 637 Φοῖβε προστάτηριε may be the same deity who would be called Ἀγυιεύ relatively to the street. In *Eur. Hipp.* 70 sqq. Artemis is one of the προθύραιοι θεοὶ of the palace of Theseus, and she is προθύρα in *Orph. Hymn.* 1. 4. But it is plain that the word passed to a wider sense='protector' (akin to ἀλεξτήριος, ἀποτρόπαιος), cf. *Corp. Ins. Gr.* 1. 464 (on an altar) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ Ἀποτροπαίῳ Ἀγυιεύ, *Oracl. ap. Dem. Mid.* 52 περὶ ὕγιείας θύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι δι' ὑπάτων, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι προστατηρίῳ. At Megara there was a temple of Apollo προστάτης (Paus. 1. 44. 2). In Attic inscriptions Artemis, when associated with Apollo προστ., is Artemis βουλᾶ. If we accept the word in this derived sense the plural εὐνοῖαι would suggest 'favours' displayed on several occasions, or in general. Polyphontes would thus be a favourite of Artemis, and may have dedicated himself to her service, like Hippolytus, though not necessarily for the same reasons. With the plur. cf.

*Suppl.* 498 τοῖς ἡσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει, *Isocr.* 4. 174.

σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς. The alternative reading σύν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν is very attractive. Cf. 259 (n.) for the natural corruption of the case.

439 δε: not generic (δοτις), but referring definitely to Capaneus.

ἐπεύχεται: 'vaunts over' (while *inf.* 468 the word means 'pray'): cf. *Hom. Il.* 11. 431 δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξει Ἰππασίδῃσιν. The same ambiguity exists in the simple εὐχεσθαι: cf. εὐχομαι εἶναι and see *Cho.* 211 (n.).

440 κεραυνού: with stress, i.e. let the weapon which checks him be (not one hurled by man, but) that of the thunderbolt.—μιν. The practice of editors in habitually substituting νιν is arbitrary and indefensible. Cf. *Cho.* 620 (c. n.), 787. A writer like Herondas can use both (Nairn on 3. 31), and there is no reason why tragedians should not.—ἐπισχέθαι looks back to v. 416.

441 sqq. ἐσθορεῖν: with the sense of rude insult (*insultare*) found also in εἰσάλλεσθαι.—πωλικῶν θ' κ.τ.λ. The difficulty of the construction with the ordinary interpretation of ἐκλαπάξει as 'sack' has caused Hermann to read μ' ὑπερκόμπω and Verrall to take the gen. as depending on the sense of ὑπερ-. But the first meaning of λαπάξει is 'empty' (cf. 47 n. and *Ath.* 362 F λαπάξεν τὸ ἐκκενοῦν κ.τ.λ.), connoting destructive violence, and the compound is but the stronger form. In *Hom. Il.* 5. 642 Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξε πῶλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυῖας the second clause is an amplification of the first. There is consequently no more awkwardness in δόμον ἔδωλιν ἐκλαπάξει

probability for  
the beam victory.

ΑΓ. καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις  
 λέξω. τρίτῳ γὰρ Ἑτεόκλῳ τρίτος πάλος 445  
 ἐξ ὑπτίου ᾗδησεν εὐχάλκου κράνους,  
 πύλαισι Νηϊστήσι προσβαλεῖν λόχον.  
 ἵππους δ' ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένας  
 δινεῖ θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι.  
 φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον 450

M, corr. anon. ὑπερκότῳ Pauw.

necessary line. †.

446 ᾗδησεν M.

444 Some editors (after H. Wolf) reject this

447 πύλαισι νηστήσι M, νητήσι m. †.

than with ἐκκενώσαι or χηρώσαι. The sense is 'violently empty the house of its maiden bowers.' A maiden is πῶλος (Eur. *Hipp.* 546) as she is πόρτις, μόσχος or δάμαλις, and ἐδῶλια has something of the sense of *sales secretae*, as in *Cho.* 69 νυμφικῶν ἐδῶλιων. To these chambers αἰδώς is due, but the foe's spear is ὑπερκοπον and overrides all such respect. When such ἐδῶλια are violated and the maidens torn and ravished from them, the house is said to contain those bowers no longer: it is 'emptied of' them. Even to the translation 'sacked of' there is little more objection than to ἐρμηοῦν, ἀμέρδεν, βλάπτειν τινός. For the expression cf. Milton *Sonnet* 3. 9 *Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower*.

444 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κ.τ.λ. Some editors suspect this line as an interpolation due to a reader who did not understand λέξω. It has been condemned as (1) weak in itself, (2) caesuraless. The latter argument, however, will not hold. See *Cho.* 150 ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος (Append., where a score of examples are quoted from Aesch. and fifteen from Soph.). It is not even necessary to assume stress upon ἐντεῦθεν ('next'), although such emphasis is one obvious justification for an unusual but effective rhythm. On the ground of grammar the line is as free from objection as 410, 438; with ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 354 μετὰ τὸν δὲ λάχε κρείων Εὐμηλος. For λέξω it should be observed that the Messenger would answer the last speakers, the Chorus (as in 409, 513); he would not ignore their speech and reply to λέγ' of 438, a word which the audience might scarcely remember. The line is therefore necessary, and is no more weak than any other way of saying 'Well, to resume with the next...'

445 sq. τρίτῳ... Ἑτεόκλῳ τρίτος

κ.τ.λ. The separation of τρίτῳ... τρίτος shews that we have not here the same pleonastic formula as in μόνῳ μόνος and the like. The notion is 'Eteoclus is the third to be named (by me), for he was the third to receive his lot, which proved to be the Neistae gates' (cf. 513 sqq.). The lots were placed in a bronze helmet (Hom. *Il.* 3. 316 κλήρους ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκῆρῃ πάλλον ἐλόντες), which was shaken till one sprang out ('ᾗδησεν'). So *Il.* 23. 353 πάλλ' Ἀχιλεὺς, ἐκ δὲ κλήρος θόρε Νεστορίδαο, 3. 324 πάλλιν δ'... Ἐκτωρ | ἀψ' ὀρώων, Πάριος δὲ θοῶς ἐκ κλήρος ὄρουσεν, 7. 182, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 490 convenere viri, delectamque aerea sortem | accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo | Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis. There are three possible ways of managing the matter. (1) Each chieftain might own a κλήρος (e.g. a βῶλος, stone, or potsherd). This would be marked as his (*Il.* 7. 175 κλήρον ἐσημῆναντο ἕκαστος). The seven gates having been previously arranged by numbers, the first κλήρος would take the first gate. (2) The chieftains might advance one at a time and, the lots being marked with the names of the gates, each would receive his gate as it chanced. But it would have been necessary first to decide the order of their coming forward. (3) One helmet may have contained the κλήροι of the men and another the κλήροι of the gates, and the two being shaken simultaneously, the third man would take the third gate. The last arrangement would suit best with τρίτῳ... τρίτος and would be most in keeping with the extreme caution of Greek *sortitio*.

εὐχάλκου: not strictly 'of goodly bronze' but 'goodly with bronze' (cf. εὐχρυσος). The description would suit a helmet of leather cased with the metal. The passages cited show that a bronze helmet was regularly used for this pur-



SCOUT. Well, I will go on to the next that drew his gate. Third Eteoclus. For him there leaped third from the upturned casque, goodly with bronze, the lot to hurl his troop against the Neistae portal. His mares, fuming and chafing in their forehead-straps, all eager to be dashing against the gate, he turns and turns about, while their muzzles are piping in

Probably *πύλῃσι* also should be restored. 450 M has *ζῆ* in marg., but its reference is not clear. *σπρίζουσι* M<sup>a</sup>. *βρόμον* Schütz, *νόμον* Prien, but such changes are

pose, partly because bronze was the ritual metal (see *Cho.* 289 n., Ridgeway *Early Age of Greece* p. 626, Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* 140 sq., Soph. *fr.* 491, Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 9), and partly because the metal receptacle was less liable to tampering while handled. In Soph. *Aj.* 1285 sq. οὐ δραπέτην τὸν κλῆρον ἐς μέσον καθείς, [... ἀλλ' ὅς εὐλόφον | κυνῆς ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἀλμα κουφιεύειν the epithet is merely picturesque.

For Eteoclus cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 872 sqq.

447 *πύλαισι Νηίστησι*. See *Intro.* § 16. The meaning of the name is apparently 'lowest' (Thebes standing on a slope). Cf. *velatos, νήτη* and Hesych. *νήστα* κατώτατα, ἔσχατα. It is very probable that Aesch. wrote *πύλῃσι Νηίστησι*. The former word would naturally be altered to a more familiar form, while the latter would be left, inasmuch as the editor or copyist would not be made so fully conscious that it was a first declension dative. See 590 *ναύτησι*, and *Intro.* to *Cho.* pp. ci sq. [M preserves forms in -*ῃσι* at *P. V.* 6, 753, *Pers.* 192, *Eum.* 706. In *Ag.* 659 (where M fails) f gives ἀλλήλῃσι, Soph. *fr.* 598 (as quoted by Aelian *A. A.* 11. 18) αἰσχύνῃσι, and *fr.* 511. 4 (Stob. *Flor.* 59. 3) ἐπὶ ῥοπῇσι. In Aesch. *fr.* 127 (Eustath.) ναύτησι, Eur. *fr.* 752. 2 (*Et. M.*) πεύκῃσι, *fr. trag. adesp.* 142 (ap. Dionys. *de Comp. Verb.* 17) ἀπήνῃσι, 286 (Diog. Laert. and Sex. Emp.) Πριαμίδῃσι. In Ar. *Ran.* 1212 (quoting tragedy) πεύκῃσι (or πεύκῃσι) is well supported for the vulg. πεύκαισι. It should be clear from instances like these that the tragedians used the forms in -*ῃσι* freely. Down to B.C. 420 epigraphy fully supports them. Whether we should write -*ῃσι* or -*ῃσι* is sometimes doubtful, but epigraphical and etymological evidence is in favour of -*ῃσι* (Meisterhans<sup>2</sup> pp. 94 sq., Brugmann *Grundr.* 11. p. 704).]

προσβαλεῖν: the consequential infin. follows the sense, which is 'Ἐτέοκλος ἔλαχε or 'Ἐτέοκλῳ ξυνέβη.

448 ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν: 'in their forehead straps' (not 'bits'). The picture is of horses tossing their heads impatiently, and attention is therefore directed to the flashing frontlets rather than to the champing upon the bits. The ἀμπυκτῆρ, commonly called ἀμπυξ (*Suppl.* 438), was a band (*frontalia*), frequently adorned with precious metal (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 358 χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους, Soph. *O. C.* 1069 ἀμπυκτῆρια φάλαρα πῶλων). In *δινεῖ* the notion is not that he drives them to and fro, but that he manages their heads. The sense of ἐμβριμώμενος is not 'snorting,' but 'chafing,' *indignant* (θυμὸς πλήρης schol.). The word is cited from Eurip. in *Et. Gud.* p. 183, 27 as = ἐπιτιμῶν. In Ar. *Eg.* 815 βριμῆσαι is explained by schol. as ὀργισθεῖν and βριμᾶσθαι as τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπειλεῖν. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 5. 9 ἐβριμούτο τῷ Κῶρῳ ('fumed and chafed' Holden).

449 *δινεῖ*: cf. Bacchyl. 5. 1 Συρακοσίῳν ἱπποδινήτων.

θελούσας: a striking instance of the stronger sense (cf. 454), unknown to good prose, which would require at least βουλομένης or χρηζούσας. Cf. *Cho.* 174, Soph. *Aj.* 811.—πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι = πύλαις προσπεπτωκέναι (the quasi-pass. of προσβαλεῖν). The perf. expresses their impatience to be already there: cf. Dem. 19. 223 βουλόμενος ἀγωνί... διωρῆσθαι, Goodwin *M. & T.* § 110.

450 *φίμοι δὲ κ.τ.λ.* A muzzle of bronze attached to the bridle was perforated with pipes, forming a series like those of the σύριγξ or Pan's-pipe, through which the breathing or snorting of the horses created a kind of tuneless music *in terrorem*. Cf. *fr.* 326 ὅς εἶχε πῶλους τέσσαρας ζυγυφόρους | φίμοισιν αὐλωτοῖσιν ἐστομωμένους. Of these Pollux (10. 56) says οἱ ἐγχεμετίζοντες οἱ ἵπποι ἤχον ἐποιοῦν προσόμοιον αὐλῷ (similarly Hesych.). The words, as always with Aeschylus, are carefully chosen. The similitude has occurred already in 115 sq.,

μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι.  
 σεσημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον·  
 ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις  
 στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον, ἐκπέρσαι θέλων.  
 βοᾷ δὲ χοῦτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς  
 ὡς οὐδ' ἂν Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλει πυργωμάτων.  
 καὶ τῶδε φωτὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον  
 πόλεως ἀπείργειν τῆσδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

455

ET. πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τω

unfortunate. ↓.

452 εἰσημάτισται M (ζτ in marg.), ἐσχημάτισται m. Corr. Weil. ↓. σμικρὸν Robert., but ↓. τύπον Halm. 453 ἀνὴρ δ' M, with the compendium for γάρ (m') over δ'. See Headlam *On Ed. Aesch.* p. 119. δ' om.

189 sqq.—**φιμός** (like *κμηός*) is a synonym of *φορβεῖα* as used of horses, and *φορβεῖα* (like *κμηός*) is also used of the muzzling-strap with which flute-players bound their cheeks and controlled the expenditure of breath (cf. Soph. *fr.* 701 *φυσᾷ γὰρ οὐ σμικροῖσιν αὐλίσκοις ἐτι, | ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι φορβεῖας ἄτερ*, Longin. 3. 2, Ar. *Vesp.* 582). The combination of **φιμοί** ('muzzle') and **συρίζουσι** would immediately suggest all these notions to the Greek mind.—**βάρβαρον τρόπον** is quite sound and is explained correctly, if inadequately, by the schol. as *ἀπηνή ἤχον*. The piping which comes from this strange instrument is not musical according to any Greek 'mode' (**τρόπον**, cf. Pind. *O.* 14. 17 *Λυδῶ ἐν τρόπῳ*, Simon. *fr.* 31 *Κρήτα μὲν καλέονσι τρόπον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον Μολοσσόν*). Cf. Eubul. *ap.* Ath. 229 A *λοπὰς παφλάζει βαρβάρῳ λαλήματι*, and (of the piping of Paris) Eur. *I. A.* 577 *βάρβαρα συρίζων*. It should further be remarked that playing the flute with the nostrils is still practised by certain South Sea islanders, and may not have been unknown among *βάρβαροι* of whom Aesch. had heard. The recurrence of **τρόπον** in 452 is of no account to Greek ears.

451 **μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν**: i.e. not with the ordinary *πνεῦμα* of the mouth. There may also be a suggestion of the metaphorical *μυκτηρῆς*, *μυκτηρίζειν* of scorn.—**πληρούμενοι** adds the notion of loudness, the breathing not being, as with the Greek *συρκτής*, regulated.

452 **σεσημάτισται**. It is hard to decide between this and the *ἐσχημάτισται* of Weil. But on the whole the loss of χ from *ἐσχη-* was less likely than

the corruption of **σεση-**, and *σῆμα* rather than *σχῆμα* is the notion for which we should look in the case (cf. 374 *σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος*, 419 *ἐχει δὲ σῆμα*, 478 *ὁ σῆμα-τουργός*, 578 *σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν κύκλῳ*, 630). In point of formation *σηματίζειν* is manifestly as natural as *σχηματίζειν*, and in point of rarity is more poetical. For its sense cf. *Suppl.* 969 *δεδομᾶτωμαι* ('am provided with a house').

**οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον**: cf. 270, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 598 *ἀνδρα δ' οὐ πέπυσθε σύμμαχον | Τροίαν μολόντα Ῥῆσον οὐ φαύλῳ τρόπῳ*; The sense of **μικρὸν** is 'humble,' as in *μικρὸν φρονεῖν*. The absence of humility appears in v. 456.

[**μικρὸν** is apparently preferred to **σμικρὸν** in order to avoid the excessive sigmatism (τὸ σίγμα τὸ Εὐριπίδου) to which Athenian ears were more sensitive than to other repetitions. σ has already occurred five times in the line.]

453 sq. **ἀνὴρ δ' δ'** (in place of γάρ) answers the last words; 'its style is not humble, but....'—**προσαμβάσεις**: accus. of extent of space: cf. *P. V.* 708 *στεῖχ' ἀνθρώτους γῆας*, Soph. *Aj.* 30 *πηδῶντα πεδία*, Eur. *Hel.* 118 *ὅς ἐδραμε ρόδια*, *Bacch.* 748 *χωροῦσι...πεδίων ὑποτάσεις*. So with *θρόσκεν* (Eur. *Bacch.* 873).—**ἐχθρῶν**: generic, 'an enemy's walls.' The emblem would indicate this circumstance.—**θέλων**: 449 (n.).

455 sq. **χοῦτος**: like the man previously mentioned on the shield of Capaneus (419—421).—**γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς**: 'in combinations of letters.' The phrase may include the notion that the messenger is not quoting the exact terms, but stating that there are words to 'that effect.'



outlandish tune, filled with the breath from their proud snorting nostrils.

Of no humble fashion is the blazoning of his buckler. A man in armour is mounting a ladder's steps to the rampart of the foe, eager to waste and sack; and he too shouts—so reads the lettering—that not even the Wargod can hurl him from the bulwarks. Against him also send one whom we may trust to shield this land from slavery and the yoke.

ET. For the man to send I need look but here. Yes, let

Blomfield. *πρὸς ἀμβάσεις* M, corr. Canter. 456 *ἐκβάλλη* M<sup>a</sup>. 458 *δοῦλειον* M, corr. Blomfield. 459 *σὺν τάχει* rec. *σὺν τύχῃ* δ' *ἴτω* Butler. *δέ τοι* Burges. ψ.

*ἐκβάλλοι*: not simply *ἀμύνει* or *ἀπώσσει*, but the word assumes that he will get upon, or into, the defences.

457 sq. *καί*: to be joined closely with *τῷδε*; 'to him also' (as to Capaneus, 422). Also join *φερέγγυον ἀπείργειν*. —*τῇσδε* is *patheticum*.

459 sq. *πέμποιμ' ἄν ἤδη τόνδε κ.τ.λ.*: *ἤδη* signifies that there is no need to look further. Dramatically it was desirable to break the uniform process of discussing the case and then selecting a champion at the end of the speech. For the same reason this *ῥῆσις* is shorter than the others. —*πέμποιμ' ἄν* is not strictly for *πέμπω* or *πέμψω* but expresses a momentary pondering: 'I am minded to send—looking no further...' Unfortunately the reading which follows is uncertain. See crit. n.—*πέπεμπτ' οὐ* (even if we read it as *καὶ δὴ 'πέπεμπτ' οὐ*) hardly yields a conceivable sense. For the pluperf. we should have to assume the meaning 'and indeed—by a certain happy chance—he had already been sent (before my decision was made)', i.e. a special fitness had made him the inevitable choice (emphasis lying meanwhile upon *οὐ κόμπων*, 'no mere boast'). But no hint is given as to the nature of this happy chance or the secret of his fitness. Verrall supposes that it lay in the device on the shield of Megareus, which may have been Ares (cf. 455 sq.). This is an ingenious guess, but it is scarcely likely that an audience (which in other places requires to be told so much, cf. 499) would have grasped the point without further explanation. Even pointing would hardly have sufficed for the spectator. Nor is the dual *χεροῖν* appropriate, since he would carry the shield-device *ἐν χερσί*, not *ἐν χεροῖν*. On the other hand with *καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται* the sense would be 'and let us suppose

him to have been sent.' The stress would then, instead of falling on *κόμπων*, fall on *ἐν χεροῖν*: 'bearing his boast (not in his tongue, but) in his hands.' But with this it is hard to find either an adequate interpretation of *σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ* or a satisfactory explanation of the variety of reading. It seems better therefore to suppose that both *πέπεμπτ' οὐ* and *πέπεμπται* are derived from *πέπεμψω*. Corruption of the -ω forms of imperat. was frequent (see crit. n.). [It is doubtless possible that *οὐ* in *πέπεμπτ' οὐ* was due to some reader who, missing the stress, thought it inappropriate for Megareus to be described as carrying a boast.] The meaning now becomes 'I am minded at once to send *this* champion; nay, let him be regarded as already sent—and may good fortune go with him—bearing his boast in his hands (and deeds).' *δέ* (not *καί*) is the connective (as in Ar. *Vesp.* 1324 *ὅδι δὲ καὶ δὴ σφαλλόμενος προσέρχεται*), while *καὶ δὴ* has the same force as in *Eum.* 895 *καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαί*, *Cho.* 653 (n.), *Eur. Med.* 386, *Hel.* 1059, and (with the same perf. imperat. as here) *Luc. Merc. Cond.* 42 *καὶ δὴ γεγράφθω προπύλαια*. Such a phrase as *σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ* is always used either with an imperat. or in a prayer, hope, or their virtual equivalent. The sense amounts to *εὖ δ' εἴη τύχῃ*. Cf. *Cho.* 138 *ἐλθεῖν δ' Ὀρέστην δεῦρο σὺν τύχῃ τινὶ | κατεύχομαι σοι*, *Soph. O. T.* 80 *εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ | σωτήρι βάλῃ*, *Pind. O.* 9. 26 *εἰ σὺν τινι μοιριδίῳ παλάμῃ | ἐξαιρετον χαρίτων νέμομαι κἄπον*. —*τῳ* is modest, 'some measure of...' (and implies due submission to the Divine will). As *πῶς* is added to adverbs (*εὐτυχῶς πῶς*) so is *τις* to nouns. [Less naturally we might make the phrase = 'with fortune of some (power or deity)': cf. *Pind. N.* 4. 7 *ὅ τί κε σὺν χαρίτων τύχα | ...γλώσσα*

probably  
for defeat  
of enemy

καὶ δὴ πετέμφθω κόμπου ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων, 460  
 Μεγαρεὺς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα, τοῦ σπαρτοῦ γένους,  
 ὃς οὔτι μάργων ἵππικῶν φρναγμάτων  
 βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ θανὼν τροφεία πληρώσει χθονί,  
 ἢ καὶ δὴ ἄνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος 465  
 ἐλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.  
 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω, μῆδέ μοι φθόνει λέγων.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τάδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ὦ  
 πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν.  
 ὥς δ' ὑπέρανχα βάζουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει 470  
 μαινομένα φρενί, τῶς νιν  
 Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων.

460 πέπεμπτ' οὐ Μ, πέπεμπται rec. Corr. \*ed. †. Imperative forms in ω are prone to corruption: cf. Xen. *An.* 3. 2. 37 ἡγείτω (A) for ἡγείσθω (BO), *ibid.* ἐπιμελοίσθην (vulg.) for -είσθων (A), Eur. *fr.* 918 παλαμᾶσθαι (Clem. Al.) for -άσθων (Cicero), *fr.* 275 νομίζεται (Stob.) for -έτω (Philo) &c. 461 σπαρτοῦ Μ,

ἐξέλοι, 6. 23 σὺν θεοῦ τύχα.]—τύχη = 'success' as in v. 413. For the form of the phrase cf. Soph. *Aj.* 853 ἀλλ' ἀρκτέον τὸ πρᾶγμα σὺν τάχει τινί.—ἐν χεροῖν: i.e. not ἐν στόματι. The dual expresses 'in his two hands (and what they can do),' the sense of action being contained as in v. 541 ἀνὴρ ἀκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὀρεῖ τὸ δράσμιον, Soph. *Ph.* 97 γλώσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν.

461 Κρέοντος. In Soph. *O. T.* Creon is brother of Iocasta, and in *Ant.* 1303 Megareus appears as his son. Why Megareus is identified by some editors with the Menoeceus of Eur. *Phoen.* 930 sqq. does not appear. Manifestly Aesch. does not make him perform the patriotic suicide of Menoeceus.

σπαρτοῦ: 399 (n.). The full description is intended to express confidence in him and his εὐγένεια. There is no need to read σπαρτῶν and so prefer the ordinary expression (Pind. *I.* 1. 30, Eur. *Phoen.* 942) to the less usual. [The only argument for the plural is that it doubtless ran the risk of change to the singular.]

462 ἵππικῶν φρναγμάτων βρόμον': all the words are contemptuous; 'mere noise of blustering neighings of horses.' The epithet thus obtains a fuller value, apart from the consideration that φρύαγμα

might be understood of human boasting: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1 C μεγαλανχίας ἐμπύπλανται καὶ φρύαγματος, *ibid.* 754 C τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν.

464 θανὼν = τῷ θανέειν.—τροφεία: cf. 16—20 (n.), Isoc. 6. 108 ἀποδῶμεν τὰ τροφεία τῇ πατρίδι. For its special application to the σπαρτοὶ cf. 400, 402 sq.

465 ἢ καὶ κ.τ.λ. It is uncertain whether we are to join ἢ καὶ ('or e'en') or to relate καὶ...καὶ. The former is probably to be preferred, as conveying something of the modest tone habitual to Eteocles.—δὴ ἄνδρε: Eteocles and his ἀνὴρ ὀπλίτης (453).—ἐπ' ἀσπίδος is necessary for explanation; without it the words might come near to being a riddle. A prose-writer would doubtless have preferred to say τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, but a verse-writer cannot simply omit τὸ with precisely the same sense. The literal rendering is 'a town upon a shield' or 'town on shield,' and the strict grammar is πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἐπὶόν.

466 δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός. There is no inconsistency between this and the vow of 263 sqq. There it is only the ἐσθήματα of the enemy which are to be offered to the gods; here the private λάφυρα in the house of Creon consist of the shield. Besides spoils dedicated on temples we have cases like the present



him be our choice—and good fortune to him—with his two hands to do his boasting. 'Tis Megareus, Creon's seed, of the Sown race. [MEGAREUS departs.]

No noisy neighings of rampant steeds will drive him from the gates in fear, but either he will by death pay to the land the full price of his nurture, or he will e'en capture two men and a stronghold on a shield, and with the spoils will adorn his father's house.

Boast on with another, and stint me not your story.

CHO. Yea, I make prayer for good fortune to our cause, <sup>2nd</sup> thou champion of my home, but for ill fate to them. As with <sup>strophe.</sup> mad hearts they utter presumptuous boasts over our town, so may Requiring Zeus turn on them a wrathful eye.

with ων over οὔ (m'). †. **465** δ' (for δὲ) M<sup>a</sup> (cf. Ath. 580c δ' ἐρίφους for δὲ'). **467** ἐπ' ἄλλον rec., ἐτ' ἄλλον Blomfield. λόγων Valckenaer. **468** M writes εὐτυχεῖν, | ἰὼ κ.τ.λ. τῷδε for τάδε rec. and for δὴ τάδε rec. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τάδε μὲν σε τυχεῖν Weil. Editors emend according to their conception of the antistrophic line (508). †. **470** βάζουσ' M, corr. rec. βάζουσ' ἐπ' ἐμᾶ πόλει is possible.

in Soph. *Ph.* 1428 πέρσεις τε Τροίαν, σκυλά τ' ἐς μέλαθρα σά | πέμψεις... Πόλιαντι πατρί, Eur. *Bacch.* 1212, 1239 λαβούσα τάριστεία, σοῖσι πρὸς δόμοις | ὥς ἂν κρεμασθῇ, *Rhes.* 620 κάλλιστον οἴκοις σκύλον, *ibid.* 159 πατρός δέ καὶ πρὶν εὐκλεᾶ δόμον | νῦν δις τόσους ἔθηκας εὐκλεεστέραν, Hedul. *ap.* Ath. 486 B ὡς καὶ πάντων ἀπ' ἐκεῖνης | σοὶ τοῖχοι γλυκερῶν σκύλα φέρωσι πύθων, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 393 *splia illa tuis pendente tectis*. In κοσμήσει the senses of 'beautifying' (concrete) and 'glorifying' (abstract) coalesce. Cf. Pind. *I.* 1. 19 *τριπρόδεσσαν ἐκόσμησαν δόμον*.

**467** κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω: *i.e.* 'go on with the κόμπος in another's case' = 'go on with their κόμποι.' All the Argive champions, he takes for granted, have a κόμπος. For this condensed meaning of a verb cf. 1036 *τράχυνε* (n.). Strictly ἐπ' ἄλλω follows κόμπαζε as it might μέγα φρονεῖν, σεμνύνεσθαι &c.

μηδέ μοι φθόνοι λέγων lends a sort of playwright's excuse for continuing with the descriptions and replies. For the expression itself cf. *Suppl.* 324 καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνοίγει τοῖνον | ἀφθόνω λόγῳ.

**468** ἐπεύχομαι δὴ κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The metre is quite uncertain. The text makes at least the χρόνοι correspond to those of the antistrophe.

τάδε = 'our side' or 'cause' (see *inf.* 636 (n.)), not a contained acc. with εὐτυ-

χεῖν ('in this way,' *i.e.* 'in the way you say,' which would require ταῦτα). This rendering makes it more easy to construe τοῖσι δέ = 'while for them I pray....' A formalist in prose would have said ἡμᾶς μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δυστυχεῖν, or else ἡμῖν μὲν... τοῖσι δέ.... The poet both varies the case and also substitutes τάδε for ἡμᾶς. [We can hardly interpret τάδε as 'this proceeding of ours,' with the grammar 'I pray that this may turn out well (sc. ἡμῖν), but badly for them.' The position of μὲν (which should belong to ἡμῖν) does not permit of this. Even if we allow occasional transference of μὲν, we cannot suppose it to be transferred from a word which has been suppressed.]

**470** ἐπὶ πτόλει: ἐπὶ of exultation 'over.' [The mistake should not be made of confusing or connecting βάζειν with βαῖζειν. The root and sense ('say') appear from βάγμα. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 4. 206 *πεπνυμένα βάξεις*, 3. 126 &c.]

**472** νεμέτωρ: who gives to each his due return. Cf. *Suppl.* 407 τὰδ' ἐπισκοπεῖ | Ζεὺς ἑτερορρεπῆς, νέμων εἰκότως | ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς, ὅσια δ' ἐννόμοις.—ἐπίδοι when used alone (of a deity) commonly bears a favourable sense. Here κοταίνων plays the part of a qualifying adverb (ὀργῇ, κότῳ), and helps a special implication of νεμέτωρ ('give them their due in the shape of wrath': cf. νέμεσις 221 n.).

ΑΓ. τέταρτος ἄλλος, γείτονας πύλας ἔχων  
 Ὅγκας Ἀθάνας, ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται,  
 Ἴππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος·  
 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω,  
 ἔφριξα δινήσαντος· οὐκ ἄλλως ἔρῳ.  
 ὁ σηματουργὸς δ' οὐ τις εὐτελὲς ἄρ' ἦν,  
 ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ὥπασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι,  
 Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πυρπνόον διὰ στόμα  
 λιγνὺν μέλαιναν αἰόλην, πυρὸς κάσιν·

475

480

476 πολιὰν Wakefield. ↓.

473 sq. γείτονας κ.τ.λ. It is at first sight doubtful whether this means (1) 'neighbouring gates (to the last named), viz. gates of Onca,' or (2) 'the gates which are neighbours of Onca.' Either is good in itself and apparently true in fact (Introd. § 16). But we shall do better to gather the sense from the reply (488), which calls Onca πύλαισι γειτῶν, than from any probabilities as to the relative situations of the gates. The latter meaning is therefore preferable. For Ὅγκας see 149 (n.). The gates are the Ὅγκαίαι, although an alternative name is given by Hesych. Ὅγκας Ἀθάνας· τὰς Ὁγκύλας πύλας λέγει (Introd. l.c.).—παρίσταται: not παρέστηκε nor simply = προσίσταται (cf. 119), but 'comes to his post' (in the line or τάξις). The force of παρα- is that in παρατάσσεται rather than in πάρεστι.

475 Ἴππομέδοντος σχῆμα κ.τ.λ. = 'the showy and huge Hippomedon.' For this hero see Eur. *Phoen.* 119 sqq., 1113 sqq., *Suppl.* 881; and for σχῆμα cf. Eur. *fr.* 688. 2 τὸ σχῆμα σεμνός, *fr.* 360. 25 μὴ σχήματ' ἄλλως, *fr.* 25. 2 γέροντες οὐδὲν ἔσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ὄχλος | καὶ σχῆμα, Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 5 ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι ἐστῆκυία, Eur. *Alc.* 911 ὦ σχῆμα δόμων, *fr.* 476, Soph. *Ph.* 952 ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας διπυλὸν (where Jebb observes that σχῆμα, in such a periphrasis, usually denotes stateliness). The form of expression is the same as in δεσπότην στυγεῖ (*Cho.* 766 n.), τὸ τοῦ Καλχηδονίου σθένος (*Plat. Phaedr.* 267 c), λῆμα Κορωνίδος (*Pind. P.* 3. 25), φάσμα ταύρου (*Soph. Tr.* 508), Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 forma tricornis umbrae. σχῆμα is not identical with τύπος, a word expressive of 'build' or 'mould,' taken from works of art: cf. *Eum.* 49 οὐδ' αὐτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις, Eur. *Phoen.* 163 μορφῆς τύπωμα,

*Bacch.* 1331 ἐκθρηωθεῖς' ὄψεος ἀλλάξῃ τύπον. Similar is Milton's *Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay | To mould me man?* Hippomedon is 'wrought on a great pattern.'

For the quantity in Ἴππομέδοντος cf. 534 and *Cho.* 1047 φαιδρίτωνες (n.), where add πολύφωνον (*Batrachom.* 210), πύργενής (*Eur. fr.* 943), μονόλυκος (*Arat.* 1124), Ἐνέτικός (*Alcm. fr.* 23. 51), ἀσυνέτημ (*Alc. fr.* 18. 1), *Theōphila* (*Mart.* 7. 69. 1). See Monro *Hom. Gr.* § 386. The lengthening here is quoted by Priscian (*de metr. Ter.* 23). Wecklein notes that in tragic senarii the instances are all at the beginning of the line.

476 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν: ἄλω is not merely a disk, nor is πολλήν, at least in tragedy, the same as μεγάλην. In Homer πολλός may = 'big' (e.g. *Il.* 7. 155), and thence in other epic e.g. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 760 βούπαις οὕτω πολλός. But it is an error to quote passages like *Hdt.* 7. 14 καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, or Eur. *Hipp.* 1 πολλή μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι...κέκλημαι Κύπρις, where the meaning is 'of much account' (cf. 6 n.).—ἄλω is 'threshing-floor,' and the Scout says, with a touch of colloquial exaggeration, that the shield of Hippomedon would 'go far towards making a threshing-floor.' The resemblance of the ἄλως to the ἀσπίς (cf. the resemblance of ἀσπίς to φιάλη played upon by poets, *Ar. Poet.* 21, *Ath.* 472 c) consisted in more than the circular form. Both were raised in the centre and sloped to the rim (*Varro R. R.* 1. 51 arcam...potissimum rotundam et mediā paullo extumidam). After using this hyperbolic metaphor the Messenger, acting in the Greek manner, explains himself: 'I mean the circle of his shield.' Obviously he cannot say ἄλω μεγάλην, but 'a great extent of ἄλως.'



SCOUT. The next and fourth, whose gate neighbours Athena Onca, comes shouting to his post—Hippomedon, showy and huge of mould. 'Twas almost a threshing-floor, the circle of his shield, and I shuddered—I deny it not—when he rolled it.

No poor craftsman must the emblazoner have been who enriched his shield with work like this—Typhon, sending from fire-breathing mouth a murky smoke, flickering, flame yet not

481 Some (e.g. Paley) punctuate *λιγνὸν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην κ.τ.λ.*

There may be a question as to whether *ἄλω* is accus. or gen., but the latter is the better: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 2. 2 πολλὴν τῆς χώρας, Ar. *Plut.* 694 τῆς ἀθάρας πολλήν, Ach. 350 τῆς μαρίλης... συγχνή. [The scholiastic explanation of *ἄλω* as the ring round the sun (cf. Hesych. *ἄλω*· ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ σελήνης περιφέρεια) is only a derived meaning and is here inapposite.]

477 *δινῆσαντος*: synchronous with *ἔφριξα*: cf. 423 n. The word perhaps has a more special aptness in the context since *dinos* was a possible word for *ἄλω*: cf. Ath. 467 F Τελέσιλλα δὲ ἡ Ἀργεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλω καλεῖ δῖνον. For *δινεῖν* with a shield cf. Theoc. 24. 10 ὡς φαμένα δῖνασε σάκος μέγα.

478 οὐ τις εὐτελής: Soph. *Ph.* 35 ἔκπιωμα φλαουρογοῦ τινος | τεχνήματ' ἀνδρός.

479 τόδ': scarcely 'the following' (which is prosaic), but 'in this case,'—*ᾠπασεν*: 'added' (over and above the shaping of the shield). Cf. 242 (n.). Hence the dat. in *πρὸς ἀσπίδι*.

480 *Τυφῶν*: the declension varies between forms of *Τυφῶς*, *Τυφωεύς*, and *Τυφών*: cf. 504. Among the Giants the serpentine Typhon holds a special rank as monster-in-chief, and figures prominently in works of art. To the older Athenians he would be familiar from the great carving on the western pediment of the old Hecatompodon (see Wiegand *Archaische Poros-Architektur der Acropolis* p. 106). The description conceived by Aesch. (cf. *P. V.* 367 sqq.) follows Hes. *Theog.* 824 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὤμων | ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰ ὄφις, δεινοῖο δράκοντος, | γλώσσησι δνοφέρῃσι λελιχμότες, ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὄσων | θεσπεσίης κεφαλῆσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσε· | πάσεων δ' ἐκ κεφαλῶν πῦρ καλετο δερκομένοιο κ.τ.λ. Nevertheless, besides the serpents' heads, he possesses for Aesch. a main head of the ordinary kind. According to Ovid (*Fast.* 3. 799) he is half-bull, half-serpent, *maître satius terra,*

*monstrum miserabile, taurus | parte sui serpens posteriore fuit.* This, however, is not the Aeschylean conception. In v. 482 the *πλεκτάναί* are those of Typhon himself.

*πυρπνόν*: but *P. V.* 949 *πύρπνον*. For the absence of contraction cf. *fr.* 39 *διπλόοι*, *fr.* 281 *χειμάροον*. The word is to be taken with *στόμα*. Greek has no objection whatever to *πυρπνόν* followed by *πυρὸς κάσιν* (cf. *Cho.* 51 n.).

481 *λιγνὸν μέλαιναν κ.τ.λ.* There is nothing grotesque about this expression, which is rightly understood by Verrall. The *λιγνός* is black, but *αἰόλη* (i.e. shot with red), and is therefore almost fire (*πυρὸς κάσις*): i.e. it is midway between fire and smoke.—*λιγνὸν* differs from *καπνόν*. The latter, when not used in the most comprehensive sense, denotes rather the light and vapoury smoke, while *λιγνός* is 'smoky flame' (see Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 794, *Ant.* 1126): cf. Eur. *Phaeth.* *fr.* 2. 45 *καπνοῦ μέλαινα λιγνός*, Ar. *Lys.* 319 *λιγνὸν δοκῶ μοι καθορᾶν καὶ καπνόν*, Ar. *Rhod.* 2. 133 *λιγνὸν ἐν τι καπνῷ*, *ibid.* 1009 *κελαινῇ | λιγνὴ καὶ καπνῷ*, Lycoph. 293.—*πυρὸς κάσιν* is an expression easy to a language which uses *ἀδελφός*, *ἀδελφή* for 'closely akin to' (cf. Ar. *Plut.* 549 τῆς πτωχείας πενίαν φαμέν εἶναι ἀδελφῆν). In *Ag.* 499 we have *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι κάσις | πηλοῦ ξίνουρος διψλά κόνις* (where *κόνις* has the same references as *sup.* 81 (n.)). Cf. Hippoxax *fr.* 34 *συκὴν μέλαιναν ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην*. The sense of *αἰόλην* is that the black is 'shot' with flickerings of flame (requiring the most skilful workmanship for their representation). For this colour-use of the word cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1157 *ἐμᾶς σαρκὸς αἰόλας*.

In the epic *Thebais* there must have appeared the same admiration of skill in metal-work which we meet in the *Iliad* concerning the shield of Achilles (see *Introd.* p. lii). For variety of colour in the inlaying cf. *Il.* 18. 548 ἡ δὲ (sc. the

ὄφρων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περίδρομον κύτος  
 προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν, ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει  
 βακχᾷ πρὸς ἀλκὴν, Θυιᾶς ὤς, φόβον βλέπων. 485  
 τοιοῦδε φωτὸς πείραν εὖ φυλακτέον.  
 Φόβος γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις κομπάζεται.

ET. πρῶτον μὲν Ὅγκα Παλλὰς ἢ τ' ἀγχίπολις

484 ἄρηι M, corr. rec.  
 φόνον Canter. ψ.

485 βακχᾷ M, βάκχᾳ m. θυᾶς M, corr. rec.  
 487 φόβον recce., φόνος Blomf., φοβῶν Lowinski.

ploughed land) *μελαινέτ' ὀπισθεν, ἀρηρομένη δὲ ἐφ' αὐτῇ χρυσεῖα περ' εἴδωσ' αὐτὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο*, 561 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει σταφυλῆσι μέγα βριθούσαν ἀλὼν | καλὴν χρυσεῖαν· μέλανες δ' ἀνὰ βότρυνες ἦσαν, Plut. Nic. 28, 5 (of the shield of Nicias) *χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας εἰς πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλα μεμειγμένων δι' ὑφῆς συγκεκροτημένων*.

482 sqq. ὄφρων δὲ πλεκτάναισι κ.τ.λ. One of the most misunderstood and difficult passages in the play, and requiring much care in interpretation. The rendering depends on the exact sense of *περίδρομον κύτος* and of *προσηδάφισται*. We may ignore any suggestion that *περίδρομον* simply = 'round' (cf. Hom. Il. 23. 455 *περίτροχον ἥτε μήνη*), since Aesch. would not use such a tautology with the following *κύκλου*. It should be conceded also that the *ὄφρων πλεκτάναι* are the coils of the 'hundred' snakes which formed part of the representation of Typhon (480 n.). We should do best to determine first the meaning of *κύτος*. Inasmuch as the word stands for the 'hull' of a ship (Poll. 1. 87 τὸ μὲν ἔδαφος τῆς νεῶς κύτος καὶ γάστρα καὶ ἀμφιμήτριον λέγεται), for a receptacle (Xenarch. ar. Ath. 64 A *πέμπλησι λοπάδος στερροσώματον κύτος*), and for a covering case, it is natural to suppose that here it signifies that which holds something rather than that which is held by something else; i.e. it is rather the 'case' than the inner body of the shield. At least it could not be used in *distinction* from the outer case. Putting these considerations together we may understand that a 'round hollow-bellied case' (lit. either 'the case which forms a hollow-bellied round' or 'the case of a hollow-bellied circle,' i.e. of a circular shield) is the subject of *προσηδάφισται*. This is the bronze-work overlaid upon the hide or other frame. The natural sense of

*προσηδάφισται* should be 'is fastened to an ἔδαφος (or foundation),' and so far we gather that 'the hollow bronze casing is fastened to its ground (of hide &c.) with coils of snakes.' From a practical point of view these should serve as clamps or holdfasts, and the picture suggested is of trailing serpents in bronze which run along the shield, over the edge, and grip it with rivets both on the upper and under side. The coils serve as, or contain, the rivets. In Hom. Il. 12. 295 we have a description of the shield of Sarpedon: *ἦν ἄρα χαλκεὺς | ἤλασεν, ἐντοσθεν δὲ βοείας ῥάψε θαμειᾶς | χρυσεῖης ῥάβδοισι διηνέκεσιν περὶ κύκλον*, and though this is obscure it plainly refers to bars in some way gripping the leather to the bronze. The *πλεκτάναι* here serve the purpose of such *ῥάβδοι*. It remains to consider *περίδρομον*. This might be taken (1) more closely with *κύτος* as = 'the cover where it runs round,' i.e. the rim of the cover (cf. Eur. El. 458 sqq. *περιδρόμῳ ἔντος ἔδρα* contrasted with *ἐν δὲ μέσῳ σάκει*, and the use of *ἄκρος, συμπίπτους* &c.), or (2) more closely with *πλεκτάναισι*, 'run round with serpents' coils,' i.e. with serpents' coils running round it (cf. Eur. fr. 1083 *γῆ δρεσι περίδρομος*). The latter is obviously the more satisfactory.—*πλεκτάναισι* thus belongs ἀπὸ κοινοῦ to both *περίδρομον* and *προσηδάφισται*. The total result is given in the translation above.

[It would be extremely involved to take *προσηδάφισται πλεκτάναις* as = *πλεκτάνας προσηδαφισμένας ἔχει*, 'has serpents' coils fastened to the ground-work,' i.e. has such coils in relief. Moreover the proper construction in that sense would be with the accus. (*πλεκτάνας προσηδάφισται*: cf. Soph. Tr. 157 *παλαιὰν δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην | ξυυθήματα*, Xen. An. 5. 4. 32 *ἐστιγμένους ἀνθήματα* &c.).



flame. And 'tis with coils of serpents running about the rim that the casing of the hollow-bellied orb is fastened to its ground. The man has raised his war-cry, and, possessed by Ares, he is frenzied, like a Bacchant, for the revellings of fight, with an eye to strike dismay. The assault of such an one needs all best watching, for already at the gates the vaunt is of Dismay.

ET. First Onca Pallas—she whose burgh is near neighbour

486 ἦτ M, ἦ τ' \*ed. ↓. ἦδ' Stanley. ἀρχέπολις Pauw. ↓. ἦτ' ἐφίσταται (Heimsoeth) is hardly legitimate emendation.

Nor is there any adequate value thus left for so pleonastic a phrase as *περίδρομον κύτος κοιλογάστορος κύκλου*. Verrall indeed takes this as 'a frame comparatively flat (περ. κύτος) enclosing a central part of high curvature (κοιλ. κύκλου).' But κύκλος can hardly be used in such a limited sense (approaching *ομφαλός*), its ordinary acceptation in this connection being that of the whole shield (see 476, 629, Eur. *Phoen.* 1382 *ὀφίξανον κύκλοις*) as the equivalent of Homer's *ἀσπίς πάντοσ' ἔισση*. If by *περίδρομον κύτος* is meant only a part of the shield it would be better to understand it of the *ἀντιξ* of Hom. *Il.* 18. 478 *ποιεὶ δὲ πρῶτιστα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε | πάντοσε δαιδάλλων, περὶ δ' ἀντιγα βάλλε φαιεινὴν | τρίπλακα μαρμαρέην*, and *ibid.* 606. With this would suit Eur. *Trö.* 1197 *ἵνυός τ' ἐν εὐτόρνοισι περιδρόμοις ἰδρώς*.

We should thus get 'the casing of the hollow-bellied round shield, where it runs round (*i.e.* the *ἀντιξ*), is fastened to its ground with coils of snakes.' It is hard to choose, but the rendering already given offers a more completely intelligible picture.]

484 sq. *αὐτός*: turning from the shield to the man himself.—*ἐνθεός*... "Ἄρει: *i.e.* not *Βάκχῳ*, but with more fell possession. So *πρὸς ἀλκήν* again restricts *βακχεῖ* and *Θηιάς*: he revels with Thyiad-frenzy, but with a different spirit in his revelling. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 1121 "Ἄιδου βάκχος.—*Θηιάς ὥς*: Verg. *Aen.* 4. 400 *saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris | Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho | orgia*.—*φόβον*: cf. 114 (n.), 373. The sense of the noun answers to that of the conative *φοβεῖ*: he puts on looks 'to terrify.'

486 *τοιούδῃ*: both from his size (475) and his fury (484).—*πεῖραν*: *sup.* 217

*πολεμίων πειρωμένοις*, Soph. *Aj.* 2 *πεῖραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι θηρώμενον*.

487 *Φόβος...κομπάζεται*: for already Dread (or Rout, 45 n.) is being vaunted at the gates. *φόβος* is at least half-personified. The meaning is that already one can hear him at the gates boasting that we are frightened away.—*πρὸς πύλαις* is not identical with *ἐν πύλαις*. The latter might be joined to *φόβος* in the sense 'it is boasted that there is fear (among our people) at the gates'; the former belongs to *κομπάζεται*. It is Hippomedon who stands *πρὸς πύλαις* and boasts. For the notion cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1308 *πύλας ἀράξας καὶ φόβον πέμψας ἔσω*.

*κομπάζεται*: 'is the matter of high talk' (with him). An insufficiently observed sense of *κόμπος* is that of big, but empty, talk in depreciation of another; *e.g.* Eur. *Or.* 570 *δράσας δ' ἐγὼ δειν'*, *ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς*, *Rhes.* 438 *οὐχ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμυστίδας*.

488 *πρῶτον μὲν "Ογκα* )( *'Υπέρβιος δὲ κ.τ.λ.* (491); *i.e.* the divine )( the human antagonist.—*ἦ τ' ἀγγίπολις*. The usual reading is *ἦτ'*, and this form of the rel. (frequent in anapaests) is apparently used by Aesch. in trimeters in *Eum.* 1025, *Pers.* 300, although in both instances it is quite legitimate to take *τε* independently. The phraseological adv. *ἐξ οὗτε* is found in *Pers.* 764, *Eum.* 25. In the present place *τ'* is best taken as exegetic (*Cho.* 94, *Ag.* 9, *Suppl.* 42 &c.): 'Onca Pallas, that is, our neighbour.' The schol. on Soph. *O. T.* 20 (*Παλλάδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς*) observes that there were two temples of Athena at Thebes, one of *'Ογκαία* and one of *'Ισμηνία*, or one of *'Αλαλκομενία* and one of *Καδμεία*, but that the temple of *Alalcomenia* was, according to some, in a village. The sanctuary and enclosure of Onca were outside the walls (see *Introd.*

πύλαισι γείτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν  
 εἶρξει, νεοσσῶν ὡς δράκοντα δύσχιμον. 490  
 Ὑπέρβιος δὲ κενὸς Οἶνοπος τόκος  
 ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα τοῦτον ἡρέθη θέλων  
 ἐξιστορήσαι μοῖραν ἐν χρεῖα τύχης,  
 οὔτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμὸν οὔδ' ὅπλων σχέσιν  
 μωμητός, Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως συνήγαγεν. 495  
 ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,  
 ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων  
 θεούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πυρπνόον Τυφῶν' ἔχει,  
 Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
 σταδαίως ἦσται, διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων. 500  
 κοῦπω τις εἶδεν Ζῆν' ἀνὰ που νικώμενον.

489 ἀνδρὸς Paley. ↓. 490 m' writes ε over ι of δύσχιμον. 494 οὐθ' ὅπλων  
 recc. ↓. 496 ἀνὴρ M. ἀνδρὶ om. M<sup>a</sup> (then writes it above the verse). ξυντή-

§ 16). Hence ἀγχίπολις, which, though commonly taken as meaning 'near to the city' (a notion repeated and emphasised in πύλαισι γείτων), more probably = 'of neighbour πόλις': cf. Soph. *Ant.* 970 ἀγχίπολις Ἄρης (Ares being a Thracian divinity and so a neighbour to the scene mentioned), Bacchyl. 12. 56 σὺν ἀγχιδόμοις | θρόσκονσ' ἐταῖραις ('from neighbouring houses'), Theogn. 32 γείτοσι τ' ἀγχιθύροις ('from next door'). So ἀγχιτέρμων ('with borders adjoining'), ἀγχίγνος. The τέμενος of Onca, which is not part of Καδμεία, is her πόλις. We must remember the very small size of many Greek πόλεις, particularly in epic times, and how a συνοικισμός was often formed (as at Athens, Sparta and Rome) out of once independent settlements as close to each other as this. The word is thus defined, not merely expanded, by πύλαισι γείτων.

Though outside the walls, Onca has a special interest in these gates (Ὁγκαῖαι). There may also be an apt point (as Verrall thinks) in the opposition of Pallas to Typhos. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 4. 53 *sed quid Typhoeus... | contra sonantem Palladis aegida...*?

489 sq. ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν: ἀνδρὸς is not τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (Hippomedon), but generic. The maiden goddess detests ὕβρις.—ἀνδρὸς (though it may possibly glance at the sense ἀρεσενος)=ἀνθρώπου or τινος, and the phrase=ἀνδρα ὕβρι-

ζοντα.—ὕβριν is felt as the object of εἶρξει as well as of ἐχθαίρουσα.

νεοσσῶν ὡς κ.τ.λ.: 'as it were (keeping off) a cold serpent from young birds.' We should not suppose an ellipsis for 'as it were (a bird) keeping off a snake from her young ones.' The bird does not succeed in keeping off the snake, nor is Pallas regarded as a mother.—δύσχιμον: the *frigidus anguis* of Vergil, with a picture of the cold serpent creeping into the warm bed (cf. 278 sqq.), and perhaps also of the paralysing or blood-freezing terror of the nestlings.

491 Ὑπέρβιος δὲ κ.τ.λ. The repeated sound (-os) in this line was readily tolerated by Greek ears. Cf. *Cho.* 42 (n.), *ibid.* 761 οἰκων, θέλων δὲ τῶνδε πεύσεται λόγων, and add Soph. *O. T.* 567 πῶς δ' οὐχί; κοῦκ ἠκούσαμεν, Eur. *fr.* 819. 7 Κίλιξ ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κιλικία κικλήσκεται, Ion 1543 οὗ γ' ἐγὼ γάμου, Or. 238 ἔως ἑώσι δ'.

492 sq. ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα: 'as our man to match man' (in distinction from divine action). Cf. 434.—ἡρέθη θέλων ἐξιστορήσαι κ.τ.λ. Though it would be easy to suggest e.g. ἡρήσθω the text is sound and only needs interpretation. There should be no stop at ἡρέθη, the sense being that, at the time of selecting the six Thebans, Hyperbius was among them (ἡρέθη), asking no questions as to what his task (share, μοῖραν) would be in the fighting, but quite ready (θέλων)



to the gates—in abhorrence of a wanton man will keep him off, like a chill snake from nestlings. And, for a man to match such man, there is Hyperbius, Oenops' trusty son. At the choosing he was ready to leave the hour of need to teach him his task. In naught is he to seek—in shape, in temper, or in fashion of his arms; and with reason hath Hermes brought the pair together. For the man is foe to the man whom he will meet, and hostile are the gods whom they will pit upon their shields. The one hath Typhon breathing fire, while on Hyperbius' shield Father Zeus sits waiting steady, with bolt ablaze grasped in his hand; and none, I ween, hath ever seen Zeus discomfited. Such is

probably  
for the sake  
victory.

σεται M, ξυνστήσεται m. ξυμβήσεται of Plut. *Thes.* 1 belongs to the free quotation of antiquity. 500 φέρων recs. 501 του (for που) Elmsley.

to learn the answer to that question (ἐξιστορήσαι) when the turn of events needed him (ἐν χρεία τύχης). μοῖρα not rarely = 'function' or 'office': cf. *Cho.* 237 n., *Eum.* 479 αὐται δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέπελον. There is of course no notion that Hyperbius 'was chosen' to match Hippomedon, since the Argive arrangement was not then known. ἀνὴρ κατ' ἀνδρα Ἰπέρβιος ἡρέθη θέλων κ.τ.λ. is good idiomatic Greek for ἀνὴρ (πάρεστιν ἡμῖν) Ἰπέρβιος, ὃς ἡρέθη κ.τ.λ. [So simple is this rendering when once seen, that there appears no need to discuss recondite explanations of ἐν χρεία τύχης as 'consulting the oracle of fortune,' or (on the analogy of χρῆσθαι τύχῃ) as 'to find out his fate when he experiences his fortune.' These and other interpretations are due to a misunderstanding of μοῖραν.]

494 οὐτ'...οὐτ'...οὐδ'. The reading is correct. οὐτ'...οὐτ' belong to one notion, viz. that of the man's own qualities (physique and courage), while οὐδ' adds another, viz. that of equipment.—εἶδος refers to v. 475 σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος, θυμόν to 484 sqq., ὅπλων σχίσιν = *armorum habitum*, 'fashion of his arms.' The sense of μωμητός is relative. It is as a match for Hippomedon that no 'deficiency' can be found (cf. this frequent notion in μέμφεσθαι, ἀμειπτος, ἀμειφής &c.: *Cho.* 508 n.).

495 Ἑρμῆς: both as ἐναγώνιος and as the god of 'lucky finds' (ἐρμαία). Cf. *Cho.* 809 παῖς ὁ Μαίας, ἐπεὶ φορώτατος | πρᾶξιν οὐρίαν θέλων. It was a species of lottery which brought the pair together (as it did regularly in the athletic contests), and Hermes is the deity presiding

over lots (οἱ κλήροι τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἱεροὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι schol. *Ar. Pac.* 365).—εὐλόγως: the emphatic word. Cf. 505 πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος.—συνήγαγεν: the tense answers to ἡρέθη (492).

496 ἀνὴρ ((θεοὺς (498): 'the men are enemies and so are the gods....' More must be implied than that the men are matched as πολέμοι. There must have been some special feud already between them, which would be stated more expressly in the epic.—τῷ is relative.

498 sq. πυρπνόν. The thought is that, while Typhon breathes fire from his mouth, Zeus wields a fire more terrible in his hand. In πατήρ the god is considered as benign and protecting. Note again ἐπ' ἀσπίδος so soon after ἐπ' ἀσπίδων.

500 σταδαῖος ἦσται: he sits, but firm and ready, quietly waiting for the opponent. Both words contrast his tranquillity with the fury of Typhon.—φλέγων: 'causing to blaze.'—διὰ χερσός: the bolt (familiar in works of art) passes through the clasped hand and projects on either side. The words are opposed to διὰ στόμα of 480. (A 6th cent. black-vase illustration of a contest between Zeus and Typhon may be seen in Hill's *Illustrations of School Classics* p. 7.)

501 που: not of place, but sarcastic: 'I believe.'—νικώμενον = νενικημένον by the usual idiom of νικᾶν. For the thought cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 349 sqq. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡρα προστατεῖ Διὸς δαμαρ, | ἡμῶν δ' Ἀθάνᾳ φημι δ' εἰς εὐπραξίαν | καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, θεῶν ἀμεινόνων τυχεῖν | νικωμένη γὰρ Παλλὰς οὐκ ἀνέξεται.

τοιαῦδε μὲν τοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων·  
 πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἔσμέν, οἱ δ' ἡσσωμένων,  
 εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ καρτερώτερος μάχῃ·  
 Ὑπερβίῳ τ', εἰ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος 505  
 εἰκὸς γε πράξειν ἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας,  
 Σωτήρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχῶν.

ἀντ. β. ΧΟ. πέποιθα τὸν Διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντά <τ'>  
 ἄφιλον ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας,  
 δαίμοσιν ἐχθρὸν εἴκασμα βροτοῖς τε καὶ 510  
 δαροβίοισι θεοῖσι,

502 μέντοι Μ. Qu. \*τοιαῦδε μὲν τοῖν...?

before these lines. Two late MSS transpose 505, 506 (with εἰκὸς δέ..., whence Pauw εἰκὸς δὲ πράξειν ἄνδρας). There are no variants affecting the construction, except that in 506, for εἰκόσγε πράξειν (*sic*) of Μ, m' not only emends with πράξειν (*i.e.* εἰν superscr.) but also writes δέ over γε. The order is preserved with the

504—507 m' writes β γ α δ

502 μέντοι: perhaps μέν \*τοῖν (=τούτων) should be read.—προσφίλεια δαιμόνων: *i.e.* respectively. The expression is for the concrete τοιοῦδε προσφιλεῖς δαίμονες: cf. 237 ζυντέλεια (n.).

504—507 m' writes β γ α δ before these lines respectively. If this is anything more than an attempt at emendation we might suppose that the line beginning with εἰκόσ was accidentally omitted through the eye of the copyist catching εἰ of the next, and that it was subsequently written in the margin and thence inserted at the wrong place. But if this alteration were made it would be difficult to give a satisfactory rendering of εἰκόσ γε πράξειν ἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας. To join ὧδ' with πράξειν is scarcely natural for the position or the rhythm, while, on the other hand, there would be no sense in πράξειν standing alone. 'Men opposed in this way' (*i.e.* with these particular devices) is the almost inevitable sense. Meanwhile the line εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ κ.τ.λ. follows aptly upon 503: 'we are on the winning side...since Zeus is mightier than Typhon.'

The order of Μ is therefore in all probability correct. We might construe εἰ with all that follows, viz. εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τ. καρ. μάχῃ Ὑπερβίῳ τε...γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς, with v. 506 parenthetical. The combination of εἰ...γένοιτ' ἂν is open to no objection, the construction being that of Ag. 921 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρόσσοιμ' ἂν, εὐθαρσὴς ἐγώ (where the clause with ἂν represents an apodosis to a suppressed

hypothesis); or εἰ may=ἐπεὶ 'since Zeus would naturally prove (if occasion arose) protector.' But it must be admitted that it requires unusual effort to construe εἰ with the τε-clause after v. 504, and also that the parenthetical εἰκόσ γε κ.τ.λ. (which is still open to the objection already stated for πράξειν) is more than awkward. If (with Verrall) we make the parenthesis consist of πρὸς λόγον...ἀντιστάτας the sense of those words becomes clear and ὧδ' falls into its proper place, but the parenthesis itself hardly appears Aeschylean. It seems best therefore to punctuate more fully at μάχῃ, and to make the slight correction \*τ', εἰ for τε.

Ὑπερβίῳ τ' then begins a statement, not an hypothesis, and the sense is 'and to Hyperbius—since it is only likely that men so opposed will fare according to their emblem—Zeus will naturally prove Saviour.'

τοῦ σήματος: the device in each case. —γε, though felt with εἰ, is correctly placed to emphasise εἰκόσ, 'since it is at least probable....' Eteocles, as elsewhere, does not make a positive prediction or boast (cf. 401), but in this instance he claims great likelihood. [That εἰκόσ ἐστί is found elsewhere with pres. or aor. is surely no bar to the natural use of the future. It is in fact the aor. which is the remarkable tense, and to deny a future because we find an aor. is as perverse as it would be with ἐλπίς ἐστί or ἐλπίζω. In these and similar expressions the aor. was substituted for the fut. only because



their choice of favouring powers, and ours is the prevailing side, but theirs the weaker, if Zeus is mightier in fight than Typhon. To Hyperbius—since it is like that men thus matched will fare according to their blazon—Zeus must prove Saviour, for his place upon the shield. [HYPERBIUS *departs*.

CHO. Sure am I that the adversary of Zeus, in that he bears upon his shield the friendless form of the earth-born thing, the likeness loathed by higher powers, by mortals <sup>2nd anti-strophe.</sup>

emendation \*τ', ei for τε. ↓.

505 Ὑπερβίω τε πρὸς Μ. Corr. \*ed. Ὑπερβίω τοι Blomf., δὲ Butler. 506 πρᾶξαι Sidgwick. ἀντηρέτας recc. 507 γένοιτο Ζεὺς recc.

508 ἔχοντα | ἀφίλον Μ. <γ> add. \*ed. ↓. πέποιθα δὲ Robortello. τὸν Ζηρὸς ἀντίπουν ἔχοντ' Dind., τὸν δὲ Διὸς ἀντίπουν νέμουντ' Weil (σχέθοντ' would be as likely).

510 δαίμονος Brunck and most editors (and probably schol.). ↓. βροτοῖσι τε | καὶ δαροβίοισι Μ, corr. Brunck. 511 θεοῖσιν Hermann.

the implication of futurity was often sufficiently felt in the *eikós* or *élpis* itself.]

507 Σωτήρ: the emphatic word. 'Zeus will prove Zeus Soter.'—ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχών: from the 'happy' fact of his being upon the shield. Cf. 388 κυρεῖν (n.).

508 sq. πέποιθα τὸν κ.τ.λ.: for the reading see 468 sq. (crit. n.). In ἔχοντά \*γ' the particle is effective, since it aduces an argument.—ἀντίπουν is masculine. The Chorus regards Hippomedon as himself the adversary of Zeus, inasmuch as he carries a challenge to Zeus upon his shield.—ἀφίλον: 'without a friend' among any of the three classes named immediately; cf. Eur. *H. F.* 561 ἀφίλον, ἔν' αὐθίς σοι λέγω, τὸ δυστυχές.—χθονίου=γηγενοῦς. The omission of the noun has its purpose. Typhon is 'that thing born of earth' (not god nor man but a being unique).

510 δαίμοσιν ἐχθρόν κ.τ.λ.: 'hated by δαίμονες, βροτοὶ and immortal θεοί.' The expression is not meant to be merely comprehensive, but Typhon was not recognised by any of these classes as belonging to them. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 295 ἢ δ' ἔτεκ' ἄλλο πέλωρον ἀμήχανον οὐδὲ εὐϊκὸς | θνητοῖσ' ἀνθρώποισ' οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, *Hymn. Apoll.* 351 οὔτε θεοὺς ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσι, | δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν. Where words like these are thus juxtaposed their meanings are duly distinguished, and 'mixed forms, half animal half human, belong to beings half way between man and god, demons rather than full-fledged divinities and demons malignant rather than benevolent. Such are Boreas,

Echidna, Typhon and the snake-tailed giants' (Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 259). The fact that in less studied language θεοί are often called δαίμονες (in the comprehensive sense of 'higher powers'), while the Titans may occasionally be called θεοί (*sup.* 498, *Hymn. Apoll.* 335, *P. V.* 443 Τῖτᾶνα...θεὸν | Ἀτλανθ') does not alter the fact that a more scrupulous distinction existed. Cf. *Soph. fr.* 511. 2 οὔτε δαίμων οὔτε τις θεῶν, Eur. *Med.* 1391, *Plut. Mor.* 415 A οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θέντες θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων... Ἑλλήνων δ' Ὅμηρος μὲν ἐτι φαίνεται κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε δαίμονας προσγορεύων. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτος ἐξέθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἰτα δαίμονας εἰθ' ἥρωας, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, *ibid.* 419 A (δαίμονες differ from θεοί in not being immortal), 417 F, 153 A τί ὠφελιμώτατον; θεός. τί βλαβερώτατον; δαίμων.

Though Typhon is himself a δαίμων he has no friend among his own class.—(δαίμοσιν βροτοῖς τε forms one notion, καὶ δαρ. θεοῖσι a second.)

511 δαροβίοισι θεοῖσι: the θεοὶ αἰὲν ὄντες of Hom. *Il.* 24. 99. In strict language δαρόβιος is simply 'long-lived' and may be used of δαίμονες no less than θεοί: cf. [Hom.] *Hymn.* 4. 260 (of the nymphs) αἳ β' οὔτε θνητοῖς οὐτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔπονται | δηρὸν μὲν ζῶουσι κ.τ.λ., and *Soph. O. T.* 1099 μακράϊωνες (nymphs). While ἀθάνατοι are necessarily δαρόβιοι, not all δαρόβιοι are ἀθάνατοι. Aeschylus however is using a traditional epithet of deity ('lasting-lived') without the same consciousness of limitation in δαρο- which

πρόσθε πυλᾶν κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν.

ΑΓ. οὕτως γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον αὖ λέγω,  
πέμπταισι προσταχθέντα Βορραΐαις πύλαις,  
τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογενοῦς Ἀμφίονος.  
ὁμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ  
σέβειν πεποιθὸς ὁμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον,  
ἧ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστν Καδμείων βίᾳ  
Διός. τόδ' αὖδ' αὖ μῆτρὸς ἐξ ὄρεσκίου  
βλάστημα καλλίπρωρον, ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ.  
στείχει δ' ἱουλος ἄρτι διὰ παρηίδων

514 βορραΐαις M, corr. Porson. 516 sq. ἣν ἔχων...σέβει Pauw. ↓. 519 δορός  
for Διός recc., Hermann &c. ↓. ματρός M, μητρός recc. It is just possible that

he would feel in μακρο-; the 'lasting' may be for ever, and he manifestly means 'immortal.'

A hatred mixed with a shrinking, half of fear, may be felt even by the immortals. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 20. 64 οἰκία... | σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ, Theoc. 24. 29 τόθι φάρμακα λυγρὰ κέκρυνται | οὐλομένοισι ὀφίεσσιν, αὖ καὶ θεοὶ ἐχθαίροντι.

512 κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν = 'fall headlong.' Cf. *lyr. incert. ap. Plut. Mor.* 417 c ῥιψ-αὔχειν σὺν κλόνῳ. But κεφαλῇ may = 'life' (Hom. *Il.* 17. 242 ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ περιδείδια, *Od.* 2. 237 παρθέμενοι κεφαλὰς, *Bacchyl.* 5. 91).

514 sq. Βορραΐαις: see *Introd.* § 16. For Parthenopaeus cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 145 sqq., 1104 sqq.—τύμβον κατ' αὐτόν: cf. *fr.* 30 κατ' αὐτὸν τύμβον ἀθλίου Λίχα. *Eur. Suppl.* 660 κρήνην παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀρεος. Here, however, there is probably in αὐτόν the point that the tomb of the builder of their walls, Amphion, is a place held in chief respect, and the vision of the enemy boastfully challenging there is particularly enraging. To such a point Διογενοῦς adds a suggestion of impiety. Amphion was son of Zeus and Antiope. The tomb bears the same name in *Eur. Suppl.* 662 (σεμνῶν μνημάτων Ἀμφίονος), *Paus.* 9. 17. 7. In *Eur. Phoen.* 145 Parthenopaeus stands ἀμφὶ μνῆμα τὸ Ζήθου and the schol. there states that it was common to the two brothers. So *Paus.* 9. 17. 4 Ζήθῳ δὲ μνῆμα καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐν κοινῷ γῆς χῳμά ἐστιν οὐ μέγα. The tomb doubtless figured in the epic. (According to another account the tomb of Amphion was at Tithorea: *Steph. Byz. in voc.*)

516 sq. ὁμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν κ.τ.λ. The swearing by a spear seems to have been a custom (it is at least a tradition) of epic or pre-epic times. Cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 460 (Apollo loq.) ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανέιον ἀκόντιον. Very similar to the present place is *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 466 (Idas loq.) ἴστω νῦν δόρυ θούρον, ὅτω περιώσιον ἄλλων | κῦδος ἐνὶ πολέμοισιν αἰέρομαι, οὐδὲ μ' ὀφέλλει | Ζεὺς τόσον, ὁσσάτιόν περ' ἐμὸν δόρυ, where the speaker is reproved by Idmon (480) σὺ δ' ἀτάσθαλα πάμπαν ἔειπας, the impiety consisting, as here, not in the oath itself but in the depreciation of a god (cf. *Verg. Aen.* 10. 773 *dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro, | nunc ad-sint*). It is not that a special sanctity attached to a spear more than to another weapon or old possession, since Achilles swears ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον (*Il.* 1. 234), and cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1677 ἴστω σίδηρος ὄρκιον τέ μοι ξίφος. The sanctity probably lay in the venerable character of the article as a κειμήλιον, which from its record of successful exploits had come to be regarded—like an axe among the older Zulus or the swords Durandal and Excalibur—as possessing supernatural virtues. For such a spear cf. *Eur. I. T.* 823 Πέλοπος παλαιὰν ἐν δόμοις λόγχην πατρός.

This consideration lends the necessary point to the otherwise weak-looking ἣν ἔχει, 'a (special) spear of his.' It is hardly satisfactory to render simply 'the spear which he holds,' still less to regard the phrase as meaning no more than in *e.g.* Chaucer, *Prolog.* 676 *By ounces henge his lokkes that he hadde.*

The trusting of course includes trust in one's own might in wielding the weapon.



and by long-lived gods, will be dashed headlong before the gates.

SCOUT. So be it. Next for the fifth, posted at the Northern gates, right by the tomb of Amphion, son of Zeus. He swears by a spear he holds—in his assurance honouring it beyond a God and more dearly than his eyes—'Verily I will lay waste the town of the Cadmeans in spite of Zeus.' So doth he give tongue, the fair-visaged scion of a dam laired in the hills, a boy-man warrior, whose young crop of hair in the thick fast growth

the local sound may have been retained sarcastically, but an accidental  $\tilde{\alpha}$ -form sometimes occurs in dialogue (cf. *P. V.* 518 *σίδαρον*). **520** καλλιπρῶρον *M.*

μᾶλλον θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. *i.e.* πεποιθὼς αὐτῇ, ὥστε μᾶλλον θεοῦ σέβειν αὐτήν, the infin. being consequential. With the boldness of his expression cf. *Cho.* 57 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, | τὸ δ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεὸς τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον, *Dicaeerg. fr.* 5 θεὸς μέγιστος τοῖς φρονούσιν οἱ γονῆς.

ὀμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον: the eyes being the most precious possession (377 n., Catull. 3. 5 *quem plus illa oculis suis amat*) and therefore often sworn by (*Herond.* 6. 23 μὰ τούτους τοῖς γλυκέας, *Theoc.* 6. 22, *Petron.* 133). There is no zeugma in σέβειν applied to the eyes as well as to a god, since σέβειν = τιμᾶν ('set store by') in various contexts.

(To join ἔχει πεποιθὼς σέβειν (as = πέποιθε σέβειν) is extremely improbable and awkward: (a) πέποιθε is itself a perf. and cannot be resolved into ἔχει πεποιθώς, (b) there should be no separation of the words, and the order should be πεποιθώς ἔχει, as in *Soph. O. T.* 710 *οὐδ' αὖ μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει*. (With aor. ἔχω may precede or follow the participle, but it is at least juxtaposed.) The only apparent exception is *Soph. Ph.* 601 *ὅν γ' εἶχον ἡδὴ χρόνον ἐκβεβληκότες*, where the reading is doubtful. Other passages, in which ἔχω has a separate force (e.g. *Xen. An.* 1. 3. 14 *πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπικότες*), manifestly have nothing to do with the matter.]

**518** λαπάξιν: 47 (n.). The exact words of the oath are formally quoted. In βία Διός the gen. bears a strong emphasis, assisted by the position: 'in spite of (even) Zeus.'

**519** sq. τὸδ' αὖδ' κ.τ.λ.: sarcastically. \* *This* is the sort of way the man-boy—son of a wild woman of the hills—talks.—αὖδ': 'gives voice' (to things ἀρρητα).—μητρὸς ἐξ ὄρεσκόου: Atalanta, the father being uncertain (Ares or Milanion). Here the poet would naturally

not choose Ares and so put Parthenop. under his protection. Atalanta's haunts were upon Mt Maenalus in Arcadia (*Eur. Phoen.* 1162 *Μαυνάλου κόρη*), where she had been suckled by a bear. She housed in caves (ὄρεσκόου). The point made in this description is that she was a type of the fierce and uncivilized (ἀγrios), and that her son exhibits these qualities (see 534 sq. n.). She may have been one avatar of Artemis (*Farnell Cults of the Greek States* 11. p. 448).—καλλιπρῶρον and ἀνδρόπαις both convey a shade of sarcasm: it is a youth of this sort who talks so big.—καλλιπρῶρον: so of Iphigenia (*Ag.* 245). καλλιπρῶρον· εὐπρόσωπον (*Hesych.*). The original sense of πρῶρα itself was 'face.' In *Eur. Suppl.* 889 *Parth.* is εἶδος ἐξοχώτατος.—ἀνδρόπαις: between boy and man, here with the implication that it is but a boy who is 'playing the man' (*i.e.* the warrior, the 'brave'). According to that version of the story which includes the Epigoni he is old enough to leave a son.

**521** sq. στείχει δ' κ.τ.λ.: δὲ (almost = γάρ) carries on the notion of ἀνδρόπαις ἀνήρ: 'yes, the young beard is only just growing.' He is of the age described in *Hom. Il.* 24. 348 *πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη*. That this description was included in the epic would appear from *Eur. Phoen.* 1160 (*ἀρτι δ' οἰνωπὸν γένειν*). His youthfulness among the heroes became proverbial: cf. *Mart.* 6. 77. 2 *tam iuvenis quam nec Parthenopaeus erat*. For the expression which follows cf. *Eur. Bacch.* 1184 *νέος ὁ μὸσχος ἀρτι γένειν ὑπὸ κόρυδι ἀπαλότριχα* | *κατάκομον βάλλει* (of Pentheus).

στείχει...διὰ παρηίδων: not 'coming through (the skin of) his cheeks' but 'marching gradually along (*i.e.* down) his cheeks.' Cf. *Xen. Symp.* 4. 23. 1 *τούτω...παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἀρτι ἰούλος καθέρπει*. It is usual to punctuate so that *παρὰ* is

ὥρας φυούσης ταρφύς, ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ.  
 ὁ δ' ὠμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώννυμον,  
 φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμμ' ἔχων, προσίσταται.  
 οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις. 525  
 τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκηλάτῳ  
 σάκει, κυκλωτῷ σώματος προβλήματι,  
 Σφίγγ' ὠμόσιτον προσμεμηχανημένην  
 γόμφοις ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας.  
 φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ φῶτα, Καδμείων ἕνα, 530

522 The usual punctuation is ...φυούσης, ταρφύς ἀντέλλουσα.... †. 524 γοργόν

joined to **θρίξ**. Such a fem. is sufficiently common in epic and its imitators (e.g. *Il.* 10. 27 *πολλὸν ἐφ' ὑγρῇν*, *Od.* 5. 467 *θήλυς ἐέρση*, 12. 236 *ἡδὺς ἀντή*, Theoc. 20. 8 *ἀδέα χαίταν*, *epigr.* 18 (23). 3 *χάριν ἀδύν*): see the remark in Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. et poes. Hom.* § 42. In tragedy it seems to occur only in *Thlvs* (Soph. *Tr.* 1062), where femininity is sufficiently expressed. But, apart from any objection to the form, this arrangement leaves **ὥρας φυούσης** rather weak. The punctuation in the text makes **ταρφύς** (by position) emphatic and part of the predicate, while the gen. abs. is inserted in the necessary place to explain this quick growth: 'the crop grows fast, for it is the growing season.' For the predic. cf. *Il.* 22. 142 *ταρφέ' ἐπαύσσει*, Hes. *Th.* 690 *κεραυνοὶ... ποτέοντο... ταρφέες*. The notion of **ταρφύς** is of that which comes thick and fast (e.g. a shower of missiles, *ταρφέες τοι* of *Od.* 22. 246, and see Ath. 15 C): cf. Callim. *Hymn. Iov.* 56 *ταχινοὶ δὲ τοι ἦλθον Ιουλοι*. It should be noted further that, if **Ιουλος** had meant simply 'down' or 'young hair,' the words **ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ** would never have been added. As usual, we have a metaphorical expression defined by the literal. **Ιουλος** stands for 'crop' (of corn), as in the popular song *πλείστον Ιουλον λει, Ιουλον λει*. Cf. Ath. 618 D for *οἰλοι* and *Ιουλοι* as sheaves, and the title **Ιουλῶ** of Demeter. **ταρφύς** itself is a word connected with crops (*ταρφέα δράγματα*), and **ὥρας** also obtains manifest point from this rendering. The derived sense of **Ιουλος** appears already in Hom. *Od.* 11. 319 *πρὶν σφῶιν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν Ιούλους | ἀνθήσαι πνικάσαι τε γένυς εὐανθέι λάχνη*. Herondas (1. 52) has *τοὺς Ιουλον ἀνθεύοντας*.—**ἀντέλλουσα** carries on

the idea of the crop: cf. *fr.* 300. 6 *Αἴγυπτος... Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει σταχύν* (where the verb is trans., as in Ap. Rhod. 2. 43 *χρόδοντας Ιούλους | ἀντέλλων*).

523 sq. **οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώννυμον**. Although the name *Παρθενοπαῖος* has not been mentioned, it has been suggested in v. 519. It should be remembered that Eteocles would already know the names of the Argive chiefs; he is only being informed which are the seven and what posts they have received. The plur. **παρθένων** is generic. In **γοργόν δ'** the **δέ** is not simply connective, but is antithetic to the last statement='his proud temper' (which shows best in the eyes) 'is not maidenlike, but fierce.' In **γοργόν** (as in *γοργωπόν* of *P. V.* 372) the Greek mind naturally thinks of *Γοργών* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 8. 349 *Γοργόους ὄμματ' ἔχων ἢ βροτολοιγού Ἀρηος*, of Hector), but the epithet is one often applied to warriors (Eur. *H. F.* 130, *Andr.* 1123, *Rhes.* 8), and is not uncomplimentary (Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 4. 3 *μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι*). The word seems to have been applied to Parth. in the epic: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 146 *δμῶσι γοργὸς εἰσιδεῖν νεανίας*.

525 **οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γε**: not 'yet he does not...' (which is unsuited to the context), but 'I must not forget his boastful blazon.' As **καὶ μὴν... γε**='and the more by token' or introduces a new topic (*sup.* 231, *Chio.* 204) so **οὐ μὴν... γε** with the neg. **ἀκόμπαστος**=(**καὶ**) **μὴν** *σὺν κόμπῳ γε*.

526 **τὸ... ὄνειδος**: 'that (great, notorious) reproach,' which lay in the subjection of Thebes to the Sphinx: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1731 *Σφίγγος ἀναφέρεις ὄνειδος*.—**χαλκηλάτῳ σάκει**: a shield of hide plated with bronze. In **κυκλωτῷ** ('shaped into



of spring is but now spreading o'er his cheeks. With savage pride—in no wise maidenlike, as fits his name—and with fierce eye, doth he advance. Nor is it without his boast that he takes stand at the gates; for on his bronze-plated shield, rounded to screen his body, he bandied our country's shame, a raw-ravaging Sphinx laid on with cunning rivets, a shining form high in relief. Beneath her she bears a human being, one

τ' rec. ↓.

527 κύκλωται M, κύκλωι τῷ m.

529 γόμφοισι νωμᾷ Wakefield.

a circle') the round shield is again emphasised in contrast with the Theban oblong kind (cf. 629 n.). The words **σώματος προβλήματι** cannot be treated in Aesch. as an idle addition for quasi-ornamental purposes. They denote size; the shield is a complete covering for his body: cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 32 ἀμφιβρότην (ἀσπίδα) and the precept in Tyr. 9 (7). 23 μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους | ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρί καλυψάμενος. The round shield had in any case the superiority in breadth. For the mere expression cf. Hybrias *fr.* 2 τὸ καλὸν λαισήιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός.

528 sqq. **Σφίγγ'** ὠμόσιτον κ.τ.λ. Eustathius (p. 1160. 49) explains that the figure of the Sphinx was movable and could be worked about on the face of the shield, so as to possess the appearance of life (ἴσως δὲ καὶ μηχανῇ τινι ἐκινούντο, ἐκκρουστα ὄντα καὶ οὐ διόλου προσηλωμένα τῷ σάκει καὶ οὕτω ἐφάνταζον τοῖς ὁρώσι τὸ αὐτοκίνητον, ὅποιον δὲ τι πλάττει καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας). It is not absolutely necessary to assume this for **ἐνώμα**, since ἐνώμα ἐν σάκει τὴν Σφίγγα might simply mean 'he handled a shield with the Sphinx upon it' (cf. 477 δινήσαντος). But **προσμεμηχανημένην γόμφοις** is not simply προσκειμένην or προσηδαφισμένην, and there should be some μηχανῇ implied. If we compare Eur. *Phoen.* 1124 ποτνιάδες δ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδι | ἐπίσθημα πῶλοι δρομάδες ἐσκίρτων φόβῳ, | εὖ πως στρόφιγξ ἐνδοθεν κυκλοῦμεναι | πόρπαχ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν, ὥστε μαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν, we shall see that such a device was not unknown to epic tradition, and we shall naturally suspect a common source in the *Thebaica*. The exact method of achieving the motion is obscure, but is to be guessed from the nature of a Greek στρόφιγξ, which was a pivot turning in a socket. The figure in relief is supposed to be attached to the bronze plating by such pivots, here called γόμφοι. The

brief manner in which Aesch. states the matter probably implies (like the πως of Euripides) that he had himself no definite conception of the mechanism, the notion of which he merely borrows from the epic. In [Hes.] *Scut.* 216 sq. on the shield was Περσεύς, | οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπιψαύων σάκεος ποσὶν οὐθ' ἐκάς αὐτοῦ, | θαῦμα μέγα φράσσασθ', ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐστήρικτο. The last words of this are very naive and only show how such wonders could grow. Cf. *ibid.* 164 τῶν (of the snakes) καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καταχῆ πέλεν, εὐτε μάχοιτο | Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης.

528 **Σφίγγ'**: Introd. p. xxvi.—**ὠμόσιτον**: she is not merely the Sphinx, but the Sphinx represented in this character, to increase the savage truculence of the emblem. Eur. (*Phoen.* 1024) speaks of her χαλαὶ ὠμόσιτοι.

529 **ἐνώμα**: viz. when I saw him.—**λαμπρὸν**: so as to be the more conspicuous to the Cadmeans against its background.

530 **φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ**: Eur. *Phoen.* 808 Σφιγγὸς... | ἃ ποτε Καδμογενὴ τετραβάμοσι χαλαῖς | τέλχεσι χριμπτόμενα φέρεν αἰθέρος εἰς ἄβατον φῶς | γένναν. She is a Kêr (Harrison *Profr. Gk. Rel.* pp. 208 sqq.) and therefore a creature of prey, as in [Hes.] *Scut.* 157, where the Kêr ἄλλον ζῶν ἐχονσα νεούτατον, ἄλλον δούτον, | ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μῦθον ἔλκε ποδοῦν. For a similar representation cf. Eur. *El.* 470 (on the helmet of Achilles) ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοτόπῳ κράνει | Σφίγγες δυνεῖν ἀοίδιμον | ἄγρην φέρουσι, *Phoen.* 1137 (on the shield of Adrastus) ἐκ δὲ τεχέων μέσων | δράκοντος ἔφερον τέκνα Καδμείων γνάβοις.—**Καδμείων ἔνα**: 'one of (our) Cadmeans.' This would appear, not merely from a general assumption as to her natural prey, but from visible tokens in dress or the like. This use of ἔνα is as good Greek as English (Soph. *O. C.* 1592, *El.* 1342, Eur. *Hel.* 6, 83, 1207, *Bacch.* 917, *Or.* 264 &c.).

ὥς πλείστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη.  
 ἔλθων δ' ἔοικεν οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην,  
 μακρᾶς κελεύθου δ' οὐ καταισχυνεῖν πόρον,  
 Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ,  
 μέτοικος, Ἄργει δ' ἐκτίνων καλὰς τροφάς,  
 πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἅ μὴ κραίνοι θεός.

535

ET. εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν·  
 ἢ τὰν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοίατο.  
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τῷδ', ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα,  
 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρᾳ τὸ δράσιμον,  
 Ἄκτωρ, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου.

540

531 τῷ διαπτέσθαι Verrall.

533 καταισχύνειν M, corr. m. καταισχυνεῖ Hermann.

534—536 These verses are sometimes wrongly suspected. †. 534 ὁ Παρθενο-

531 ὥς πλείστ' κ.τ.λ.: 'so as to make most missiles be aimed at this man' (viz. Parthenopaeus more than another). The weapons are not actually being hurled, but this is stated as the consequence (and presumably the deliberate purpose) of such an opprobrious emblem. This attitude of Parthen. is dwelt upon in the next words: he seeks wholesale fighting (the following δ' practically = γάρ).

For the expression and the notion cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 618 Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχεναν (on Ajax), *Od.* 5. 309 ἡματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλείστοι χαλκήρεα δούρα | Τρῶες ἐπέριψαν.

532 sq. ἔλθων. The point of the word is explained by μακρᾶς κελεύθου. 'Now that he has come (all this way), he will not peddle in fighting; he will fight wholesale.' Arcadia is more remote than Argos. It should have been observed that μακρᾶς κελεύθου...πόρον is opposed to καπηλεύσειν as the travelling ἔμπορος is to the local κάπηλος. A merchant who travels far should do business worthy of his journey. Possibly in πόρον there is also a glance at 'resources.' Ennius (*ap. Cic. Off.* 1. 12. 38) has *nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes*. In *Et. Mag.* p. 490. 12 it is said ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὰ δόλια πάντα καλεῖ κάπηλα· 'κάπηλα προσφέρειν τεχνήματα.'

534 sqq. Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς (which should not be separated from what precedes) is uttered sarcastically: 'He will deal wholesale—our Parthenopaeus from Arcadia.' There is some contempt in

Ἀρκάς (cf. 519, 540), which is carried on by the next words.—ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ: i.e. ὁ δὲ, τοιόσδ' ὧν ἀνὴρ (cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 205 ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παθὼν κακά... | ἦλθον, *Cho.* 479 κἀγὼ, πάτερ, τοιάδε σοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχω): 'Yes, he, a man like this (of 519 sqq.), threatens our Theban (τοιόσδ') walls.' It was an outrage for the comer from uncivilized Arcadia to menace the town of Thebes.—μέτοικος (viz. at Argos) is derogatory, as any Athenian in the audience would feel. Parthen. ('Ἀρκάς, οὐκ Ἀργεῖος, *Eur. Phoen.* 1153) owes to Argos the debt of a breeding which Arcadia could not give.—καλὰς is ironical, but is serious in so far as it means that 'it was Argos which gave him such training as he has received towards becoming καλὸς κἀγαθός.' Cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 890 Ἀρκὰς μὲν ἦν, ἔλθων δ' ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοὰς | παιδεύεται κατ' Ἀργος· ἐκτραφεῖς δ' ἐκεῖ | ... | λόχοις δ' ἐνεστὼς ὥσπερ Ἀργεῖος γεγώς, | ἤμυνε χώρᾳ. The epic manifestly included this matter. [To bracket these lines as spurious is surely a grievous mistake. Each champion must be named somewhere in the speech for the sake of the audience. The 'long journey' requires some specification; the sarcasm is effective; and the lines are not such as would occur to an interpolator.]

537 sq. πρὸς θεῶν: with τυχοῖεν (and stressed). As usual, the help of the gods comes first, then the mention of the human champion (540 sq.), cf. 434, 491 sq.—φρονοῦσι also bears some emphasis: 'may they meet with what they meditate.'



of the Cadmeans, to make this champion the chief aim of our missiles.

Once come, it seems, he will be no huckster of his fighting nor do discredit to the long travel he hath made—Parthenopaeus, Arcadian. Yes, such sort of a man—stranger to Argos, but paying it full price for goodly breeding—threatens the walls with this, which may Heaven not fulfil.

ET. May Heaven serve them according to their choice and all those boasts and blasphemies! Utter, for sure, would be their dire and wretched doom. But for this one too, the Arcadian of your tale, we have a man who makes no boast, but whose hand looks for the thing to do—Actor, brother to him last

παῖος rec. (attempting to emend the metre, for which see 475 n.). †. 535 ἄργει τ' recc. 538 ἀνοσίαις M, corr. m (ois superscript). There may have been a reading ἀνοσίας ('of their wickedness'). 541 χεῖρ δὲ δρᾶ Winckelmann. I no longer propose χεῖρ δ'

The full sense is virtually εἰ γὰρ τούτων τύχοιεν πρὸς θεῶν, ἃ (eis θεοὺς) φρονοῦσι. φρονοῦσι doubtless includes pride (the plur. ἃ φρονοῦσι being used for the several instances of μέγα φρονεῖν), but primarily the use is that of φρονεῖν τὰ νινος, φρονεῖν εὖ (κακῶς) τινί: 'as they are opposed to the gods (in their pride), so may the gods pay them in kind.'

αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις κ.τ.λ.: 'with those impious boastings (or κομπάσμασιν = blatant emblems) and all' (e.g. 414, 456, 518). In tragedy this comitative dat. is used only in the plural.

539 πανώλεις = *perditi*, relating here the material to the moral sense. 'As they are mad and reckless (πανώλεις) in their φρονήματα, so would they perish in utter destruction (πανώλεις). As they are πάγκακοι ('utterly wicked'), so would they perish παγκάκως ('in utter misery').' Greek rather prefers than dislikes such combinations as πανώλεις δλέσθαι (= παντελῇ δλεθρον δλέσθαι).

540 καὶ τῷδ': to meet this boaster we have, as in the previous cases, an unboasting opponent.—δν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα: 'whom you describe for your Arcadian.' The contempt implied in τὸν Ἀρκάδα is somewhat strengthened by placing the expression in the rel. clause, instead of giving the expected τῷ Ἀρκάδι. Metrically the accus. is of course more easily handled, but the difficulty of the dat. could have been surmounted. Apart from such considerations, however, a mere attraction of case to the rel. is not rare: cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 69 Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται,

δν ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωσεν, | ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, Soph. *El.* 160 δλβιος, δν γὰ ποτε ...δέξεται...μολόντα Ὀρέσταν, Ar. *Lys.* 61 οὐδ' ἄς προσεδόκων... | πρώτας παρέσσεσθαι δεῦρο τὰς Ἀχαρνέων | γυναικάς, οὐχ ἤκουσιν, Eur. *Hec.* 771, *Heracl.* 67 &c. The reputation of the Arcadians (προσέληνοι) for rudeness appears from schol. to Ar. *Nub.* 397 (μῶροι), Philostr. *Apoll.* 8. 7. 43 Ἀρκάδες...ἀγροικύτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συνώδεις. According to schol. on P. *V.* 554 they were ὑβρισταί.

541 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος κ.τ.λ.: with the familiar antithesis of λόγος and ἔργον, as in 434 sq., 460. The sense of ὄρᾶ may be either (1) 'looks out for' or (2) 'wears the look of.' The former answers to e.g. Hom. *Od.* 8. 443 αὐτὸς νῦν ἰδε πῶμα, Soph. *Aj.* 1165 σπεύσον κολιην κάπετόν τιν' ἰδεῖν, Pind. *P.* 2. 34 χρῆ...αἰεὶ παντὸς ὄρᾶν μέτρον, Theoc. 15. 2 ὄρη δῖφρον, Εὐνῶα, αὐτᾶ, *ερίγρ.* 12. 4 ἐκτήσατο νίκην | ...καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ προσήκον ὄρῶν, Eur. *Hec.* 901 πλοῦν ὄρῶντες ἥσυχον, Herond. 6. 32 χητέρην τιν' ἀνθ' ἡμέων | φίλην ἀθρεῖτω, and (with infin.) Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 21 μόνον ὄρῶν τὸ παλεῖν τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον, Epicr. *fr.* 2. 6 ὀρώσα πίνειν κάσθλειν μόνον. The other sense 'wears the look of action' (cf. ἀρῇ δεδορκέναι, φόβον βλέπειν) is less to the point, although the use is common: cf. Pind. *O.* 9. 119 ἀνέρα...ὄρῶντ' ἀλκάν, Theoc. 13. 45 ἔαρ ὀρόωσα.

There is of course some emphasis on χεῖρ, which here does the seeing, and on τὸ δράσιμον as the only object in view. Cf. Eur. *fr.* 376 εἰδέναι τὸ δραστήον.

ὅς οὐκ ἔασει γλῶσσαν ἐργμάτων ἄτερ  
 ἔσω πυλῶν ρέουσιν ἀλδαίνειν κακά,  
 οὐδ' εἰσαμεῖν θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκους 545  
 εἰκὼ φέροντα πολεμίας ἐπ' ἀσπίδος.  
 ἔξωθεν εἰσὼ τῷ φέροντι μέμψεται  
 πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ τυγχάνουσι ὑπὸ πτόλιν.  
 θεῶν θελόντων πᾶν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ.

στρ. γ'. ΧΟ. ἰκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων,  
 τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴσταται, 550

ἐρεῖ (*Class. Rev.* III. 104). †. 544 εἰσω Blomfield. 545 τεῖχος (for θηρὸς) Francken, Σφιγγὸς Schütz. Such changes are weakenings. †. 547 ἔξωθεν δ' εἰσὼ G. C. W. Schneider, ἔξωθεν οὔσα Donner, ἔξω μένουσα Wecklein. ἡ ἔξωθεν Porson. †. The sense might perhaps be clearer if vv. 547, 548 were transposed. 548 κροτισμοῦ M, κροτησμοῦ M<sup>a</sup>. 549 θεῶν θελόντων δ' ἂν M. δ' om. rec., κἂν rec. Corr. \*ed.

543 sq. ὅς οὐκ ἔασει κ.τ.λ. The sense of this passage is not easy to crystallise, depending as it does upon whether ἔσω expresses motion into or action inside.—ρέουσιν is also ambiguous, since it suits either a stream 'flowing' into the gates or a 'fluent' tongue inside. We may render either by (1) 'will not permit a (mere) tongue (viz. that of Parthenopaeus) without deeds to flow into the gates and foster trouble' or (2) 'will not let a mere flow of tongue without deeds, inside the gates, make matters worse' (i.e. on our side there will be no mere talking, but action). In either case the phrase γλῶσσα ρέουσα is primarily chosen as expressing fluency and a lack of restraint: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 509 D οὐκ ἔστι γλώσσης ρεούσης ἐπίσχεσις οὐδὲ κολασμός, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28 *salso multoque fluenti*, and e.g. Soph. *fr.* 843. 3 πολλὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκχέας μάτην. Nevertheless the literal picture of ρέουσιν is not yet lost in the Greek (as it is in the English 'fluent'), and the poet is led to complete its sense with ἀλδαίνειν, which suggests the fostering of plants by irrigation. We have therefore 'a stream of tongue which makes trouble grow.' But whose tongue? And in what way does it 'make trouble grow'? If it is the tongue of Parthenopaeus, the thought is that Actor will not permit him to force his way in with mere bragging, so as to work mischief upon us. If it is the tongue of Actor (or his Thebans), the sense is that he will not permit the answer to Parthen. to be a mere flow of tongue, safe inside the walls, which will only make matters worse. (ρέουσιν

would then include the notion of idle waste: cf. Soph. *O. T.* 258 τί δῆτα δόξης ἢ τί κληδόνος καλῆς | μάτην ρεούσης ὠφέλημα γίγνεται;)

The objection to the latter rendering is that ἀλδαίνειν κακά does not appear to be any necessary consequence of deedless talk inside the gates (unless, just conceivably, by provoking the divine φθόνος, which is at present earned only by the foe). Moreover, if it is Actor's own tongue that is concerned, οὐκ ἔασει is hardly a natural expression. The former rendering is much the better, especially if we understand a reference in πυλῶν to the sluice-gates of irrigated country (such as that in the lower Cephissus valley). The gates of Thebes act as sluices to shut back a stream. When ordinary sluices are opened the water is let in and ἀλδαίνει τὰ φυτὰ. If the 'sluices' of Thebes are opened, there is a hurtful flood; it is κακά that the stream ἀλδαίνει. Hence the whole = 'he will not suffer a stream of tongue without deeds to stream through (our sluice-)gates and cause a growth of mischief.' For ἀλδαίνειν and water cf. Plut. *Mor.* 664 C τὰ δ' ἀστραπαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐαλδῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωργοί. For γλῶσσαν as 'mere' talk cf. Eur. *H. F.* 229 οὐδὲν ὄντα πλην γλώσσης ψόφον. [γλῶσσαν ρέουσιν might doubtless be considered as a description ('fluent tonguester') of Parthenopaeus himself.]

545 sq. εἰσαμεῖν: 'enter.'—θηρὸς ... δάκους: the first gen. depends on the second: 'the monster of a hated beast.' This construction is indicated by Eur. *Hipp.* 646 ἀφθογγα δ' αὐτοῖς συγκατοι-



chosen. He will not suffer talk without deeds to pour inside the gates and make mischief grow, nor will he yield entrance when one bears upon a foeman's shield the likeness of the worst-loathed beast and monster.

She will have quarrel with her bearer, when from without inwards she finds hammering thick and fast beneath the town. May I speak naught but truth, thanks to the Gods' goodwill.

[ACTOR *departs*.]

CHO. Through my breast the news strikes home, and my <sup>3rd</sup> strophe.

We need not find much difficulty in the corruption ( $\delta$  for  $\pi$ ): cf. Soph. *El.* 467  $\pi\alpha\nu$  ( $\Delta$ ) for  $\delta\rho\alpha\nu$  (cett.), Ar. *Pax* 870  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$  (B) for  $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ .  $\delta\rho\omega\nu$  would be possible, but is neither so near nor so satisfactory in sense.  $\psi$ .  $\tau\alpha\nu$  Elmsley,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$  Arnald,  $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda'$  Headlam (punctuating after  $\theta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ ).  $\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$   $\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$   $\delta\eta\tau'$  Butler,  $\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota\mu'$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  Weckl. (from Weil's  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$   $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\mu'$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ).  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$   $\alpha\gamma\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\mu'$   $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$  (*Class. Rev.* III. 105). 551  $\delta\rho\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Blomfield.

$\kappa\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta$  |  $\theta\eta\rho\omega\nu$ , *Cycl.* 325  $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$   $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ . The two words  $\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ... $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  accentuate the point; the entrance of so hateful a thing is quite intolerable.— $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ : not= $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  (i.e. of Polyn. in particular) but  $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$   $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  (=  $\eta\nu$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ ). See *Cho.* 69 (n.) and add Hom. *Il.* 9. 318  $\iota\sigma\eta$   $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ , Semon. *fr.* 7 (8). 98, *Carcin.* *fr.* 4. 2.

547 sq.  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$   $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$  There is a pause, and the asyndeton is dramatically good. The sense is not 'she from the outside of the shield shall blame the bearer who is inside it' (i.e. because she bears all the brunt). This is a weak point to make and lends no special value to  $\kappa\rho\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ . Rather the Sphinx is an  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  (529); the repoussé work is properly hammered from within outwards. Now on the contrary her image is to be hammered inwards, with blows thick and fast (cf. 531). The usual process is reversed (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 463 E  $\delta\alpha\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$  = 'inside out'). The order is permitted by the emphasis in the sense, 'she shall blame him because it is "outside in" that she is hammered.' The appearance of  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$  after  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  is sufficiently Greek, but is helped here by the stress: 'it is her bearer whom she will blame.' The point of  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$  seems to be 'when (or if) she is brought close to the city.' Despite the order the words look to  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ . [A conjecture  $\tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$ , helping the above sense of 'reversely,' might perhaps be considered.]

549  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  \* $\pi\alpha\nu$   $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$  See crit. n. It is manifest that Eteocles is declaring (or praying) with the proviso

'God willing.' In the last lines he has made an assertion in a manner more bold than is usual with him (cf. 505 sqq., 401, 436 sq., 493). It needs some qualification, exactly as in 612 (q.v.).— $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\mu'$   $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$  has every appearance of being genuine, and the thought required is e.g. 'for my part ( $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$ , who am no braggart), I trust I am speaking what is true (in predicting this fate to his Sphinx), but it must of course be as Heaven wills.' The error therefore lies only where it lies in the metre, viz. in  $\delta'$   $\delta\alpha\nu$ . If we give to  $\pi\alpha\nu$  the sense of 'nothing but' (as in  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$  and the like), the text = 'may I, for my part, in all cases speak but the truth under pleasure of the Gods.'

550  $\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ : 'comes home.' Cf. *Cho.* 374  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\eta\varsigma$  |  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , and *ibid.* 379. The whole  $\iota\kappa\nu.$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\tau\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  = 'penetrates to the heart.' Cf. *Cho.* 54  $\delta\epsilon$   $\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\nu$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon...$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ , *Ag.* 1036  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$ .— $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  is the story told by the  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  of the threats of Parthenopaeus following upon those of the other  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omicron\iota$  (553).

551  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$  It should be noted that the hyperbole (which is greater with  $\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\kappa\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$  than with the ordinary  $\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$ ) is saved by the pres.  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ : 'it begins (or seeks) to rise.' For the expression itself cf. Hom. *Il.* 24. 359  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\alpha\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$ , Soph. *O. C.* 1464  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\nu$  |  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu'$   $\upsilon\pi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon$   $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\alpha\nu$ , *O. T.* 1624, *Cho.* 32, Eur. *Hel.* 632  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\varsigma$  |  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\kappa\alpha$  (of joy), Soph. *fr.* 791  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$   $\phi\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ . The feeling here is partly dread, but partly also horror at their blasphemies, as the next words

μεγάλ' ἃ μεγαληγόρων  
κλύω <τῶ>ν ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν. εἰ θεοὶ  
θεοί, τοῦσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν δᾶ.

- + AG. ἔκτον λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα σωφρονέστατον 555  
ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν.  
Ὅμολωϊσιν δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένος  
κακοῖσι βάζει πολλὰ Τυδέως βίαν,  
"τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα,  
μέγιστον Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον, 560  
Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον Φόνου,

552 sq. μεγάλη μεγαληγόρων | κλύων ἀνοσίων M. Corr. \*ed. ↓. κλύουσ' recc. κλυούσῃ Hermann, κλύουσιν Wellauer. 553 εἰ θεοὶ M<sup>a</sup> (θεοὶ M). ↓. εἴθε γὰρ recc. εἴθε δὴ Schwenk (εἴθε μοι might be nearer, if it had been required).

shew. The adj. is proleptic. [The passage is only prosaized by the substitution of ὄρθιος.]

552 sq. \*μεγάλ' ἃ μεγαληγόρων \*κλύω <τῶν> κ.τ.λ. The μέγᾱλα of M was an almost inevitable error. The sense of ἃ is ὅτι ταῦτα (or τοιαῦτα): 'at the haughty boasts I hear.' Cf. sup. 83, P. V. 939 ἥ μὴν ἐτι Ζεὺς... | ἔσται ταπεινός, οἷον ἐξαπύεται | γάμον γαμεῖν, Plat. Phaed. 58 E εὐδαίμων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἀδεῶς ἐτελεύτα, Hdt. 1. 31 ἑμακάριζον τὴν μητέρα, οἷον τέκνων ἐκύρησε. —μεγάλα...μεγαληγόρων recalls e.g. μέγας μεγαλωστί, αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς. If the missing syllable is supplied with τῶν (which is technically easiest), μεγαληγόρων of course = μεγαλ. ὄντων, a construction favoured by tragedians: cf. Eur. El. 1006 μήτηρ, λάβωμαι μακαρίας τῆς σῆς χερός, Cho. 494 (n.).

553 sq. εἰ θεοὶ θεοί: if the Gods are really Gods, and possess the power of Gods, i.e. if they are mightier than mortals, let them punish such words as those of Parthenopaeus. Cf. Soph. O. C. 623 εἰ Ζεὺς ἐτι Ζεὺς. Probably also there is a reference to the supposed derivation from θεῖναι: 'if the Gods are what their name implies, viz. disposers' (cf. the vulgar English notion that 'God' is etymologically related to 'good'). —τοῦσδ' practically = τοιοῦσδε, 'men like these.'

ἐν \*δᾶ. The ἐν γᾶ of MSS (at least without τᾶδε) makes no ascertainable sense. —δᾶ would very naturally be misunderstood as the 'Doric form for γᾶ' (cf. schol. to P. V. 589 τὸ δὲ ἃ δᾶ ὦ γᾶ. οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δῆν καὶ δᾶν φασιν),

and the less usual form (for δᾶ) would help confusion. For the word cf. inf. 909 and Anth. Pal. 6. 2. 3 (Simon.) πολλάκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐν δαῖ φωτῶν. For the contraction cf. κῆρ νᾶ (=ναί) in Alcman fr. 23.95, a form quoted also from Sophocles. Similarly ἐν φῶ· ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτὶ (El. Mag. 803. 45 = Eur. fr. 534).

555 sq. ἔκτον κ.τ.λ. Amphiarus (see Introd. p. xxxi and Eur. Phoen. 171 sqq., 1111 sqq.) has been reserved as late as possible (Polyneices must necessarily come last), not as being a man of minor importance, but as being of a different type. We may construe either (1) ἄνδρα σωφ. ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον with μάντιν following independently as a further description, or (2) ἄνδρα σωφ. ('wise and modest as a man') is answered by ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν (i.e. 'and no less valorous for being a seer'). In the former interpretation he possesses two cardinal virtues, σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία; he is also a seer. But (as Verrall also holds) the latter rendering is pointed to by two passages which seem to imply a common source in the epic description, viz. Pind. O. 6. 15 (Adrastus loq.) ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, | ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δορί μάρνασθαι, Soph. O. C. 1313 Ἀμφιάρεως, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν | ὀρεῖ κρατύων, πρῶτα δ' οἰωνῶν ὀδοῖς (=καὶ μαχητῆς καὶ μάντις = ἀλκὴν ἄριστος μάντις). —σωφρονέστατον. The kind of σωφροσύνη specially thought of is doubtless that opposed to the ὕβρις and μεγαλαυχία of the other champions, but there is a connotation of σοφία, which makes it neces-



hair would raise its locks on end, when I hear how boastful the loud boasts of those impious men. If Gods are Gods, may they bring these to naught.

SCOUT. For sixth I am to reckon a warrior right sage and seer right valorous, mighty Amphiarus. With post at the Homoloian gates he hurls many an ill name upon the mighty Tydeus. 'Murderer, troubler of public peace, grand master to Argos in the art of wrong, Summoner of Avenging Power,

554 ἐν γὰρ M, om. rec. Corr. \*ed. ↓. ἐμπας Wecklein.

556 ἀλκὴν δ' recc.

561 λητήρα H. L. Ahrens. ↓.

sary for him to be met (*inf.* 582) by similar opponents, σοφοί τε κάγαθοί (= ἀνδρείοι).

557 Ὁμολώσιν: *Introd.* § 16.

558 κακοῖσι βάζει πολλά: πολλά are the many terms given immediately. Grammatically the word is contained acc. used as adverb, while κακοῖσι is modal or instrumental: 'be-talks Tydeus with...'. Cf. Hes. *Opp.* 186 μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποὺς βάζοντες ἔπεσον. This answers to e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2. 224 αὐτὰρ ὁ μακρὰ βοῶν Ἀγαμέμνονα νείκεε μῦθῳ, the κακά here used being κακοὶ λόγοι or μῦθοι. For the sense of βάζειν see 470, and for the relations of Tydeus and Amphiarus 367-370.

559 τὸν ἀνδροφόντην κ.τ.λ. A quotation of the names actually applied by Amphiarus. The article forms part of the language usual in such cases, the direct expression not being ὡς ἀνδροφόντην but σὲ τὸν ἀνδροφόντην...λέγω. Cf. *P. V.* 976 σὲ τὸν σοφιστήν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρ-πικρον, | τὸν ἐξαμαρτῶντ' εἰς θεοὺς... | ...τὸν πυρὸς κλέπτην λέγω, Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 4 ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος συμπρούπεμπε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρώποι, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν. The article in such instances is strictly demonstrative.

Tydeus was ἀνδροφόντης as having slain in Calydon Alcathous and Lycauges (schol.), or his uncle Thoas, or his own brother Olenias (the accounts differ). That homicide was the cause of his expatriation to Argos. Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 147 ΘΗ. ἦλθον δὲ δὴ πῶς πατρίδος ἐκλιπὼνθ' ὄρου; | ΑΔ. Τυδεὺς μὲν αἶμα ξυγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός. In πόλεις ταρακτορά the reference is not, of course, to Thebes: neither is it specifically to Argos (a thought which belongs to the next line). Rather the expression is generic, comparing his treatment of individuals (ἀνδροφόντην) with his treat-

ment of πόλεις. He is a murderer of his fellowman and a disturbance to a community. Of this character Calydon had first had experience, now Argos. The way in which Argos suffers by him is next mentioned.

560 μέγιστον: see 412 (n.) for this use of μέγας. Tydeus is the chief prompter of the Theban campaign (*Introd.* p. xxxi). Amphiarus had opposed the expedition, but Adrastus says (Eur. *Suppl.* 158) ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεω γέ πρὸς βίαν because of the νέων ἀνδρῶν θόρυβος. This was mainly the work of Tydeus (see Apollodor. 3. 6. 8) and was apparently described in the epic. Tydeus had married Deipyle, daughter of Adrastus.

τῶν κακῶν: generic; not 'the present troubles' with Thebes (which would require τῶνδε as in 562), but of wrong courses in general. Conduct is divided into two classes, the right course (τὰ ἀγαθά) and the wrong (τὰ κακά). Cf. *Eum.* 882 οὔτοι καμοῦμαι σοι λέγουσα τάγαθὰ, *Cho.* 781 (n.), *inf.* 581.

561 Ἐρινύος κλητήρα: obviously not the Erinyes of Oedipus (with which Tydeus has nothing to do), but a general description. He is one who invokes or calls out the activities of the Erinyes, his behaviour being such as to provoke those agencies. For the quality implied in an Erinyes see 70 (n.). Tydeus is a perpetrator of unnatural acts. According to the current Greek notion such a man causes those who associate with him to share in his calamity or curse; cf. the use of ἔρρειν, φθαρῆναι πρὸς τινα, ἐξομῶρ-γυνσθαί τί τινα, and e.g. *Ar. Eq.* 4, *An.* 916 κατὰ τί δέυρ' ἀνεφθάρης; (= 'why did you come here with a plague upon you (to our injury)?'). Tydeus thus summons an Erinyes to Argos in the present instance.—κλητήρα can hardly here be used in the special legal sense. Rather

κακῶν τ' Ἀδράστῳ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον."  
καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις πρὸς σποράς ἀδελφεὸν  
ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα, Πολυνείκοις βίαν,  
δῖς τ' ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος

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562 κακῶν δ' recc. τ' del. Wecklein.

recc. Corr. \*ed. †. πρὸς μόραν Verrall. προσμολῶν marg. Ald. (unlikely in the fact), πρὸς μόριμον H. Voss, προσθροῶν ὁμόσπορον Francken, προυσελῶν M. Schmidt (προσ-βῶν would be nearer). αὖθις ἐς πατρὸς μοῖραν κάσιν Hermann. I had previously

563 πρὸς μόραν M, πρόσμορον or πρὸς μόρον recc. Corr. \*ed. †. πρὸς μόραν Verrall. προσμολῶν marg. Ald. (unlikely in the fact), πρὸς μόριμον H. Voss, προσθροῶν ὁμόσπορον Francken, προυσελῶν M. Schmidt (προσ-βῶν would be nearer). αὖθις ἐς πατρὸς μοῖραν κάσιν Hermann. I had previously

it simply = 'summoner' (τὸν Ἑρινῶς καλοῦντα, cf. κλητήρα τὸν καλέσαντα Hesyech., quoting from Ion). In *Suppl.* 630 κλητήρ = κῆρυξ, corresponding to the κήρυκα καλήτορα of Hom. *Il.* 24. 577. But an attendant *calator* has no place here. It is hard to see how Tydeus could act as the summoner of other persons on behalf of an Erinyes, while it is easy to understand how he could call for the Erinyes herself. [The conjecture *λητήρα* is ingenious, but does not improve matters.]

πρόσπολον Φόνου: 'minister of Bloodshed,' i.e. Tydeus is specially devoted to the interests of Bloodshed and sees to it that that grim power receives his dues. He lets pass no opportunity of bringing about slaughter. A πρόσπολος is a temple-minister or priest (ιερέα schol.), as in *Eum.* 1025, *Bacchyl.* 14. 2 ('Ἀθῶνας πρόσπολος), who takes care that the sacrifices are provided. The thought is the same as in *Ag.* 736 *ιερεὺς τις Ἄτας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη* (read *προσετρίφθη*), *Eur. Or.* 261 *ἐνέρων ιερταί* (of the Furies). Cf. *Cycl.* 396 *τῷ θεοστρυγεί* | *Ἰδὸν μαγείρῳ*.

562 βουλευτήριον: neuter, 'the instrument of advice': cf. *πανστήριον*, *θυτήριον* (*Eur. I. T.* 243), *εὐναστήριον* (*Or.* 590), *Eur. Andr.* 446 *Σπάρτης ἐνοικοί, δόλια βουλευτήρια*, | *ψευδῶν ἀνακτες*. In *Tro.* 252 Cassandra is *σκότια νυμφευτήρια* of Agam.

563 καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις κ.τ.λ. The reading of M *πρὸς μόραν* is not intelligible. It is doubtless possible that the word *μόρα*, used of a 'division' of the Spartan army, may once have possessed a wider use ('part' or 'portion'), but, if so, it apparently lay very far back, and we can hardly receive into Attic trimeters a word which is not only absent from Attic and its cognate Ionic, but is without any literary tradition. If such a word had been possible we might perhaps have rendered 'invites to his share' (in the reproaches). The case is different with

*ἀδελφεόν*, which is the only Homeric form, is Ionic, and has ample literary vogue. Sophocles (*O. C.* 535) uses *ἀδελφοί* in lyrics, and, though the form does not elsewhere occur in trimeters, it may be urged (a) that *ὅμμε* (*Eum.* 623) is no less unique, *χείρεσσι* occurs in trimeters in *Eur. Alc.* 756, *μέσσοις* in *Soph. Ant.* 1223, 1236, *fr.* 5, and in principle the appearance of *ἀδελφεός* is no more strange than that of *μοῦνος*, *ξείνος*. Cf. also *fr.* 350 *τὰς εἰάς*, *Eur. Hipp.* 1247 *ἐκρυφθεν* (senar.), *Phoen.* 1246 *ἔσταν δὲ λαμπρῶ*, *Hel.* 532 *πεπλωκότα*, *Rhes.* 525 *δέχσθαι*, *Achaeus fr.* 24 *ἐλήλυμεν*: (b) that, since the sense of 'brother by birth' (and probably 'twin': cf. 917 n.) is here emphasised, the longer-drawn and rarer form *ἀδελφεός* (cf. *Skt. sagarbhyas*) may be deliberately chosen as more effective for the purpose.

The thought is that Polyneices is brother of Eteocles from the point of view of birth, but not from that of natural feeling. He is more than kin, but less than kind. To the Messenger also the brothers are *ἀδελφοί* in blood, but there the likeness ends, since Polyn. is unpatriotic and irreligious. The word *σποράς* is emphasised, and though one might at first be tempted to suggest e.g. *πρὸς σποράς γ'* or *ὡς σποράς γ'* with that stress in view, careful examination will show that to the best Greek the *γ'* is in such instances quite unnecessary, if not enfeebling.—*τὸν σὸν* ('your own') and the like are in tragedy always stronger than *σὸν* &c., the article being a real demonstrative added to emphasise either a distinction or a point of pathos. See *Cho.* 14 (n.), 89, 478, 484 (n.). 'Amphiaraus,' says the Scout 'turns (*αὖθις* = *deinceps*) from Tydeus to your own brother—brother so far as birth goes....' A corruption of *πρὸς (σ)ποράς* to *πρὸς μόρας* was due to the very similar shapes of the cursive uncials for π and μ, and the further change to the accus. was



minister of Slaughter, Adrastus' counsel in this course of mischief.'

And next upon that brother of thine—begotten for such—the mighty Polyneices, he calls with upturned eye and dwelling

thought of ... αὔθις, <ὥς> πρόσω μ' ὄραν, κάσιν, but this perhaps involves too much departure. 564 ὄνομα M, corr. Schütz. ↓ (cf. MSS at Soph. *O. C.* 100, *Trach.* 379, Eur. *I. A.* 354, *I. T.* 905, Ath. 303 c for similar confusion. In Hipponax *fr.* 83 ap. Suid. τὸ ὄνομα is glossed in one MS by τὸν ὀφθαλμόν). 565 τ' del. Blomfield.

probably made through some fancy as to the sense.]

564 ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα. The objection to ὄνομα is not to the repetition in τοῦτον of the next line. Enough instances have already occurred to shew that of such repetition the Greeks of this period thought nothing. Cf. *Ag.* 14 φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ | τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ. Nor does the infrequent metrical resolution affect the question (580 n.). Rather the difficulty lies in the sense. ἐξυπτιάζειν might possibly be taken of 'spreading out' (ἀναπτύσσων schol.) or 'making to sprawl,' like a man who lies ὕπτιος. By this would be meant that he utters either (1) the name 'Πολύνεικες,' or (2) the word ἀδελφεόν in a long-drawn fashion. But against (2) it may be urged that ἀδελφεόν is a word of the Messenger, not of Amphiarus, and against both (1) and (2) that τὸ ὄνομα would be needed. The sense of ἐξυπτιάζων is also rather far-fetched. Moreover, if ὄνομα means the name 'Πολύνεικες,' there is a tautology with the next line (hardly lessened by making τ' there exegetic). The confusion of ὄνομα and ὄμμα is of the most frequent: see crit. n.

The meaning of ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα might be (a) 'turning back his head and looking up.' This would imply an appeal to Heaven, for which Blomfield quotes Lycoph. 362 ἢ δ' εἰς τέραμνα... | γλήφας ἄνω στρέψασα χώσεται στρατῷ, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 405 (Cassandra) *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra*: (b) 'turning up his eyes' (in the sense of Shak. *R. and J.* 2. 2. 29 *white-upturned eyes*, Ath. 529 A τὰ λευκὰ ἐπαναβαλὼν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν). The notion of Amph. thus using his eyes in horror might seem to a modern somewhat grotesque, but in fact the Greeks made much facial demonstration of their feelings: cf. *Cho.* 284 *νωμῶντ' ὀφρὶν* (n.), Bacchyl. 16. 17 *ἴδεν δὲ Θησεύς, | μέλαν δ' ὑπ' ὀφρῶν* | *δῖνασεν ὄμμα, καρδίαν δὲ φοι | σχέτλιον ἀμύξεν ἄλγος*, Plut. *Mor.*

44. *Hymn. Herm.* 278 &c. A more curious form of expression occurs in Eur. *fr.* 764 *πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμίλλησαι κόρας*. Paley quotes Shak. *K. Hen.* VIII. 1. 2 *mounting his eyes he did discharge a horrible oath*.

565 δὲ τ' ἐν τελευτῇ κ.τ.λ. The sense of ἐνδατούμενος is 'dwelling upon,' derived from that of separating into components, or parcelling out with slow deliverance. Cf. *fr.* 350 ὃ δ' ἐνδατεύεται τὰς ἐὰς εὐπαιδίας, Soph. *Tr.* 791 πολλὰ δ' οἰμωγῇ βοῶν, | τὸ δυσπάρεινον λέκτρον ἐνδατούμενος, Eur. *H. F.* 218 λόγους ὀνειδιστῆρας ἐνδατούμενος. A cognate use of δατεῖσθαι is that of dividing by biting = 'chewing' or 'eating' (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 20. 394 ὦμα δάσασθαι), and the notion of 'biting apart' the syllables was perhaps that intended in the original application of the word to contexts like the present, before it became established for poetry. Hesych. explains by μεριζόμενος καὶ οἰονεῖ κακῶς λέγων σφοδρῶς. For the first word he certainly had tradition; at *Il.* 24. 121 τοὶ δὲ χθόνα ποσσὶ δατεῖντο the schol. explains by ἐμέριζον βαδίζουσαι, and so schol. Aeschin. 65. 7 (from Soph.) δατούμενος ὑπομεριζόμενος. But such a passage as that in Hom. *l.c.* may again very well be related to the familiar notion of 'eating up' the way with stride after stride (ποσσί). ἐνδατούμενος therefore differs little in (its original) sense from 'chewing over' the name.

The meaning of ἐν τελευτῇ is not at once obvious. But inasmuch as the language here used indicates only that Amph. calls upon Polyn. by name, slowly emphasising it, while the speech addressed to him (though not necessarily in the expectation that he would hear it) follows the call (καλεῖ), we can hardly take the words as 'at the end of his speech.' It is better to gather the sense from the close connection with τοῦνομα; 'he dwells twice upon the name in its ending' (which is -εικης); i.e. he repeats the name 'Πολύνεικες, Πολύνεικες,' but

καλεῖ· λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα·  
 "ἢ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές,  
 καλὸν τ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,  
 πόλιν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς  
 πορθεῖν, στρατεύμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα·  
 μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη;  
 πατὴρ δὲ γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπονδῆς δορί  
 ἀλούσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται;  
 ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα

570

566 φλέγει δὲ Keck. †. M<sup>a</sup>, δίκη Blomfield.

571 μητρός δὲ Grotius. †. †. 572 τε recc. for δέ.

574 πηγὴν Seidler. †. δίκη In the mistaken effort to avoid

makes the most of the latter part (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 636 ἀληθῶς δ' ὄνομα Πολυνεΐκη πατὴρ | ἔθετό σοι θεία προνοία νεκρέων ἐπώνυμον and *inf.* 645, 814 sq.). [The word, as repeated, would in all probability be uttered in different tones, according to the Greek and Latin (if not universal) manner indicated in e.g. *Ἄρες*, *Ἄρες* (*Il.* 5. 31), *Hylā*, *Hylā* (*Verg. Ecl.* 6. 44), *ναῖε*, *ναῖε* (*ibid.* 3. 79).]

566 καλεῖ: simply = 'calls on the name of' as in Soph. *O. T.* 1245 καλεῖ τὸν ἥδη Λάιον πάλαι νεκρόν. All this is an outburst which Polyn. may be much too far off to hear. At the same time it is well also to recall such a use as Soph. *O. T.* 779 ἀνὴρ...μ'... | καλεῖ παρ' οἴνῳ πλαστός ὡς εἶην πατρί.

λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα is a phrase less weak and commonplace in the Greek than it appears in a literal translation.—λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος = 'and this is the language he uses' (after calling upon Polyn.), while διὰ στόμα (cf. 51) denotes open speech as opposed to thought. For the width of meaning of ἔπος cf. 250, *Cho.* 46 (n.), Plut. *Mor.* 863 D ἐγὼ δὲ λέγειν ὀφείλω τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. For λέγει...διὰ στόμα cf. *Batrachom.* 74 (77) καὶ τοῖον φάτο μῦθον ἀπὸ στόματος τ' ἀγόρευσεν, Theogn. 266 ἡ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος, and the *ter voce vocavit* of Latin. Headlam (*On Ed. Aesch.* p. 75) provides other instances.

567 sq. ἢ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ κ.τ.λ...: καὶ cannot be joined with ἢ as in the familiar ἢ καὶ of incredulous question,

but it may very well play its frequent part of throwing a tone upon a word or notion which follows. Here it is not upon the one word θεοῖσι but upon the whole notion θεοῖσι προσφιλές ('god-pleasing'), i.e. θεοὶ are not contrasted with other beings, but regard for the gods is by implication contrasted with disregard of them.—καὶ does not, of course, answer to the following τ'. (See Kühner-Gerth II. pp. 251 sq.) τ' is connective of the clauses, and the notion is μὴν θεοῖσι προσφιλές ἐστὶ, καλὸν τ' ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις; 'and is it a thing of honour (to you) for posterity to hear and tell of?' cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 119 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τὸδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πηθέσθαι. [Amphiaraus, it will be seen, does not argue the question of Polyneices' claims, but only that of his piety and reputation for patriotism.]

569 sq. πόλιν κ.τ.λ.: cf. Soph. *Ani.* 199 δς (viz. Polyn.) γῆν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς | φυγὰς κατελθὼν ἠθέλησε... | πρῆσαι.

στράτευμ' ἐπακτόν: a gravamen lies in the adjective. He calls in an alien army to invade his own country. Cf. Soph. *Tr.* 259 στρατὸν...ἐπακτόν. How nearly ἐπακτός = ξένος appears from e.g. Eur. *Ion* 592, Soph. *Aj.* 1296.

571 μητρός τε πηγὴν κ.τ.λ. τε does not answer to the following δέ (although that sometimes occurs: see Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 143, *O. C.* 432), but introduces a new aspect or argument. After this δέ is connective, with an antithesis: lit. '(yes), and what right will ever dry up the maternal fount? And (so again)...' —μητρός is defining gen. with πηγὴν (cf.



twice upon the ending of the name. And these the words he utters: 'Doubtless a deed like this is welcome in Heaven's eye, and to be heard and told hereafter to thy glory—to despoil the country of thy fathers and the Gods of thine own race, by hurling upon them an invading host. Nay, how can there be a right to make dry the maternal fount? And how can it help thy cause when, through jealousy of thine, thy fatherland is made captive of the spear? For me, I shall make fat this land, buried

the repeated word *χθόνα* [...*χθονός* alterations have been made, e.g. *πλάκα* (Schütz), *πόλιν* (Lowinski).

545). The *πηγή μητρός* is the 'source consisting in a mother,' i.e. the source from which one takes his birth. Having used the phrase 'the source of a mother' for the 'mother who is the source of one's life,' the poet, instead of 'slay,' proceeds with a word adapted to *πηγή*, viz. *κατασβέσει*, *σβέννυμι* being suited to various forms of 'using up,' e.g. quenching fire, exhausting a well, and so destroying life. With its present application cf. *Ag.* 878 *ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι | πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν*, 949 *ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει*;—*τίς...δίκη*='what plea of right?' The whole thus=*τίς ἂν σὺν δίκη κατασβέσει*;

572 sq. *πατρίς δὲ γαῖα κ.τ.λ.* = *πῶς δέ σοι τὸ τὴν πατρίδα δορὶ ἀλῶναι ξύμμαχον γενήσεται*; 'How will the enslavement of a fatherland make for your cause?' The participial expression (more familiar in Latin) is similar to that in *Cho.* 259 *οὐτ' ἀρχικός σοι πᾶς δδ' αἰανθεὶς πυθμὴν | βιώμοις ἀρήξει*, i.e. *τὸ πάντα τὸν πυθμένα αἰανθῆναι οὐκ ἀρήξει*. See note there and add *Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 34 *οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσῃ... ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας*, *Plut. Mor.* 68 c *ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ἐν παντὶ μὲν παρεθεὶς μεγάλη βλάπτει κ.τ.λ.* For the thought cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 571 *φέρ', ἦν ἔλθῃ γῆν τήνδ', ὃ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ, | πρὸς θεῶν τροπαία πῶς ἀναστήσεις Διί*;

*σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς*: 'through a jealousy (or ambition) of thine.' This is better than a possible 'through party spirit on your account' (cf. *σὸς πόθος, σὸς ἔρως*), since the former makes the blame more individual to Polyneices.

574 sq. *ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ.*: i.e. I know very well my own fate and I am content to meet it. The *δέ*-clause, if expressed, would refer to the fate of others.—*τήνδε*: not only with the same

force as in 48 (n.) ('I shall stay where we are'), but with implied antithesis. His seership should have enriched Argos; instead it will enrich Thebes. [For the fate of Amphiarus see *Introd.* p. xxxiii (n.). Note however that nothing is said here of his chariot, as in *Eur. Phoen.* 172 and commonly in the legend.]—*πανῶ*: 'enrich.' Though it is the country of the enemy (*πολεμίας*) he will bless it with fatness (i.e. wealth), viz. by being buried in it and becoming there a *μάντις* to whom men will resort, to the material advantage of Thebes. If there is any parallel allusion to the fattening of the earth by his body, that meaning is quite secondary, and, to prevent an acceptance otherwise, the next line is added in definition. [There is evidently no room for the notion of *Hor. Od.* 2. 1. 29 *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior | campus?* since Amphiarus was swallowed up alive.]—*μάντις* explains the enriching; grammatically it is predic. with *κεκευθώς* (i.e. *ὥστε μάντις εἶναι*). The word *κεκευθώς* is chosen because of the peculiar manner of his disappearance. *κρύπτειν* (or its congeners) is regularly used of the circumstance: cf. *Soph. El.* 836 *Ἀμφιάρεων... κρυφθέντα...* | *καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαλας | ... πᾶμψυχος ἀνάσσει*. The point of *πολεμίας* is that a *ἥρως* whose burial-place became a *μαντεῖον* would choose to confer its benefits on his own or a friendly country. For the dead *μάντις* in a foreign soil see *Ridgeway Early Age of Greece* pp. 507 sqq.

*ἐπὶ χθονός* is right. The consideration that he will be 'buried under' the earth (*ὑπὸ χθονός*) is feeble; here the thought is that his place as prophet will be 'found upon' Theban soil. Aesch. does not say where the oracle is to be. For *χθόνα...χθονός* see *Cho.* 51 (n.).

μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ἐπὶ χθονός· 575  
μαχώμεθ', οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον."  
τοιαῦθ' ὁ μάντις ἀσπίδ' εὐκηλον σχέθων  
πάγχαλκον ἡῦδα· σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν κύκλω·  
οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει 580  
βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευμάτα.  
τούτῳ σοφοὺς τε καγαθοὺς ἀντηρέτας  
πέμπειν ἐπαινῶ· δεινὸς ὃς θεοὺς σέβει.  
ET. φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὀρνιθος βροτούς,  
δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις. 585

575 ὑπὸ χθονός recc. ψ. Confusion of ἐπὶ and ὑπὸ is extremely frequent (see MSS at Soph. *Aj.* 27, 345, *Trach.* 931, Thuc. 8. 10. 2, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 18 &c.). 577 εὐκηλον ἔχων M, γρ. εὐκυκλον νέμων m. Corr. \*ed. ψ. εὐκῆλως ἔχων Donner, εὐκῆλος νέμων Prien. 578 κῦτει Weckl., σάκει Dind., πέριξ Lowinski. ψ. 579 δίκαιος is substituted for ἄριστος in many quotations of the

576 μαχώμεθ': i.e. if you must have it so.—οὐκ ἄτιμον: either (1) in the way of meeting his death—a death of honour, or (2) in his destiny after death (574 sq.). But μόρον = 'death' and not 'fate' (*Cho.* 8 n.), and this makes for the former sense as the one literally expressed, although the latter is perhaps not excluded (cf. Cic. *de Div.* 1. § 40 *Amphiarum sic honoravit fama...deus ut haberetur*, quoted by Paley). For ἐλπίζω with simple accus. cf. *Cho.* 537 ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων (n.) and (also with the unfavourable sense of ἐλπίς) fr. *adesp.* 460 ἐλπίζειν κακά.

577 ἀσπίδ' εὐκηλον \*σχέθων πάγχαλκον. That the sense required is 'holding his shield quietly' should appear from the contrast with the conduct of the other champions: cf. 526—529 (with ἐνώμα), 476 sq. (with δυνήσαντος), 372 sq. (the jingling bells). This sense is excellently given by εὐκηλον (cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 936 οὐδὲ τινάσσει | μῆνιν, εὐκῆλοισιν ἐνευδιῶν πτερίγεσσαν). Nor can there be any objection to the combination of the adjectives, since εὐκηλον is predicative while πάγχαλκον is epithet: 'holding at rest a shield all of bronze.' The metrical difficulty of M might be met by νέμων (crit. n.), but this contradicts the sense. It is better to suppose that ἔχων is either corruption or explanation of σχέθων, for the tense of which see 416.

578 πάγχαλκον: i.e. not merely hide with plates of bronze (σάκος κατά-

χαλκον), or wicker-work so covered (ἰτέα κατάχαλκος), but made wholly of bronze. Contrast ἐπύχαλκος ἀσπίς (Hdt. 4. 200), χαλκόνωτον ἰτέαν (Eur. *Trö.* 1193).

σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν κύκλω: cf. 476. This expression both describes the shield as round, i.e. Argive (cf. 527 κυκλωτῷ, 629 εὐκυκλον), and also helps us to visualise: 'there was no emblem to be seen on (all) its orb.' The epic apparently contained this point (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1111) 'Ἀμφιάραος, οὐ σημει' ἔχων | ὕβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἄσημ' ὄπλα.

579 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ. The antithesis of seeming and being (as of λόγος and ἔργον) is a favourite in Greek. Cf. *Plat. Apol.* 36 D ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι, *Astyd. fr.* 1 οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν μοι τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μέλει, *Plut. Mor.* 88 E κενὸν δοκοῦντος καὶ ὄντος. So *Sall. Cat.* 54 *esse quam videri bonus malebat* (Cato). The present passage is referred to in *Plat. Rep.* 362 A τὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου πολὺ ἦν ἄρα ὀρθότερον λέγειν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ φήσουσι τὸν ἀδικόν, ὅτε ἐπιτηδεύοντα πρᾶγμα ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον καὶ οὐ πρὸς δόξαν ζῶντα, οὐ δοκεῖν ἀδικόν ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐθέλειν, βαθείαν ἄλοκα κ.τ.λ. There is of course no indication in this that Plato knew of the reading δίκαιος (crit. n.) for ἄριστος. He is led to quote Aeschylus simply for the antithesis of seeming and being. It was natural that, to suit occasions, any other epithet should be substituted for ἄριστος, so long as it was metrical. (For a full discussion of



to give my rede upon a foeman's soil. Let us fight! I fear no unhonourable death.'

So spake the seer, holding at rest his buckler of pure bronze. No blazon was on its orb, for his will is not to seem the bravest, but to be; and he reaps the produce of deep furrowing of the mind, wherefrom spring counsels trusty.

Against him I am for sending a match both wise and brave. He who honours Heaven is one to fear.

ET. Fie on the chance that brings together mortals, a righteous man with the worse and ungodly sort! In

present lines (e.g. Plut. *Aristid.* 3). See Hermann's full note, and ↓. 580 ὦλκα Krebs. ↓. 581 ἀφ' ἧς Plut. *Mor.* 32 E, 186 B, *Aristid.* 3, but ἐξ ἧς *Mor.* 88 B. So Ar. *Eg.* 4 ἐξ οὗ, but Suid. quotes with ἀφ' οὗ. 584 ξυναλλάσσοντος M, corr. m (superscr.), ξυναλλάξαντος Blomfield. ↓. βροτοῖς m' and most edit. ↓. 585 δυσσεβέστερος M, corr. m (superscr.). δυσσεβεστάτους recc. (The confusion of compar.

the point see Hermann's note to this line.) δίκαιος obviously has no place here. Nor is it likely that Aesch. intended any allusion to Aristides, though Plutarch (*Arist.* 3) reports the tradition that all the audience looked at Aristides when the lines were uttered. It is altogether more probable that the lines were applied to Arist. by others, with the adj. so changed as to suit ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος.

580 sq. βαθεῖαν. In Plato (*L.c.*) the notion in βαθεῖαν is partly playful, with something of the sense of our 'deep' in the way of worldly wisdom. In the original here it denotes (1) 'rich produce' (Theog. 107 οὐτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπεύρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμύς), (2) 'deep ploughing' (of which the former is a result). That both notions are included is clear from the choice of ἄλκα with καρπούμενος, an expression which is really a condensation of βαθεῖαν ἄλκα τέμνων καὶ βαθὺ λήιον καρπούμενος. The mind of Amphiarus, like rich soil (cf. βαθύγεως, βαθύχθων 293), is βαθεῖα (βαθύφρων) in itself (cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 125 φρήν βαθεῖα, Pind. *N.* 4. 7, Theogn. 1051); meanwhile his thinking (μέριμνα, βουλὴ) ploughs deep into that soil, and the result is βουλευματα which are of 'the trusty' sort (for τὰ cf. 560 n.). That result is intellectual, not moral, as in *Pers.* 145 φροντίδα κεδνὴν καὶ βαθύβουλον. With the metaphor cf. Pind. *P.* 2. 74 Ῥαδάμανθους...φρενῶν | ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, *N.* 10. 12 φρενῶν καρπὸν εὐθεία συνάρμοξεν δίκην. Apparently the present place suggested to Aristoph. the line (*Lys.* 406) τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλευματα.

[The metre of v. 580 (two tribrachs succeeding each other) is unusual for Aesch. (though cf. *Pers.* 287 ὦ πλείστον ἐχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλύειν), but the peculiarity is more obvious to one who is counting the feet and syllables than to one reading for the sense. To read ὦλκα is surely unnecessary.]

582 sq. σοφοὺς τε κάγαθούς: 'both wise and brave,' to match his own σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία (555 sq.).—ἀντηρέτας is generic for singular.—ἐπαινώ: *censeo* (*Cho.* 579 n.).—δεινός δὲ κ.τ.λ.: whereas in the case of the blasphemers the advantage has all been on our side (424).

584 φεῦ κ.τ.λ.: in answer to δεινός κ.τ.λ. Eteocles gives reasons why even Amph. is less to be feared. His company will ruin him.—τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος: generic (as βροτοῦς shows); 'the chance which brings mankind into association (or dealings) with each other.' Cf. Eur. *Herac.* 4 πόλει τ' ἀχρηστός καὶ ξυναλλάσσειν βαρύς, Soph. *O. T.* 33 ἐν τε συμφοραῖς βίου | ...ἐν τε δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς, *Tr.* 845.—ὄρνιθος = τύχης, the sign (*ales, omen*) of fortune being put for the fortune itself (Soph. *O. T.* 52 ὄρνιθι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τὸτ' αἰσίω τύχην | παρέσχες ἡμῖν shows the intermediate step).

585 δίκαιον ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.: in exegetic (or perhaps partitive) apposition, i.e. narrowing the sense of βροτοῦς (ἀλλήλοισι) ξυναλλάσσοντος: 'to wit, the right-minded man with men of less piety.' This is the same construction as in Hdt. 1. 52 ἀνέθηκε αἰχμὴν στερεήν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον.—δίκαιον: *honestum*. The word is much more comprehensive than the English

ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ' ἔσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς  
 κάκιον οὐδέν· καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος·  
 ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.  
 ἢ γὰρ ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ  
 ναύτησι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργία τινὶ  
 ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,

590

and superl. compendia is exceedingly common in all MSS.) 588 ἄτης δ' Bothe. καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος | ἄτης ἀρούρας θάνατος κ.τ.λ. Keck. Valckenaer ejects the line. †.

'just,' including regard for δική in all its forms. The original sense of δική is 'the indicated (or prescribed) way,' i.e. 'right and proper' behaviour, whether from a moral, legal, or social point of view. Cf. Pind. *O.* 2. 9 ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων, *Cho.* 667 δίκαιον ὁμμάτων παρουσία (n.), *Eum.* 55 καὶ κόσμος οὐτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα | φέρειν δίκαιος οὐτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας. Here the other champions are regardless of the 'due behaviour' in regard to the gods, while Amph. observes all such δική.

τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις = τοῖς ἥσσον εὐσεβεσί, a sufficiently frequent use of the comparative. Cf. *Eur. fr.* 286. 10 πόλεις | αἱ μείζωνων κλύουσι δυσσεβεστέρων, *Ar. Ran.* 1445 ἀμαθέστερον (= ἡττον δεξιῶς) πῶς εἰπέ καὶ σαφέστερον, *Milton P.L.* 2. 52 more unexpert. Verrall quotes *Mart.* 12. 34. 7 vincet candida turba nigriorem.

586 sq. πράγει: causa, 'business' (2 n.). So πρᾶγμα *Ag.* 1537, *Eum.* 491, *Cho.* 871. The sense produced by the combination κακῆς κάκιον is not the flat 'there is nothing worse than bad company' but 'than bad partnership there is nothing more bad.'

καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος is abruptly expressed, and for the same purpose as the next line, viz. to emphasise a γνώμη.—ὁμιλίας κακῆς is understood again with these words, the gen. having a different nuance. With κομιστέος cf. ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειν πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας in an inscriptional epigram following the list of those fallen ἐπὶ Θράκης circ. 440 B.C. (Roberts and Gardner *Ins. of Att.* p. 503), and, for the same metaphor, *Pers.* 823 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῖσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν | ἄτης, ὅθεν ἀγκλαιντον ἐξαμὰ θέρος, *Eur. fr.* 419. 4 ἐπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος.

588 ἄτης ἄρουρα κ.τ.λ.: Valckenaer

suspected this to be a marginal illustration. To Dobree it was a Christian adscript. In e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 553 sq. ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδίστος βίος, | τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν γὰρ κάρτ' ἀνώδυνον κακὸν the suggestion of an interpolation is more probable than in the present place, since there is added here a new thought or helpful explanation, while in the Sophoclean passage the explanation is less manifestly useful. Yet even there, if we sufficiently notice κακὸν and render 'for not to have intelligence may be called a defect (no doubt), but it is a defect free from pain,' the case will appear less certain. Here there is not even a surface objection except to the asyndeton. This of course might be remedied by ἄτης δ'. But if the line is a γνώμη, which Eteocles delivers with appropriate intonation, the asyndeton is natural, and something more. If there is virtually a quotation, it is much as if, in a passage of Shakespeare, the speaker quoted 'The wages of sin is death.' We should not think it necessary for him to say 'The wages of sin, you know (τοι, or the like), is death.' On the other hand, if the line is Aeschylus' own (and it is his in specific gravity of style), it is delivered after a pause, and with a weight of utterance which well dispenses with the particle. Asyndeton—sometimes with broken structure—is a favourite dramatic device, as being true to impassioned speech (see *Cho.* 745 sqq.).

ἐκκαρπίζεται is middle. ἄτης ('infatuated conduct') is either subj. or possess. gen. and is personified; 'the field ploughed by Ate (or the tilth which Ate owns) gets death for its crop' (ἀρουρα still retaining its sense of connection with ἀρώ). Among monostich proverbs akin to the present are (1) κακὸν φέρονσι καρπὸν οἱ κακοὶ φίλοι, (2) ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ φεύγε συνοδῖαν ἀέ, (3) φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρήσθ'



no dealing is there worse ill than an ill partnership. Its harvest who would garner? 'Infatuation's tilth gets death for crop.'

Perchance a godly man boards ship with a guilty crew, where villainy is toward, and perishes with men whose kind the Gods

590 ναύτησι of M is commonly altered in silence. See 447. *ἐν πανουργίᾳ* recd. kân Stanley. 591 *θεοπτύστων* should not be suggested. †.

ὀμίλῃαι κακά. But none of these has the strength of style exhibited here.

589 ἡ γὰρ... (592): *vel... vel...* The two cases supposed are those of a pious man amid a ship's crew of knaves, and a right-minded man amid a wrong-minded nation.

ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον κ.τ.λ. This thought became a commonplace: cf. Eur. *fr.* 852. 4 μή μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης θεοῖς | μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ κοινόπλοον στελλοι σκάφος, *fr.* 609, *El.* 1354, Hor. *Od.* 3. 2. 26 *velabo... sub isdem | sit trabibus fragilemve mecum | solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter | neglectus incesto addidit integrum*, and contrast the story of Jonah and also Babr. 2. 117. 1 νεῶς ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν βυθισθείσης, | ἰδὼν τις ἔλεγεν ἄδικα τοὺς θεοὺς κρίνειν: | ἐνὸς γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς ἐμβεβη- κὸτος πλοῖω, | πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μηδὲν αἰτίους θνήσκεν (and the sequel). A monostich proverb runs κακῶ σὺν ἀνδρὶ μηδ' ὅλως ὁδοιπόρει. The present place was apparently in the mind of Antiphon when he wrote (*de Herod. caed.* 139) πολλοὶ ἤδη ἀνθρώποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίasma ἔχοντες συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς.

590 ναύτησι: see 447 *Νηίστησι*.—*θερμοῖς*. The excited and feverish (or inflamed) condition of men who have either committed or are about to commit a wicked deed is often thus described. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 432 F ὅταν ἐνθερμος ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη καὶ πυρώδης ἀπώσῃται τὴν εὐλάβειαν. The notion is of the hot blood of (1) passion (Hor. *Od.* 3. 3. 2 *ardor prava iuventium*); (2) guilt, cf. *Eum.* 563 γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ, *Cho.* 1002 πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν πολλὰ θερμαίνου (ἀν) φρενί, *Juv.* 3. 49 *quis nunc diligitur nisi conciscit ei cui feruens | aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?*, 1. 167 *tacita sudant praecordia culpas*, and the jest in Plut. *Mor.* 632 A *Κνητοῦ... τὰς χεῖρας ἔχων ψυχρὰς λέγοντος, Αὐφίδιος Μόδεστος 'ἀλλὰ μὴν' ἔφη 'θερμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας κεκό-*

*μικας αὐτάς'*; (3) rash wickedness: cf. Eur. *fr.* 858 ὦ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχχνον, *Soph. Ph.* 927 ὦ πῦρ σὺ... καὶ πανουργίας | δεινῆς τέχνης ἐχθιστον, *Amphis ap. Ath.* 448 A ὁρᾷ τι καὶ νεανικὸν | καὶ θερμὸν, *Ar. Plut.* 415 ὦ θερμὸν ἔργον κἀνόσιον: (4) madness (Eur. *H. F.* 1092 *πρὸς θερμὰς πνέω*). Here the second and third meanings perhaps combine, the latter being the more prominent.

καὶ πανουργία τινι: καὶ is explanatory of *θερμοῖς*. The *πανουργία* is an act contemplated or in progress: 'when some villainy is toward.' This is the present position of *Amph.* among the Argives. [We might also render 'with wicked sailors or some piece of villainy,' but this destroys the balance of *ναύτησι*](*πολλοῖς* in their respective clauses. Otherwise, again, *πανουργία* is collective abstract for concrete = *πανούργους* *τισί* (cf. *ἐνντέλεια* 237 n.).]

591 ὁλωλεν: gnomic, with *gnom.* aor. 'δάμη following. For such variation see Goodwin *M. & T.* § 155.

ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει. It might be tempting to read *θεοπτύστων* in order to support the apparently bare word *ἀνδρῶν*. But, apart from the consideration that, where one noun dependent upon another is in the gen., Greek often attaches the epithet to that noun which seems the less natural to it (cf. 551, *Cho.* 1068 *ἀνδρὸς βασιλεια πάθη*, *Eum.* 292 *χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυτικοῖς*, *Eur. Cycl.* 11 *γένος Τυρσηνικὸν ληστῶν*, *Soph. Ant.* 793 *νέκος ἀνδρῶν εὐναιμον*), there is the more important fact that the epithet belongs distinctly to *γένει*. Though the man himself is *εὐσεβής* (and therefore *θεοφιλής*), he is treated, not as belonging to the *θεοφιλὲς γένος ἀνδρῶν*, but to the *θεόπτυστον γένος*. (How neutral the word *ἄνθρωπος* is in itself, and how indifferent Greek is to the repetition of a word, could hardly be better shown than in the lines 589—592.)

ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὦν  
 ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν  
 ταυτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος,  
 πληγεῖς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ δάμῃ. 595  
 οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω,  
 σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ,  
 μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγείς  
 θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν βία φρενῶν  
 τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν, 600

592 ξυπολίταις recc.

595 δάμῃ M, corr. G.

594 ἐνδίκως recc. ἐκδίκως Prien. ἐκ Δίκης Blomfield. †.

596 οὕτως m. οὕτως ὁ Brunck. οἰκλέους M. 599 ἀν.

592 sqq. ξὺν κ.τ.λ.: join ξὺν πολίταις κυρήσας.... In this instance the crew of a state takes the place of the crew of a ship. πολίταις ἀνδράσιν differs somewhat from the simple πολίταις, by meaning 'men in their capacity as citizens.' For δίκαιος ὦν (ἀνὴρ being carried on from 589) cf. note to 585 (where ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων shows the special application) and Hom. *Od.* 8. 575 ἡμὲν ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι ἤδὲ δίκαιοι, | οἳ τε φιλόξενοι. Here he respects the δίκη relating to strangers.

If any passage in the play refers to Aristides (ὁ δίκαιος), it is more probably this than v. 579. It is reasonable to suppose that there is some reference to contemporary events; otherwise the choice of ἐχθροξένοις is very strange. Why should this aspect of unrighteousness, with its antithetical δίκαιος, be the one specially contemplated? We may perhaps guess that it had some reference to the spirit which Athens was showing towards the states in the Delian Confederation. Aristides was the upholder of justice in this matter. It was apparently in B.C. 467 that the first revolt occurred.

A state might show wickedness (a) in its internal relations (unnatural στάσις), (b) towards foreigners and foreign states (ἐχθροξενία), (c) towards the gods (ἀσέβεια). It is not clear whether ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν refers to both the last two sins, or is an amplified expression of the second only (i.e. unjust to strangers and therein forgetful of the gods, who respect the rights of ξενία). All depends on the sense of ἀμνήμοσιν. It might be (1) 'forgetting that the gods are watching their deeds and observing their pledges' (as ὀρκιοὶ θεοὶ &c.), or (2) 'forgetting to

pay the gods their due honours,' i.e. simply neglecting their service. But the whole context suggests specific wrongdoing in some corporate act as a πόλις, and the former interpretation is therefore the better. (This is also the sense in Hor. *Od.* 3. 2. 29 *Diespiter neglectus*.) The single word δίκαιος answers better to the one notion 'behaving wrongfully to strangers and forgetting that the gods are witnesses.'

594 ἐκδίκως: not = ἀδίκως, but (logically) 'out of place.' The punishment is 'not according to δίκη' as regards the character of the sufferer (cf. παιδὸς δίκην and ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων). Eteocles does not venture to call such treatment on the part of the Gods an 'unjust' act, he only says that it is contrary to 'kind.' Cf. *Cho.* 808, 894 τόλμης ἑκατὶ κἀνδίκου φρονήματος ('temper of her kind'). So *proper* in Shak. *K. L.* 4. 260. See *Cho.* 329 (n.), 883 (n.), and Verrall's note here. — ἀγρεύματος: here apparently verbal. The sense 'net' does not suit κυρήσας nor the following metaphor.

595 πληγεῖς θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. An unruly animal is captured and tamed; destruction is not in point. In Hom. *Il.* 12. 32 ('Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες... ἰσχανόωντο) the similitude is from a horse beneath the whip or goad. So *ibid.* 13. 812 ἀλλὰ Διὸς μάστιγι κακῇ ἐδάμηνεν Ἀχαιοί. In Hes. *Theog.* 857 ἐπεὶ δὴ μιν δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσεας Typhoeus is 'tamed' (not 'slain') by the thunderbolt. The 'blow from Zeus' occurs in *Ag.* 379 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, where it is both a punishment and a lesson. (With the phrase itself cf. Plut. *Mor.* 168 C where calamities are called πλαγαὶ θεοῦ.) In the present passage the sense is the same.



abhor. Perchance with fellow-citizens—a righteous man, while they wrong the stranger and forget that there are Gods—he is caught without his due in the same mesh, and is lashed and tamed by Heaven's impartial whip.

So is it with the seer, Oecles' son, a sober man and just, valiant, God-fearing, a mighty mouthpiece of Heaven's mind. Against his better thought he joined himself with impious bold-mouthed men, when their long train set forth on that road

δράσι Μ. φρενῶν βία recc.

600 πόλιν (for πάλιν) recc. Schol. recognises both readings. τὴν μακρὰν ὁδὸν Oberdick prosaically. †. καμπὴν for πομπήν Heimsoeth.

A μάστιξ is not an instrument of slaughter. Whereas δλωλεν (591) is the proper word of the εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ who sinks with the ship, ἰδάμῃ is applied to a member of a punished community. μάστιγι is doubtless to be conceived (as by Verrall; cf. Leaf on *Il.* 23. 387) as a goad. In Hom. (*l.c.*) μάστιξ = κέντρον and in *Ag.* 647 διπλὴ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἀρης φιλεῖ is closely connected (though not, when the passage is rightly construed, identical) with διλογχὸν ἄτην. In *Syrhl.* 475 μαστικτήρα καρδίας λόγον points to a penetrating instrument. In *Soph. El.* 716 (where horses are being driven) φείδοντο κέντρων οὐδέν, while in *Aj.* 1653 μέγας δὲ πλευρὰ βοῦς ὑπὸ σμικρᾶς ὄμως | μάστιγος ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται (though a κέντρον is of course the instrument). Such a μάστιξ or κέντρον might have one point or two. That this is the instrument here is also indicated by other passages referring to a recalcitrant animal, e.g. *P. V.* 322 σθκουν... πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενέει, *Ag.* 1624, *Eur. Bacch.* 795 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι (ἀν) θνητὸς ὦν θεῶ. With the notion cf. the sense of μεταρρυθμίζειν. [Though μάστιξ was thus used of a goad, it was, of course, also used of a whip (μάσθλη).]

παγκοίνῳ: proleptic; it makes no discrimination in this case. The term is not a universal description of the μάστιξ of Zeus.

596 οὕτως δ' ὅ...: 'and in the same way (thus described) will Amphiaras...' Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 426 οὕτω δὲ χαῖτη (after a comparison), *Trach.* 116.—ὕδιν Οἰκλέους λέγω = 'yes, even the son of great Oecles.' There was no need merely to define ὁ μάντις, but Eteocles dwells upon his rank and distinction, which will not save him. For this form of expression and its uses see *Chio.* 251 (n.). Note also that ὕδιν Οἰκλέους is something more than Οἰ-

κλειδην. Distinction on the father's part (probably well known in epic story) is reflected on the son. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 15. 243 Ἀντιφάτης μὲν ἔτικτεν Ὀικλήρα μεγάθυμον κ.τ.λ.

597 σῶφρων δίκαιος κ.τ.λ. The line is almost an anticipation of the list of the four cardinal virtues, viz. σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία (ἀγαθός = 'brave,' 556, 582), φρόνησις. But εὐσέβεια is substituted for the last, as is indeed necessary, since it is in φρόνησις that Amph. here fails, acting βία φρενῶν (599).

598 sq. μέγας: 'of great rank': cf. 412 (n.). The word ἀνοσίοισι is brought close to the last notions εὐσεβής, προφήτης: 'the man of piety, the mouthpiece of the divine, with an impious crew!' So far as there is a slight peculiarity in the order of the words, it is due to this antithetical emphasis: 'joined, despite their impiety, with bold-mouthed men.' θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν forms one term = 'blasphemers,' and to this ἀνοσίοισι is epithet. With the proper intonation of the passage there is no real awkwardness in the position of βία φρενῶν, which belongs, of course, to συμμυγείς.

600 τείνουσι πομπήν κ.τ.λ.: 'when they were forming (long) procession on the way which is far to return.' The tense of τείνουσι is imperf. after συμμυγείς, i.e. συνεμίγη αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἔτεινον. The expression is condensed, but perfectly Greek, both in thought and grammar. The only question lies in the exact interpretation of τείνουσι. An army on the march is compared to a πομπή (such as that at the Panathenaea or to Eleusis). If such a procession is a large and long one—as an army would be—those who form it may be said τείνειν πομπήν, 'to lengthen out a procession.' Or again, if the procession continues for

Διὸς θέλοντος συγκαθελκυσθήσεται.  
δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μῆδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις,  
οὐχ' ὥς ἄθυμος, οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη,  
ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφε χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχῃ.  
εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου.  
φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.  
ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθέους βίαν,  
ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν  
γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει,

605

603 ἄθυμον Turnebus. ↓.

σφι χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχην? ↓.

604 ὦ σφε M, corr. m. (ὦ is possible.)

605 κύρος Burges. ↓. ἔστι recc.

Qu. \*ὥς

607 ὅμως δὲ

a long time on the march (instead of for the few hours required in the religious and local πομπᾷ) its members may be said *τείνειν* 'to prolong' it. Both meanings may perhaps be regarded as coalescing here. For the rest it has been customary to join *τὴν μακράν* with *πομπήν* (as a 'mission' or 'journey') = 'that mission which is a long one to return' (lit. 'for the returning'). It is better, however, to understand *ὁδόν* and to relate the expression to e.g. Hdt. 1. 67 *ἐπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεόν* and the phrase *τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ*. *τείνουσι πομπήν* is treated as a verb of motion (= *πομπεύουσι*) and the separation of *τὴν* from *πομπήν* is made by the intonation and was easily appreciated by the Greek hearer, who was accustomed (*Cho.* 1037 n.) to such phrases with *τὴν* (*ὁδόν*) and also recognised in *τὴν μακράν* πάλιν *μολεῖν* a proverbial expression. Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 420 *ὥς μακράν ἔτεινον*, *ibid.* 664 *μακράν γ' ἀπαίρεις*, *Or.* 125 *τῆς πάλιν μέμνησ' ὁδοῦ*. For separation of words apparently in agreement cf. 424 (n.).

There is perhaps a grim allusion to marching to death, or making the journey to Hades. After extreme unction Rabelais remarked that they had 'greased his boots for the long journey.' But it is not necessary to assume more than a reference to the proverbial difficulties and dangers of war. A *στρατὴς* is a 'far road to travel' in that one is never sure when and how the return will be made. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 662 (where the Thebans have threatened to fetch Oedipus from Attica and Theseus replies in metaphor) *τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς, οἶδ' ἐγὼ, φανήσεται | μακρὸν τὸ δεῦρο πέλαιος οὐδὲ πλώσιμον*. For πάλιν *μολεῖν* in a similar connection cf. Eur. *fr.* 353 *οὐδεὶς στρατεύσας ἀδίκᾳ σῶς ἦλθεν πάλιν*. There is such *ἀδίκη* in the present case.

601 Διὸς θέλοντος: again Eteocles will not make assertion without this proviso. See 549 (n.).—*συγκαθελκυσθήσεται*: from their high vaunts. The metaphor seems to be from wrestling (Hom. *Od.* 3. 237 *ὅποτε κεν δῆ | μοῖρ' ὀλοή καθέλῃσι*, Herond. 1. 15 *τὸ γὰρ γῆρας | ἡμέας καθέλκει*, explained by Hesych. as *καταβάλλει*).

602 δοκῶ μὲν... (ὅμως δ' (607).—*οὖν* sums up or closes the topic. [Less well μὲν οὖν might be corrective of the implied thought: 'so far from his being dangerous, I believe....']—μῆδὲ rather than οὐδὲ since *δοκῶ=πέποιθα* or *προσδοκῶ*.

603 οὐχ' ὥς ἄθυμος. If this, and not *ἄθυμον*, is correct (and there is no obvious reason for the corruption), we may interpret by (1) *οὐχ' ὥς ἄθυμός ἐστιν* (*non quia ignavus sit*), i.e. 'it is not because he is spiritless, nor from any weakness of his courage, that I think he will not attack,' or (2) *οὐχ' ὥς ἄθυμός τις*, 'not as a spiritless man (would act),' i.e. 'I think he will refrain from attacking—not as a spiritless man (might refrain, οὐκ ἂν προσβάλει), nor from failure of courage.' The omission of *ἐστὶ* makes the former rather abrupt. For the latter it may be observed that the absence of *τις* (or *ἀνὴρ*) is easily paralleled (cf. Plat. *Tim.* 29 *εἰ ἀγαθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος*, Arist. *Poet.* 25. 18 *δ' ἂν φρόνιμος ὑποθῆται*), and that the clause of *ὥς* with nom. and suppressed verb is of a common class (Soph. *Aj.* 525 *ἔχειν σ' ἂν οἴκτον ὥς καγὼ φρενὶ | θέλωμ' ἂν*, Ar. *Ran.* 303, Lucr. 3. 455 *ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animam | naturam, seu fumus*).

οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη might be an interpretation or reiteration of the previous words (as in the positive form we might



so far to travel back; and, if Zeus will, with them shall he be dragged to ground.

Nay, not even, methinks, will he assail the gates; not through faint heart nor craven spirit, but he knows what end awaits his fighting, if fruit must come of the rede of Loxias, whose wont is to say no word, or say it to the mark.

Yet against him, man to man, we will post mighty Lasthenes, a warder to drive strangers from the gate. Old is he in his wisdom, but lusty his thews with manhood, and swift his eye to

καὶ τῷ? Headlam.

609 φύσει M, φέρει m' (superscr.). Corr. Wellauer. ψ. τρέφει Brunck, φορεῖ Herwerden.

have ἄθυμος καὶ τὸ λῆμα κακός). But more probably θυμός and λῆμα are distinguished, the former being 'zest' for fight, the latter the physical 'courage' when engaged.

604 οἶδεν ὥς σφε κ.τ.λ. χρη = 'is fated': cf. *Cho.* 202 εἰ δὲ χρη τυχεῖν σωτηρίας, | σμικροῦ γένοιτ' ἂν σπέρματος μέγας πυθμῆν, *P.V.* 229 &c. The sense is not 'that he is to die in this battle' (requiring τῇδε) nor 'what death he is to meet in fighting' (since this knowledge could not prevent Amph. from attacking the gates), but (as Verrall also indicates) 'what end his fighting is to bring' (viz. no success). Amph. would say 'It is useless for me to attack the gates; the city will not fall.' There is no likelihood that σφε is plur. (so soon after the sing. of 602); Amph. is supposed to be regarding his own actions from his own point of view. [It must be acknowledged, however, that the expression is somewhat peculiar in respect of τελευτήσαι μάχην 'to reach an issue by fighting,' and we may perhaps conjecture ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφι χρη τελευτήσαι μάχην. Though σφι (= αὐτοῖς) is commonly denied (like μιν, and for no better reason) to the poetry of tragedy, it is the form actually given by the best MSS in Soph. *O. C.* 421 (cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 769, *Med.* 398). A poet who can use θυμῷ in trimeters may be permitted to use the σφι of Homer and Herodotus; see *Suppl.* 958 (n.).] Eteocles had evidently heard of the adverse oracle of Apollo which Amphiaras disobeyed when he joined the expedition βία φρενῶν.

605 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται κ.τ.λ. With καρπός cf. *Eum.* 716 (Apollo loq.) κἀγὼ γε χρησμοδὸς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς | τερβείν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκαρπῶτους κτίσαι, *Pind. I.* 7. 50 ἐπέων δὲ καρπὸς | οὐ κατέφθινε (of Themis).—θεσφάτοισι: generic

(not of the deliverance in this particular case): 'if oracles of Loxias are to bear fruit (as we know they do).'

606 φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν κ.τ.λ. It is surprising that some should take these words as referring to Amphiaras. His utterances are not here in question. When Eteocles has said 'the end of the fighting will be against him, if oracles of Loxias are to bear fruit,' he continues 'and Loxias would not utter oracles, if they were not intended to bear such fruit.' The god has no motive for speaking μάτην or ἄκαιρα; he speaks only when and what the occasion demands (τὰ καίρια: cf. 1 (n.), *Cho.* 580 σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια).

607 ὁμως δ': answering to v. 602.—ἐπ' αὐτῷ: 'to meet him' (cf. 434).—φῶτα is added with the same notion of 'man to man' (in distinction from divine agencies) as ἀνὴρ in 434, 492.—Δασθένοῦς. In the epic the opponent was called Periclymenus (cf. *Pind. N.* 9. 26), but that word is unmanageable in iambs.

608 ἐχθρόγενον: not in the sense of v. 593 but proleptic, 'to be a πωλωρός hostile to strangers.' Eteocles is thinking of the θυρωρός of a Greek house and of the jealous watchfulness of some of this notorious class. Lasthenes has instructions to act the character as the public θυρωρός.

609 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν. Some editors punctuate at ἀντιτάξομεν and make this the beginning of a new sentence. There would of course be no difficulty in making γέροντα belong to νοῦν (*Eur. Or.* 529 γέροντ' ὀφθαλμόν, *Hom. Od.* 22. 184 σάκος γέρον); but (apart from other considerations) the single particle δ' is more than strange in φύει γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἠβῶσαν, ποδώκες ὄμμα. Moreover, if the construction were φύει τὸν

ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται  
παρ' ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἀρπάσαι δόρυ.  
θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς.

610

ἀντ. γ'. ΧΟ. κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς  
ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὥς πόλις εὐτυχῇ,  
δορίπωνα κάκ' ἐκτρέπον-  
τες <ἐς> γὰς ἐπιμόλους· πύργων δ' ἐκτοθεν  
βαλὼν Ζεὺς σφε κάνοι κεραυνῶ.

615

610 ὄμμα Weil. ↓. χειρὶ Hartung.  
ἡμετέρας m' (superscr.).

611 δορί Romahn.

613 δικαίους λόγους

614 ἡμετέρας M, ἡμετέρας Dindorf.

615 sq. ἐκτρέ-

νοῦν γέροντα, τὴν δὲ σάρκα ἠβώσαν the single article would be less acceptable. On the other hand, if γέροντα belongs to φῶτα, 'an old man in respect of his mind,' the article helps to separate γέροντα from νοῦν, and, with the beginning of a separate (though antithetic) clause (φύει δ'...), no answering article is required. The change of structure to φύει δ' in place of φῶτα δ' is too common to need illustration.

τὸν = 'his,' or (less well) 'the necessary....'—σάρκα = 'muscle': cf. *Ag.* 72. —φύει: i.e. the thews are still growing, as being youthful. No better emendation of the φύσει of M and φέρει of later copies is likely to be made. For the sense cf. 12 (n.), *Soph. Aj.* 1077 ἀνδρα... κὰν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα; and for the quantity 522 ὥρας φινούσης. [φέρει in itself is not out of the question: cf. *Cho.* 559 φωνὴν οἶσμεν Παρηγασίδα, 579 γλῶσσαν εὐφημιον φέρειν, *fr. adesp.* 182 μί' εὐγένεια τὸν τρόπον χρηστὸν φέρειν, *Soph. fr.* 844 κὰν καλὸν φέρῃ στόμα; but it does not account for φύσει and has all the appearance of being a conjecture. The probable explanation of the reading in M is that φύει was miswritten as φύη, which was then read as φνῆ and glossed by φύσει.]

610 ποδῶκες ὄμμα. If this meant simply a 'swift' eye (= ὠκύ, ταχύ) it would deserve the name of grotesque. But in reality it = 'an eye to which the foot answers swiftly' or 'accompanied by swiftness of foot.' The eye is alert for attack and defence, and the foot acts in accordance with its warnings. It should be remembered also that ὄμμα often practically = 'vision,' and that the physical organ is by no means always present

to the writer's consciousness. Swiftness of foot is a virtue in a warrior (as with πόδας ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς) and is best manifested in fight (*Verg. Aen.* 5. 430 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa, of a boxer). Greek is liberal in concessions to the adjective, and, though 'vision with swift foot' is absurd for 'swift vision,' the combination is quite Greek in the sense here claimed. The expression is no harder than in νόστον βάρβαρον (*Eur. I. T.* 1112) = 'a journey in barbarian surroundings,' λευκοπήχεις κτύποι (*Eur. Phoen.* 1351) = 'blows with white arms,' πολυκερως φόνος (*Soph. Aj.* 55) = 'much slaughter of horned beasts,' τετρασκελὴς πόλεμος (*Eur. H. F.* 1273) = 'a war with quadrupeds.' [The alteration to οἶμα is ill-advised. The physical qualities are described in muscle (σάρκα), eye (ὄμμα), foot (ποδῶκες), hand (χεῖρα).]

610 sq. χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται κ.τ.λ. A difficult passage, of which many renderings and alterations have been proposed. Yet we may confidently keep the text and render literally 'and, in respect of his hand, he is not slow for his spear to seize upon a place laid bare from the side of the shield.'—δόρυ is the subject and γυμνωθὲν the object of ἀρπάσαι, which itself is 'consecutive' (= ὥστε ἀρπ.) to οὐ βραδύνεται (cf. *Cho.* 366 πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι | ...πρόσω τινὰ πυνθάνεσθαι, *ibid.* 735, 849, *Xen. Hell.* 5. 1. 14 ἡ θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνέφικται εἰσέναι τῷ δεομένῳ).

Others join γυμνωθὲν δόρυ as object of ἀρπάσαι, which they understand as 'seize for use.' But that γυμνωθὲν refers to an 'exposed' part of the opponent's body (and that it is much less suited to the spear) should be obvious. Of the spear,



guide his foot, and with no tardy hand doth his spear dart upon aught laid bare from side of shield.

Yet for mortals to win the day is the gift of gods.

[LASTHENES *departs*.]

CHO. Hearken, ye Gods, to our just prayers and fulfil them, <sup>3rd anti-</sup> that our country may win the day. Turn from us upon the <sup>strophe.</sup> invader of the land the fell work of the spear. From without the walls may Zeus smite and slay them with his bolt!

ποντες | γὰς ἐπιμόλους M (with *eis* written by *m'* above the beginning of ἐπιμόλους). γὰς πρὸς ἐπ. recc. Corr. Hermann. ἐκτρέποιτε γὰς H. Voss.

γυμνοῦται is the wrong term, since the shield does not protect or sheathe the δόρυ and γυμνοῦσθαι is a word of too distinct a colour to be used simply for the spear darting forth. Moreover the simple gen. ἀσπίδος γυμνωθέν would manifestly be used rather than παρ' ἀσπίδος. ἀρπάσαι δόρυ, again, would be appropriate to a warrior who snatches up his weapon, but not to one who already holds it.

The correct interpretation is plainly indicated by the use of γυμνωθῆναι in similar situations: cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 334 ἐνθα κε γυμνωθέντα σάκευς ὑπο δαυδαλέοιο | ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδῃς, ἐνθ' οὐτάμεν ὀξεί χαλκῷ, *ibid.* 460 μῆρον γυμνωθέντα σάκευς ὑπο δαυδαλέοιο | οὐτασ', Theoc. 22. 187 ἐγχεσι μὲν πρῶτιστα τιτυσκόμενοι πόνον εἶχον | ἀλλήλων, εἰ ποῦ τι χροὸς γυμνωθέν ἴδοιεν. One sense of ἀρπάσαι is *occipere*, of seizing upon a spot (Xen. *An.* 4. 6. 11 τοῦ ἐρήμιον ὄρους...τι...ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας). Cf. also e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 2 πεῖραν τῷ ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι θηρώμενον of the seizing of an opportunity. These senses blend ('seize, when opportunity is given...'). The combatants fight crouching (as far as possible) behind their shields; their feet move nimbly for position; their spears are held in threatening movement just under the rim of the shield (Theoc. 23. 184 σείων καρτερὸν ἔγχος ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἀντιγα πρῶτην). Each is watching for the enemy to expose (γυμνοῦν) any portion of his body from under the buckler; then with swift hand he will seize the opportunity upon that part. See Eur. *Phoen.* 1382 sqq. for a description of the fight between Et. and Polyn., and *ibid.* 1384 εἰ δ' ὅμμι ὑπερσχὸν ἵντος ἀτερος μάθοι, | λόγχην ἐνώμα στόματι ('with the point') προφθῆναι θέλων.

The simple ἀσπίδος γυμνωθέν would possess less vividness than ὑπ' ἀσπίδος

(as in [Hes.] *Scut.* *Ilcc.*) or παρ' ἀσπίδος. The latter gives a picture of a portion of the body peeping out 'from beside' the rim of the shield. Doubtless a prose-writer would have said γυμνωθέν τι or τὸ παρ' ἀσπ. γυμνωθέν, but the generic participle without art. is frequent. With the art. the exact sense is δ τι ἂν γυμνωθῇ ('any exposed part'), without it the sense is ἦν τι γυμνωθῇ. See Cho. 69 (n.), 360 (n.), 661 αἰδὼς ἐν λεχθεῖσιν. [The notion of Brunck that παρ' ἀσπίδος = *a sinistra*, while δόρυ = *ensem*, passes the legitimate use of language.]

612 θεοῦ: with emphasis; 'it is only Heaven that can grant success.' This tone is habitual to Eteocles (cf. 401, 549). The answer of the Chorus picks up the word and also εὐτυχεῖν. [Note that in all the six cases hitherto there is a justification of the eventual Theban success. It is only in the seventh that the blame is equal on both sides.]

615 δορίπωνα καί κ.τ.λ. This follows the prayer for the πόλις; 'turning away from it, upon those who invade the land....' The Chorus recognises the difference between the character of Amphiaras and that of the five boasters. It bases its plea therefore upon the 'justice' of its prayer, which considers only the claims of patriotism. Sin lies with an invader of the land of others (cf. 567 sqq.), and Amphiaras is such.

With ἐκτρέποντες cf. *Ag.* 1465 μῆδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς, Eur. *Suppl.* 483 τὸ δυστυχὲς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐς ἄλλων ἐκτρέπει.

616 πύργων and ἔκτοθεν are stressed: i.e. 'may Zeus slay them, and before they break into the stronghold.' They have occupied our land (γᾶς); now they are assailing our walls; may death fall upon them from the *outer* side.

ΑΓ. τὸν ἔβδομον δὴ τόνδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις  
 λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κασίγνητον, πόλει  
 620 σοὶ θ' ἄς ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας,  
 πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς κάπικηρυχθεὶς χθονί,  
 ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν' ἐπεξιακχάσας,  
 σοὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι καὶ κτανὼν θανεῖν πέλας,  
 "ἢ ζῶντ' ἀτιμαστήρα τὼς ἀνδρῆλάτην  
 625 φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τείσασθαι τρόπον."  
 τοιαύτ' αὐτεῖ καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίου  
 καλεῖ πατρώας γῆς ἐποπτῆρας λιτῶν  
 τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ Πολυνείκουσ βία.

618 νῦν ἐφ' Brunck, τὸν τ' ἐφ' Blomf., τὸν πρὸς Dind., στάντ' ἐφ' Ritschl. ↓.  
 620 οἷας γ' ἀράται M as altered by m', which corrects οἷ (M<sup>a</sup>) to οἷ and writes as  
 in an erasure. Corr. \*ed. ↓. οἷας τ' ἀράται σοὶ τ' ἐπεύχεται Weil. 621 χθονός

618 τὸν ἔβδομον δὴ τόνδ': 'we come in this case to the seventh and last.' δὴ (akin to ἤδη) closes the enumeration: cf. Plat. *Meno* 87 ε ὑγίεια καὶ ἰσχύς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πλοῦτος δὴ ('and here we will stop'). Apart from the actual list of the gates there is doubtless a suggestion in ἔβδομον of a sacred and complete number, and this gives further point to δὴ. Grammatically the expression is not as if τὸν had preceded ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις, but (literally) 'I will enumerate, at the seventh gate, in this instance the seventh and last.' In Eur. *Phoen.* 1123 these gates are called the Κρηναῖαι. See Introduction § 16.

619 sq. πόλει \*σοὶ θ' ἄς κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The error of M is to be emended by better means than the οἷας of the second corrector. Any reader must feel that πόλει by itself (especially as placed) is weak and insufficient. It is true that Polyneices invokes mischief on the country (621 sq.), but he also invokes it individually upon Eteocles (623—625). It is no rational summary of the passage 621—625 to describe it as an imprecation on the πόλις. The sense required is provided in the text, where the emphasis on σοὶ is brought out by its position.

The pleonasm in ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται is purposed, emphasising the wickedness of his deliberate and insistent imprecations. Emphatic pleonasm, being true to nature, is familiar in drama: cf. Eur. *I. T.* 490 ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γινώσκωμεν, Soph. *Ant.* 41 εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσῃ σκόπει, Shak. *Macb.* 2. 3. 79

*The spring, the head, the fountain of your blood | Is stopped.*

621—625 The lines should be taken as quotation in or. obl. of the actual language of Polyneices. This is essential for a proper interpretation of τῶς (624) and τόνδε (625). Cf. *Ag.* 1600 μῶρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, | λάκτισμα δέπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶ, | οὕτως δλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθέנוῦς γένος (representing the direct οὕτως δλοιτο). So here Polyn. says ξυμφεροίμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἢ κτανὼν θάνοιμι πέλας, ἢ φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τρόπον τισαίμην (αὐτὸν), ἀτιμαστήρα τῶς (= οὕτως) ἀνδρῆλάτην (δντα).

621 sq. πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς: not mounting the walls for the purpose of proclamation, but having set foot upon them successfully in the assault.—κάπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ ἐπεξιακχάσας carry on the same sense of ἐπι-, which is that of triumph or exultation. He plants his foot (cf. λαῖ ἐπιβῆναι) upon the walls (as a victor on a fallen enemy, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 21. 1); he is proclaimed conqueror over the prostrate land (cf. κηρύσσειν and ἀνακηρύσσειν in the games); he utters the jubilant cry of assured victory over it.—χθονί is understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the words which follow it. It is better not to make ἐπεξιακχάσας synchronous with, and explanatory of, ἐπικηρυχθεὶς, as if his loud paean were the manner of signifying that the capture is achieved; the words form an independent notion. For the sense of παιᾶν' see 254 (n.) and Smyth *Gk. Melic Poets* p. XI. With ἀλώσιμον cf. *Ag.* 10 ἀλώσιμον...θάξω.



SCOUT. Last to the seventh I come, at the seventh gate—  
to thine own brother. These the bans and curses he calls down  
upon the town and thee; that with foot planted upon the walls,  
and proclaimed triumphant o'er the land, he may raise loud the  
conqueror's exulting shout, then match himself with thee, and,  
slaying thee, die at thy side. 'Or' saith he 'if he live, he who  
thus sets me at naught with banishment, may I punish him  
with exile, like for like with this!' Thus doth he shout, and  
withal calls upon the Gods of kin and fatherland to give his  
prayers regard—prayers all his own—a mighty Quarreller in  
good sooth!

rec. *κάποκηρυχθεὶς χθονὸς* Keck.

τὸν δ' rec., θ' ὡς rec., τῶς σ' Ald., σῶς Prien.  
The passage requires interpretation only.

624 ζῶν Schütz, Heimsoeth. †. τῶς M<sup>a</sup>,  
ἀνδρηλατῶν Blomf., ἀνδρηλάτης Madvig.

628 βλαι m.

623 σολ: emphasised.—*ξυμφέρεισθαι*:  
'be pitted against': cf. 497 *ξινολοίετον*.—  
*καὶ κτανὼν θανεὶν πέλας*: not that he  
prays to die himself, but he proclaims  
his readiness to die, if only he can first  
kill. This form of expression is frequent.  
Cf. *Cho.* 437 *ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας ὀλοῖμαν*  
(where schol. quotes Callimachus *τεθναίνην*  
*ὅτ' ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθόμην*), *Eur.*  
*El.* 281 *θάνοιμι μητρὸς αἵμ' ἐπισφάξας*  
*ἐμῆς*, *Soph. Aj.* 390 *πῶς ἄν... τοὺς δις-*  
*σάρχας ὀλέσῃς βασιλῆς | τέλος θάνοιμι*  
*καὶ τὸς*; For the alternative cf. *Soph.*  
*O. C.* 1306 (*ὅπως*)... *ἢ θάνοιμι πανδίκως |*  
*ἢ τοὺς τόδ' ἐκπράξαντας ἐκβάλοιμι γῆς*;  
(*Polyn. loq.*).

624 sq. *ἢ ζῶντ' κ.τ.λ.*: Polyneices  
would say 'Or, if I do not slay him, but if  
he (escapes me and) still lives, may I punish  
him, who outrages me thus with banish-  
ment, with exile in the same manner as  
this (of mine).' The expression is full,  
after the manner of the *verba concepta* in  
prayers, oaths or vows, which seek to  
avoid ambiguity by such redundancy. In  
*ἀτιμαστήρα* there is scarcely the same  
force as in *ἀτιμῶν*. Polyneices is indeed  
rendered *ἀτιμῶς* as a Cadmean, but he is  
also set at naught, or flouted as a brother  
and a prince.—*τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* was  
evidently part of a formula in praying  
for retribution: cf. *Cho.* 272 *εἰ μὴ μέτειμι*  
*τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους | τρόπον τὸν αὐτὸν*,  
*ἀνταποκτεῖναι λέγων*.

626 sqq. *τοιαῦτ' ἀντεῖ κ.τ.λ. καὶ*=  
'and withal' (so *et=et tamen*), i.e. 'and,  
while so crying, he (yet) dares to call the  
gods of kinship, belonging to the father-  
land.' There is a double emphasis on the  
irony of the prayer. Though he is medi-

tating harm to the country (*πῶλει*) and  
dishonour to its gods (569 sqq.), he still  
calls upon the gods of that country  
(*πατρώας*); while meditating the slaughter  
of his brother, he calls on the gods of kin-  
ship (*γενεθλίους*).—*ἐποπτήρας*: to direct  
them to successful issue: cf. *Cho.* 1, 581,  
1061 (*ἀλλ' εὐνυχόης, καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων*  
*πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσει*) and *ἐπόπτης*  
(*Pind. N.* 9. 5 *Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμο-*  
*κλάρους ἐπόπταις*, i.e. Apollo and Artemis  
at the Pythian games).

This monstrous and unreasonable prayer  
he can only make through his character  
as *Πολυ-νείκης* (cf. 564).—*πάγχυ Πολυ-*  
*νείκους βία*: 'in very truth a mighty  
Quarreller.' The force of *πάγχυ* is that  
of *κάρτα* in 400, 402.—The phrase with  
*βία* is not here a mere periphrasis, but  
rather it=*Πολυνείκης βίαιος*, and *πάγχυ*  
is felt with both members of the phrase.  
[It is exceedingly feeble to join *πάγχυ* to  
*ἐποπτήρας γενέσθαι*.]

Not merely is *τῶν ὦν* more emphatic  
than *ὦν*; *λιτῶν* would have been sufficient  
in itself if there had not been some special  
point added by these words. We may  
explain by (a) 'his prayers' as opposed  
to ours, i.e. he asks the gods to ignore  
our prayers and to further his; or (b)  
*suarum* (in e.g. *Cic. Fin.* 3. 1. 4 *retho-*  
*rum artes verbis in docendo quasi privatis*  
*utuntur ac suis*) 'his very own' or 'truly  
his,' i.e. such as belong indeed to a *Πολυ-*  
*νείκης*. The latter is manifestly much  
more effective. [The use of *ὁ δς=suis*  
is not very frequent in tragedy, but in  
*Soph. O. C.* 519 for *δμως δ γ'* 'Αἰδῆς τοὺς  
*νόμους τοῦτους ποθεῖ* we should surely  
read *τοὺς οὗς*.]

ἔχει δὲ καινοπηγὲς εὐκυκλον σάκος  
 διπλοῦν τε σῆμα προσμεμηχανημένον. 630  
 χρυσήλατον γὰρ ἄνδρα τευχιστὴν ἰδεῖν  
 ἀγχι γυνή τις σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη.  
 Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναι φησὶν, ὥς τὰ γράμματα  
 λέξει· “κατάξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε, καὶ πόλιν  
 ἔξει πατρῶων δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς.” 635  
 τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τάξευρήματα.

629 γρ. εἴθετον schol. ↓.

632 ἡσκημένη Butler.

633 Δίκη γὰρ Hermann.

634 λέξει M (έ by m), λέγει recc. ↓. τ' for δ' rec., γ' Schütz.

635 πατρῶων recc.

636 ἐκείνῳ γ' Pauw. I formerly suggested τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνῳ (sc. Δίκης καὶ Πολυνείκους)

**629 καινοπηγές.** Polyneices, a Boeotian, would previously carry an oblong Boeotian shield, but since his sojourn at Argos, and as a member of the Argive army, he now bears one which is truly round (εὐκυκλον).—καινοπηγές is not therefore merely picturesque, although such panoramic and realistic touches are not despised by Aeschylus or his epic authorities (cf. 578 πάγχυαλκον, 529 and context). The shield actually is new, and, for a Boeotian, it is in a new fashion (καινο-). The notion in -πηγές is not simply of making (=ποιητόν), but such a shield is 'built,' as being constructed with leather base, bronze plates, figures in relief and θχανον within. Cf. πηκτόν ἄροτρον (Hom. *Od.* 13. 32) and *Il.* 5. 193 διφροὶ | καλοὶ πρωτοπαγεῖς νεοτειχέες (which further illustrates the appreciation of newness, as does *Il.* 21. 592 κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέρου). Had the shield not been new it could not have borne this particular blazon, nor would there have been any need to describe it to Eteocles. [The conjecture εἴθετον destroys an important point.]

**630 διπλοῦν:** i.e. there are two separate figures of equal importance in the picture. The other σήματα have either shown one figure or a compact group (e.g. the Sphinx holding a Cadmean).—προσμεμηχανημένον: see 528 (n.). It would seem that the figure of Justice actually moves on the shield in leading the man.

**631 χρυσήλατον.** For gold work on shields cf. Hom. *Il.* 18. 517 ἀμφω χρυσεῖω χρύσεια δὲ ἔμματα ἔσθην, *ibid.* 574 αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῖο τετεύχαιο κασσιτέρου τε, [Hes.] *Scut.* 183 (warriors on the shield) ἀργυρεοί, χρύσεια περὶ χροῖ τεύχε' ἔχοντες. The metal here is not inlaid

(as in 481), but is hammered plate.—ἰδεῖν is commonly treated as an idle addition to τευχιστὴν, but this is not just to the poet. The point of the word is that the gold plate displays not only a man, but a man in full armour, the work being so skilful that the parts stand out clearly delineated. ἰδεῖν thus virtually = 'distinctly' or 'conspicuously.' This is properly the force of the infin. in e.g. Soph. *O. C.* 327 ὦ πάτερ δύσμοιρ' ὄραν, Eur. *I. A.* 274 κατείδομεν | πρόμας σῆμα ταυρόπουν ὄραν, | ... Ἀλφεόν, Ar. *Eccl.* 387 λευκοπληθὺς ἰδεῖν, Pind. *I.* 6. 22 ἰδεῖν μορφάεις. [It is just possible to relate ἰδεῖν to the whole clause: i.e. the woman leads the armed man 'visibly,' this being part of the mechanism. Cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 166 στίγματα δ' ὥς ἐπέφαντο ἰδεῖν. But the position of the word is against this.]

**632 γυνή τις:** not strictly a woman, but a being represented as a woman: 'a female form.'—σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη. There is no tautology with ἀγχι, but the whole = 'she leads as his guide.' The σωφροσύνη is shewn in her deportment. Though Polyneices himself exhibits no σωφροσύνη, the artist who depicted his Δίκη would necessarily follow the canons for that allegorical figure.

**633 Δίκη δ' ἄρ' κ.τ.λ.** In the preceding τις, in ἄρ', and in the fut. λέξει we are subtly placed back in the position of the ἀγγελος while he is deciphering the blazon. He sees what is apparently (τις) a woman; she turns out (ἄρ') to be Δίκη, as one will find on reading. [Verrall takes ἄρ' as implying 'that the narrator does not accept her declaration,' i.e. the messenger reports it either somewhat sarcastically or with hesitancy: 'she says she is Justice.']

**634 sq. λέξει.** The fut. might be



His shield, true round, is new of build, with twofold emblem fixed cunningly upon it. A work of gold displays a man full-armed, and as 'twere a woman leads him with sober guidance; 'Justice,' it seems, she calls herself, according to the letters; 'And I will bring home this man, and he shall have a country, and right to use his father's house and substance.'

Such are the devisings on their side. 'Tis left for thyself to

ἐστὶ τὰ γγνήματα, but I now retain the text, although inclined to believe that τὰ ζυβρίσματα is the true reading. (Both *v* for *β* and *-η-* for *-ισ-* are common confusions: cf. *Ag.* 1009 αὐλαβεία (Fl.) for ἀβλαβεία, *Ar. Av.* 774 εὔρον (S &c.) for ἑβρον (R.V.), *Xen. Hell.* 5. 4. 54 χανρίαν (B) for Χαβρίαν, and *Eubul. ap. Ath.* 622 Ε κατηλόισται

due to the eye wandering from λέγει and catching ἔξει of the next line, but it may very well be correct (*v. sup.*).—κατάξω: from exile (cf. κατιέναι, κάθοδος).—πόλιν ἔξει: not 'shall get' (σχήσει), nor 'the country,' but 'shall possess a country.' He shall no longer be an exile and ἀπολις. A prose-writer in such circumstances uses μετέχειν πόλεως. Justice does not promise that Polyn. shall be master of Thebes nor of τὰ πατρώα δώματα, but only that he shall have his place in Thebes, and in the house and its property.—δωμάτων is not merely the house as abode, but includes the possessions. See *Cho.* 126 (n.), and cf. *Eum.* 757 Ἀργεῖος ἀνὴρ αὖτις, ἐν τε χρήμασιν | οἰκεῖ πατρώοις. For the position of the exile see *Cho.* 135 (n.).

ἐπιστροφάς: 'range' (Paley, who quotes *Ag.* 963 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένον). Cf. *Eum.* 550 ξενοτίμους δωμάτων ἐπιστροφάς, and Hesych. ἐπιστροφαί· διατριβαί, δilaται· ἀσχύλος Φρυγί.

636 sqq. τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων κ.τ.λ. The exact sense of the following passage requires some search. We must first realise the situation. Six Theban champions have been sent to six of the gates; the seventh remains. It would not naturally enter into the minds of the company that Eteocles himself would elect to fight with his own brother. When he declares his intention (659 sqq.), both the Messenger and the Chorus are horrified and endeavour to dissuade him. It is manifest that the Scout himself does not even think of such a meeting; he simply asks the king whom he proposes to send. It is true that in 269 sqq. Eteocles has spoken of posting six champions with himself for seventh, but the messenger was not then present, and, if the Chorus remembered the observation, its fulfil-

ment would now seem out of the question. Had Eteocles appeared in full armour equally with the six, the case might have been more obvious to the Scout. But Eteocles is not yet armed (see 662 sq.). The Scout therefore enquires in all good faith who is to go.

The most natural interpretation is therefore that at v. 635 the ἄγγελος ends his enumeration of the Argive champions and now adds comprehensively 'such are the inventions on their side.' The remaining words mean ' (my duty, so far, is done), it is for you now to decide who is the right man to send. So far as the carrying of announcements is concerned, you will always find me to be trusted; (the rest is not my business); you are the captain of the ship.'

Two points must here be noted. (1) To refer ἐκείνων to the last-named champion and his device, and to render 'such are the devices of them (viz. Polyneices and his Δίκη),'<sup>2</sup> is surely impossible for ἐξευρήματα. ἐκείνοι are 'the enemy': cf. *Pers.* 398 σάλπιγγ' δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν and *sup.* 468 (τάδε). (2) The combination αὐτὸς ἤδη with imperat. is used where a speaker has said his say and now leaves the matter with the hearer: cf. *Cho.* 112 αὐτῇ σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνουσ' ἤδη φράσαι, *Luc. De Merc. Cond.* 42 σὺ δ' οὖν... αὐτὸς ἤδη ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκοπῶν ἕκαστα ἐννόησον.

With the above sense ἐξευρήματα is quite possible of the various 'notions' or 'inventions' which have occurred to the enemy as blazons. They are the 'devisings' of their ingenuity. (Otherwise the easiest emendation would be \*ἐζυβρίσματα; see crit. n.) *Dem. Lacr.* 930 τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα reads like an echo of this place.—δοκεῖ (*placet*) is manifestly correct. δοκεῖς (whether with πέμπειν or πέμψειν) could

σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ  
ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων  
μέμψη, σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

— ET. ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στίγος, 640  
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἄμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος·  
ὦμοι, πατὴρ δὴ νῦν ἄρα τελεσφόροι.  
ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,  
μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.  
ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνεΐκει λέγω, 645  
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα τοῦπίσῃμ' ὅποι τελεῖ,  
εἴ νιν κατάξει χρυσότευκτα γράμματα  
ἐπ' ἀσπίδος φλύοντα σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν.  
εἰ δ' ἢ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρῇν

(A.B.) for -ηται (V.L.), Phryn. fr. 2 γινωσκίσαν for -ησαν &c.)

637 δόκει M<sup>a</sup>.

δοκεῖς rec. †.

641 ἄμὸν M<sup>a</sup>, ἄμὸν M, ὦμὸν rec.

643 κλάειν Porson.

645 The final εἰ as written in M suggests an earlier η. Πολυνεΐκει rec. †.

however stand colloquially (*Ag.* 16, *Ar. Vesp.* 177, *Ran.* 1421 (n.)).

638 ἀνδρὶ τῷδε = ἐμοί. It is scarcely relevant, and would be without much point, to refer the words to Polyneices, i.e. 'you will never find fault with (the indefiniteness of) his proclamations' or 'accuse him of giving insufficient warning' (viz. in 634 sqq.). As referring to the ἀγγελος we may render κηρυκευμάτων by (1) 'you will never have occasion to blame me in respect of the news which I bring you,' or (2) 'in respect of carrying announcements (from you).' The latter is preferable, in view of the natural sense of κήρυξ and its cognates. The former notion would rather require ἀγγελμάτων, while in κηρυκευμα lies the sense of conveying a message entrusted. Moreover the line, coming as it does between σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ and the same phrase repeated (in another form), should have some close connection with the former words, viz. 'make up your mind whom you will send: I will carry your message to him; but I offer no advice.' For the phrase with μέμψη cf. [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 50 ἤλυθον ἀγγελος, ὥς | μή ποτ' ἐς ἐμέ τίνα μέμψιν εἴπης.

639 γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1089 ἴνα... γνῶ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡσυχαιέραν, *Hom. Il.* 7. 238 οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βοῦν.

640 sq. ὦ θεομανές: with γένος. As an apostrophe, referring to Polyn.,

it would have been the nom. ὦ θεομανής. 'This family of ours' is maddened by the gods, who mean to destroy it (*quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*). In Christian phraseology, the family is possessed of the devil. Cf. θεοβλαβής and *Eur. Or.* 845 θεομανεῖ λύσση δαίμεις. The initial dactyl (if it be so pronounced) is upheld by *Cho.* 215, 984, *Ag.* 7, 1311, *P. V.* 756, fr. 255 (ὦ θανάτε), 392 (ἦ βαρύ). It is possible, indeed, that θεο- was slurred, as in θεόμοροι (*Pind. Ol.* 3. 10), Θεόγνιδος &c. The same might be said of *Eum.* 40 ὁρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομνητῇ. But there is no need to assume this. —τε καὶ ('yes, and...') amplifies with an explanation or motive: 'because it is hated by the Gods.' The repetition in θεο- θεῶν is deliberate for emphasis; nothing less than the Gods could work such ruin. For the sense of μέγα see μέγιστον 412 (n.) and cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 445 σχέτλι' Ἔρως... μέγα στίγος ἀνθρώποισιν. πανδάκρυτον. To it belong πάντα δάκρυα in the Greek sense of 'nothing but' tears.—Οἰδίπου. The thought is not simply 'we sons of Oedipus,' for Eteocles is not distinctly regarding himself as θεομανής. But the trouble began with, and is derived from, Oedipus; hence 'this family of ours, belonging as it does to the unhappy Oedipus.'

642 πατὴρ δὴ. Either (1) δὴ goes closely with πατὴρ: 'yes, it is our father's,' or (2) δὴ belongs to the sentence, the full



say whom thou wilt send. In me a messenger's duty shall never fail thee, but 'tis for thyself to captain the country as thou deemest best.

ET. O maddened of Heaven, Heaven's great abomination, our house of Oedipus, whose portion is all tears! Ah me! our father and his curses! 'Tis now they bear their fruit. Nay, it is no time either to weep or wail, lest our due of lamentation grow heavier with interest. For him so truly named—for Polynices—we shall soon know what virtue lies in his blazon; whether the bragging of gold lettering on a shield, and a foolish frenzy, will fetch him home again. Had that daughter of Zeus,

646 τοῦπίσῃ M, but with *ὅ* as correction. τὰπίσῃ Victorious. 648 συμφοίτω M, σὺν φοίτω μ' (marg.). A previous suggestion συμφοίτως φρενί might find some support in γρ. φρενί of rec. (Par. B), but σὺμ φοίτω is better. MSS show no consistency in the assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. With the present

expression being εἰσὶ δὴ ('manifestly'). νῦν in any case is very emphatic, but δὴ νῦν cannot be used for νῦν δὴ. The former application of δὴ is the better. After the mention of Oedipus, πατὴρ δὴ emphasises the reference to him: 'Of Oedipus—for it is from our own father and his curse that the trouble comes.'

643 κλαίειν...ὀδύρεσθαι. As the antithetical οὔτε...οὔτ' show, the words are not synonymous. In a mere fulness of expression we should have either οὐ κλαίειν καὶ or at most οὐ κλαίειν οὔδ'. The verbs are similarly joined in Hom. *Il.* 24. 48 κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος, the former denoting tears, the latter lamentations (cf. 50 sq.).

644 μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ κ.τ.λ.: an expression so curious in the choice of both verb and adj. that it requires more attention than it has received. The scholiast's αὐξηθῇ is feeble. δυσφορώτερος contains the notion of paying a 'heavy call' (cf. βαρὺς), with a glance also at the pecuniary use of φόρος. τεκνωθῇ (cf. τόκος and *sup.* 424) contains that of 'interest.' The sense is thus 'for fear this γόος may bear interest (the tone being lent by καὶ, which cannot of course go with the adj.) in the shape of another yet harder to support,' i.e. it is no fit time (πρέπει) to weep and wail; but in order to prevent greater cause for wailing (in the shape of the mischief threatened to Thebes by Polynices), we must act. To waste time in lamenting will be to increase the reasons for it.

645 κάρτα: cf. 400, 402 (n.), 565, 628, *Eum.* 90.—Πολυνείκεα. Either this

or Πολυνείκη (crit. n.) will stand. See Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 31 σὸι | κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ κάμει, κηρύξαντ', *Aj.* 569 Τελαμῶνι δέλξει μητρί τ', Ἐριβοία λέγω. Cf. Aesch. *fr.* 175 Ἀντικλείας...τῆς σῆς λέγω τοι μητρώε.

646 ὅποι τελεί: 'to what end it will come.' Cf. *Cho.* 526 καὶ ποῖ τελειτᾶ καὶ καρανοῦται λόγος; 1073 ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ; *Pers.* 737 πῶς τε δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; *Suppl.* 611. τελείν is used intransitively of the issue or destination: cf. *Cho.* 1019 οὐ τὰδ' οἷδ' ὅπη τελεί, *Pers.* 228. The tense may be either fut. or pres. (of vivid realisation): cf. 37 (n.).

647 sq. χρυσότευκτα: i.e. however gorgeous or pretentious. It is not τὰ χρ. ('his'), but generically 'mere gold letters will have no power.'—σὺν φοίτῃ φρενῶν: either (1) with the whole phrase, 'while the wits are mad' (cf. *Ag.* 769 τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἐδεθλα σὺν πίνῃ χερῶν, i.e. 'where hands are defiled'), or (2) closely with φλόοντα, 'boasting in madness of mind,' σὺν being modal (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1223 ἐρπεις ὧδε σὺν σπουδῇ ταχύς). The former is to be preferred. With φοίτῃ cf. Soph. *Aj.* 59 φοιτῶντ' ἀνδρα μανιάσιν νόσοις, and φοιταλέος (=παράκοπος, ματωδης, Hesych.). The alliteration of φ is frequently effective, as in the sarcastic *Cho.* 88 παρὰ φίλης φίλῳ φέρειν. In *Ag.* 497 τὸδ' ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφίλωσεν φρένας it seems less designed.

649 sq. ἡ Διὸς παῖς, παρθένος Δίκη. The article and the doubling of title are intended to elaborate the dignity and purity of the real Δίκη, in contrast to the imaginary Δίκη upon the shield. 'If

ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ᾦν· 650  
 ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φνυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον,  
 οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν, οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω,  
 οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος,  
 Δίκη προσεῖπε καὶ κατηξιώσατο·  
 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν χθονὸς κακονχία 655  
 οἴμαί νιν αὐτῷ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας.  
 ᾗ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος  
 Δίκη, ξυνοῦσα φωτὶ παντόλμῳ φρένας.  
 τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἴμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι  
 αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος; 660

place cf. Soph. *O. T.* 324 σὺμφωνημ' (L). σὺν τύφῳ Ald. 651 φεύγοντα Blomfield. †. 652 πως Meineke. 653 ξυλλογῇ M. 654 προσεῖδε Martini (from

that (*illa*) daughter of Zeus, the virgin Right....' The titles are part of the accepted theogony: cf. Hes. *Op.* 256 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, | κυδρὴ τ' αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς· οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν, *Theog.* 901, *Cho.* 948 Διὸς κόρα (n.). —παρῆν: *adesset*, of the *praesens deus* (cf. *παρεστάναι*). —ἐκείνου: with emphasis, 'a man like him.' —τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ᾦν: not, of course, by a conquest in war, but Eteocles might have permitted it in some natural course of circumstances.

651 φνυγόντα κ.τ.λ.: 'at his birth.' It is injudicious to substitute φεύγοντα, which would direct more attention to the physical process. Justice would not address the child during this, but as soon as it was accomplished. Paley quotes Hor. *Od.* 4. 3. 2 *quem tu, Melpomene, semel | nascentem placido lumine videris*, but Latin lacks the nice difference of pres. and aor. part., and here the verb is of addressing, not of watching. The latter remark applies also to Hes. *Theog.* 82.

With the phrase cf. Pind. *N.* 1. 35 σπλάγχνων ὑπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαητὸν ἐς αἴγλαν... | ὠδῖνα φεύγων... μόλεν, Lucr. 1. 170 *enascitur atque oras in luminis exit*, Verg. *Aen.* 7. 660 *partu sub luminis edidit oras*, Eum. 668 ἐν σκότοις νηδύος τεθραμμένη.

652 τροφαῖσιν: including παιδεία (cf. 535). —ἐφηβήσαντα: specifically referring to the age of ἐφηβοί (at eighteen). —πω (which belongs to the following verbs) can hardly be regarded as more than a metrical convenience. For similar

insertions in the same place cf. Soph. *Trach.* 303 μή ποτ' εἰσδοίμ' σε | πρὸς τοῦμὸν οὕτω σπέρμα χωρήσαντά ποι, *ibid.* 1060 οὐθ' Ἑλλάς οὐτ' ἀγλωσσοσ οὐθ' ὄσσην ἐγὼ | γαῖαν καθαιρῶν ἰκόμην ἔδρασε πω, *El.* 786 νῦν δ' ἐκῆλά πον | τῶν τῆσδ' ἀπειλῶν οὐνεχ' ἡμερεύσομεν, Eur. *Ion* 1277, Phalaecus *ap.* Ath. 440 E ἴσα δὲ πίνων | οὔτις οἱ ἀνθρώπων ἥρισε νύδαμά πω.

653 γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος: (1) with γενείου dependent on τριχώματος = ἐν τῷ συλλέγειν τὸ τοῦ γενείου τριχῶμα; (2) with γενείου possessive = 'in his beard's gathering of hair.' The order points to the latter. 'As his beard thickened its hair' is no mere periphrasis. The beard had begun to show already in the previous stage of ἐφηβος, but it gathers thickness in the next. He is no longer πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης but grows a full γένειον.

654 προσεῖπε καὶ κατηξιώσατο: 'accosted and recognised,' the latter verb being exegetical. There is no gain, but a loss, from reading προσεῖδε. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 33 *affari atque apprehere*, Eur. *Suppl.* 959 οὐδ' Ἄρτεμις λοχία | προσφθέγγεται ἂν τὰς ἀτέκνους, Or. 520 Ἑλένην... οὐ ποτ' αἰνέσω, | οὐτ' ἂν προσείποιμ', 1605 τίς δ' ἂν προσείποι σ'; *Hēr.* 792, *Alc.* 194 κοῦτις ᾦν οὕτω κακός, | ὃν οὐ προσεῖπε, Theodect. *ap.* Ar. *Pol.* 1. 4 τίς ἂν προσεῖπεν ἀξιώσειεν λάτρην; In *Ar.* 769 (Δίκα) τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἐδεθλα σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν | παλιντρόποις ὁμμασι λιποῦσ' ὄσια προσέβη του we should read προσέφατο. The notion that Justice would



Right, countenanced his acts and thoughts, perchance might have been. But neither when he escaped the darkness of the womb, nor in his nurture, nor when he grew to man, nor when the hair was thickening in his beard, did Right deign to accept or own him. Nor, yet, methinks, does she stand at his shoulder now, when a fatherland is outraged. Surely not right, but all a lie, would be her name of Right, if she partnered his reckless purpose.

In this faith will I go and face him—I myself. Whose place is it more than mine? Whose rather? Leader to leader, brother

schol.). The substitution in schol. is perhaps accidental (cf. Soph. *O.T.* 463 Δελφίς εἶδε πέτρα as variant for εἶπε). ↓. ποτ' εἶδε Wakefield. 655 οὐτ' M, corr. θεοῖς. κακουργία Hartung. ↓. 657 ἤδητ' M, corr. m'. ἡ δῆτ' Weckl. &c. ↓. 658 δίκη M<sup>a</sup>.

not 'have a word to say' to Polyn. is surely as natural as that she would not 'look at' him.—κατηξιώσατο = 'deemed worthy of herself, i.e. of her society'; the opposite of ἀπαξιούσθαι (*Eum.* 366 Ζεὺς...ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέρχας | ἄς ἀπηξιώσατο, a passage which further supports προσείπε). Cf. *Ag.* 894 τοιοῦσδε τοὶ νῦν ἀξίω προσφθέγμασιν.

655 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν κ.τ.λ.: 'nor yet again, be sure...' For οὐδὲ...μὴν cf. 794, 525 (οὐ μὴν...γε), *Cho.* 188 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν νῦν ἡ κτανούσ' ἐκέρατο, *Eur. Or.* 1117, *Hel.* 1047.—πατρώας stresses the impietas, in which Δίκη can take no part (571 sqq.).—κακουργία: κακώσει schol., but strictly the word describes a condition, i.e. ἐν τῷ κακῶς ἔχειν τὴν πατρίδα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. This is its sense also in *Plat. Rep.* 615 B εἰς δουλείας ἐμβεβληκότες ἡ τινοὶ ἄλλης κακουργίας μεταίτιοι.

656 οἶμαι: sarcastic meiosis.—πέλας is not otiose, but adds the notion of zeal to παραστατεῖν ('support'). She cannot stand by him with that closeness which makes for effective help.

657 sq. ἡ δῆτ' is preferable to ἡ δῆτ' as being a more natural and accepted combination. ἡ would require a different position of δῆτ', e.g. ἡ εἴη ἂν δῆτα.—πανδίκως never merely = παντελῶς (Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 611), but is based on the earlier sense of δίκη ('manner') already discussed (586, 592, 594 n.). In *Cho.* 677 πρὸς τοὺς τέκοντας πανδίκως μεμνημένος | τεθνεῶτ' Ὀρέστην εἰπέ the sense is not πάντως but 'acting rightly by your trust'; *Suppl.* 423 φρόντισον καὶ γενεῶ | πανδίκως εὐσεβῆς | πρόξενος (with all the δίκη implied in the connection). At the

same time there is in πανδίκως...Δίκη an obvious play which necessitates our giving to πανδίκως some of the distinct sense 'justice.' Dike would be falsely named, with every 'plea' against her. Her name would be false by all the width of what is meant by δίκη (= 'we justice, with all justice, deny her the name of justice'). This application of the adv. would have been more manifest if the sentence had taken another shape, e.g. ἡ δῆτα πανδίκως ἂν λέγοιμεν ψευδώνυμον εἶναι Δίκην.

παντόλμω is itself a negation of δίκη, since δίκη lays down limits. Without φρένας the word would not connote distraction or frenzy.—φωτὶ contains, as often (but not invariably), a suggestion of contempt or pity.

659 sq. τοῖσι: 'these arguments.'—αὐτὸς gains emphasis by its position.—μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος is here probably not an ordinary double comparative (though *Thom. Mag.* p. 238. 8 quotes this passage after remarking that poets καινοτομοῦσι in that use). Analysed it = 'who, rather, is more called upon?' Cf. *Suppl.* 285 Λιβυστικαῖς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμπερέστεραι | γυναιξὶν ἐστε ('rather, I should say, you are more like...'), *Eur. El.* 222 ἄλλους κτάνοιμι μᾶλλον ἐχθλοὺς σέθεν ('may I, rather, kill others, who are more hated'). For passages containing combined comparatives see *Plat. Phaed.* 79 E, *Gorg.* 487 D, *Eur. Hec.* 377, *Hipp.* 485, *Xen. Cyr.* 2. 4. 10, *Iophon fr.* 2 (τοσοῦτ' μᾶλλον ἡσσαν εἰσεται), *Ath.* 275 B.

ἐνδικώτερος: 'more fit and proper.' Again with basis δίκη = 'appropriate conduct' (594 n.).

ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις  
ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὡς τάχος  
κνημίδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων προβλήματα.

\*ΑΓ. μή, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, Οἰδίπου τέκος, γένῃ  
ὀργὴν ὁμοίους τῷ κάκιςτ' αὐδωμένῳ.  
ἀλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἄλλις  
ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν· αἶμα γὰρ καθάρσιμον.

665

663 πετρῶν M (but ε was previously accentuated). αἰχμὴν καὶ πετρῶν recd. Some editors omit the line, but ψ. 664—672 These lines are assigned in the MSS and

661 sq. ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων κ.τ.λ. To punctuate after this line and make the words depend on the previous ξυστήσομαι (with τίς...ἐνδοκώτερος parenthetic) leaves ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ rather weak. Moreover to say 'I will go and match myself—to whom is it more proper?—as leader against leader and brother against brother' is highly unnatural, since it is in no way ἐνδοκόν for brothers to fight. As punctuated, and as translated above, the text means 'we are public enemies in our commands, we are private enemies as brothers.'—σὺν...στήσομαι is so-called tmesis.

662 sq. φέρ' ὡς τάχος κ.τ.λ. Addressed to some attendant or to his attendants in general.—κνημίδας: He might have said 'Bring me my armour' (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 779 ἐκφέρετε τεύχη πάντοπλά τ' ἀμφιβλήματα), but the words are more precisely those which would be used in the circumstances. He is not yet armed, otherwise his κνημίδες would already have been upon his legs. On the contrary, he calls for that part of his armour which was always first donned by the epic warrior (and naturally so, since the body-armour prevented free stooping). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 369 κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμην ἐθηκεν (and then the θώρηξ), 3. 330, *Batrachom.* 124 κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτον ἐφήρμοσεν, [Hes.] *Scut.* 122 ὡς εἰπὼν κνημίδας ὀρειχάλκειο φαεινοῦ]...ἐθηκεν, δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα.

αἰχμῆς καὶ πέτρων κ.τ.λ. The shins were easily assailable, and not least with stones (*Il.* 4. 518 χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκρύοντι | κνήμην δεξιτερὴν ... | ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ τένοντε καὶ ὁστέα λάας ἀναιδῆς | ἀχρὺς ἀπηλόησεν). For the necessity of protecting them cf. *Od.* 24. 228, Alcaeus *fr.* 56. 4 λάμπραι κνήμεδες ἄρκος ἰσχύρω βέλεος. In *Il.* 21. 592 sqq. Agenor casts his javelin and smites Achil-

les on the shin, but the κνημὶς saves him (οὐδ' ἐπέρησε, θεοῦ δ' ἠρύκακε δῶρα). The obj. gen. is of a common type: cf. *Ag.* 938 σκιάν...Σειρίου κινός, *Soph. O. T.* 1200 θανάτων...πύργος, *Eur. Or.* 1488 θανάτου προβολάν, *Plat. Tim.* 74 η προβολή κανιμάτων, *Il.* 4. 137 μήτρης θ', ἣν ἐφόρειν, ἔρυμα χροός, ἔρκος ἀκόντων, *Ar. Rhod.* 4. 201 ἀσπίδας...ἔχμα βολάν. With προβλήματα itself cf. *Plat. Mor.* 691 D Γερμανοὶ μὲν οὖν κρόνος πρόβλημα ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐσθῆτα μόνον, *Ar. Vespr.* 615.

If it is asked why Aesch. adds this epic apposition to κνημίδας at all, the answer lies in the thought: 'bring me my greaves, to be ready for spear and stone, i.e. 'I will prepare myself for fight in every shape, but a man must protect himself.'

664—672 Lines 664—669 have always been given to the Chorus (i.e. the Coryphaeus) and 670—672 to Eteocles, but editors have been sorely puzzled to fit them with a natural sense. It will be observed that, except in the στιχομυθία and in the place (356—361) where the leaders of the two ἡμιχόρια speak three lines to each other, the part of the Chorus has always been lyrical. Nor does the Coryphaeus anywhere make a set speech. It is unnatural that one of the Theban women of the Chorus should take the position of a full actor and deliver a ῥῆσις to the king. The sentiments of the Chorus are sufficiently expressed in their proper lyrics (673 sqq.). The ascription of the speech here to the Chorus must have been due to the notion that there was no other character upon the stage, it having been assumed that the ἄγγελος had withdrawn at v. 639. But the Scout was still waiting for instructions as to the seventh gate, not expecting Eteocles himself to undertake it. The lines are therefore most naturally



to brother, it will be standing foe to foe. [*To an attendant.*] Bring me forthwith my greaves, to fend off spear and stone.

*Chorus*  
-SCOUT. No! son of Oedipus, of men most precious. Let not your temper grow wrong as his who speaks so wickedly. Nay, enough for Cadmeans to fight with men of Argos, for that bloodshed leaves no stain. But death like this, dealt one to

editions to two speakers, viz. 664—669 to the Chorus, 670—672 to Eteocles. Corr. \*ed. ↓. 667 χέρας M, corr. rec. καθάρσιον M, but the correction seems

put into his mouth. This creates no difficulty as far as v. 669. But, further, it would not only create no difficulty, it would on the contrary remove one of a very serious kind, if the following lines (670—672) were also assigned to him. After warning Eteocles that the pollution of deliberate fratricide is beyond purification, he continues, 'if any calamity were to happen to a man (*i.e.* if he meets his death), let it be without shame (such as would occur in this case), for that is the only advantage (of one over another) where dead men are concerned; but when calamity is combined with shame (as it would be in such a fight as yours), there is no good word to be said': *i.e.* if Eteocles is perchance to meet death, let him meet it elsewhere than in deliberate and shameful conflict with his brother. *αἰσχρὰ* (*turpia, prava*) are things morally wrong.

In the mouth of Eteocles the lines are practically unintelligible. It has been supposed that he is speaking of the 'disgrace' of refusing a challenge; but this is no answer to the question of pollution, and, if he means 'well, if such a misfortune (as the killing or being killed in polluted fratricide) is to come, let it come without cowardice on my part,' the remark implies a curious inconsequence and tangle of mind. Moreover if Eteocles has not spoken since v. 663, his next uncompromising speech (676) has more effect than if he had uttered the moralisings of 670—672. But the strongest arguments for the new ascription are to be found in (1) the simplification which results, (2) the unlikelihood that the set speech belonged to the Chorus.

664 Οἰδῖπου τέκος. Whereas φίλατ' ἀνδρῶν is the appeal of affection to the man, this is the appeal of respect to the king. Cf. 359. It is better not to assume any reference to the temper of the father as a warning to the son.

665 ὀργήν: 'temper and disposition,' wider than 'anger.'—τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ: viz. Polyneices, 'who utters such words of wickedness.'—αὐδωμένῳ is middle, as in *Cho.* 151 παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξανδωμένως, *Eum.* 383, *Soph. Aj.* 772 ὀτρύνουσά νιν | ἠύδατ' ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φούλιαν τρέπειν. The reference is to 620—625. [It would be extremely feeble to take τῷ as generic, whether with αὐδωμένῳ as middle or as passive. It is, again, very far-fetched to render 'him who bears the worst of names' (viz. Πολυνέκει). Nor can the sense be τῷ κάκιστα ὑπὸ σου αὐδωμένῳ (schol.), 'to him whom you so vehemently reproach.' A possible version is 'to one who is called κάκιστε,' *i.e.* a δυσγενής, ignorant of nobility and its obligations. This might add some point to the honorific Οἰδῖπου τέκος of the previous line. For αὐδᾶν so used cf. *Eur. And.* 19 Θεσσαλὸς δὲ νῦν λεῶς | Θερσίδειον αὐδᾶ, *Alexis ap. Ath.* 242 C ὁ παραμασήτης ἐν βροτοῖς αὐδῶμενος. But the rendering would be too far-drawn.]

666 sq. ἀλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι κ.τ.λ.: *i.e.* it is enough for the two armies to fight, they are foreigners to each other; we do not want Cadmean against Cadmean, still less when those Cadmeans are brothers. In ἅλις the thought is that matters can be decided 'sufficiently well' without any blood-pollution; there is no need for Eteocles to take the gate.

αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον of the MS can hardly be rendered (as by Verrall) 'for there is blood for cleansing.' To say nothing of the abruptness through the omission of the substantive verb ἔστι (not ἔστι), it is not the case that in a battle between foreigners the slayer needed purification by the ceremony of *Eum.* 452 (ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθάρσιον | σφαγαὶ καθαίμαξωσι νεοθῆλου βοτοῦ), *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 693—717, *Cho.* 1037 &c. Such purification is necessary only for homicide within the same tribe, or of

ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὦδ' αὐτοκτόνος,  
οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.  
εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ  
ἔστω· μόνον γάρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσιν·  
κακῶν δὲ καῖσυχρῶν οὕτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς.

670

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τί μέμονας, τέκνον; μήτι σε θυμοπλη-  
θῆς δορίμαργος ἄτα φερέτω· κακοῦ δ'  
ἔκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχάν.

675

ΕΤ. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεός,

necessary. ↓. **668** αὐτοκτόνος M, αὐτοκτόνος m'. ὦν Elmsley for ὦδ'. **670** φέρει recc. Some prefer the punctuation ...ἄτερ, | ἔστω· **671** κῦδος Pauw. ἐν m' and schol. εὐ Bücheler. μένει γὰρ κέρδος ἐν Heimsoeth. τεθνηκότε rec. **672** κ' αἰσχυρῶν M. εὐκλείαν M. εὐ κλύειν Lowinski. ↓. εὐκλείαν φέρεis Halm. **673** m' writes

a ξένος, or in some other circumstances creating a bond. Cf. Oracl. ap. Ael. V. H. 3. 44 ἐκτεινας τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀμύνων· οὐ σ' ἐμίανεν | αἷμα, πέλει δὲ χέρας καθα-  
ρώτερος ἢ πάρος ἦσθα, a passage which might rather indicate the meaning 'for the blood (so shed) is purifying blood' (viz. through being shed in a good cause). If we retain καθάρσιον it must be in this sense, since it cannot simply = καθαρὸν ('the bloodshed is pure'). But the notion is somewhat recondite, and it seems better to read \*καθάρσιμον (cf. βιώσιμος, ἀρνήσιμος, ἀλώσιμος, οἰκήσιμος &c.). This does not mean that any purgative process of the above ritual kind was needed, but simply that the blood could be washed off the hands, and there an end. It created no μiasma ἀκάθαρτον.

**668** ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν. The dual is effective, bringing the consideration down from the generalities of the plural to the particular case of two ('like you'). Stress lies on ὁμαίμοιν.—ὦδ' αὐτοκτόνος='in this deliberate spirit of murder.' There may be purification in some other instances of domestic homicide (cf. Eum. 281 μητροκτόνον μiasma δ' ἐκπλυνον πέλει). We may, if we choose, call the line a provisional nominative, but it is better to speak of it as an effective aposiopesis. Cf. Cho. 518 τὰ πάντα γάρ τις ἐκχέας ἀνθ' αἵματος | ἐνός, μάτην ὁ μόχθος, *ibid.* 1057 (n.), Eum. 100.

**669** οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας κ.τ.λ.: i.e. it remains always young and fresh (οὐ μαρ-  
νεται: cf. Eum. 280). Similarly Soph.

O. C. 954 θυμοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲν γῆρας ἔστιν ἄλλο πλὴν | θανεῖν. But there may be also a reference to γῆρας in the sense of the old skin sloughed off by a snake or other animal: cf. Theophr. fr. 177 (w) τοὺς ἀστακοὺς...ἐκδύεσθαι (φησι) τὸ γῆρας, Arist. H. A. 5. 17. 10 γῆρας ἐκδύειν, Aesch. fr. 45 καθαίρομαι δὲ γῆρας. So Eum. 286 χρόνος καθαίρει πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.

τοῦδε τοῦ: more emphatic than τοῦδε. For the thought cf. 721, Cho. 70 πρόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς ὁδοῦ | <φοι>βαίνοντες τὸν χερομυστὴ φόνον καταρπύοντες ἴθυσαν μάταν.

**670—672** εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις: a euphemism (=εἰ τι πάθαι τις) for 'if one were to be killed.' It was preferred to put such disagreeable suppositions in the remoter form of the optative as well as in the 3rd pers. rather than the 1st. Hence the apodosis ἔστω is natural grammar. For κακὸν=κακόν τι cf. Ag. 273 σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη κ.τ.λ., Soph. O. T. 516 εἰ...νὺν νομίζε πρὸς γ' ἐμοῦ πεπονθέναι | λόγουσιν εἴτ' ἐργοῖσιν εἰς βλάβην φέρον, Plat. Rep. 368 A θεῖον πεπόνθατε, Alexis ap. Ath. 74 F πρὸς μόχθηρον ἡδὺ προστεθέν | ἀπορεῖν πεποίηκε. [Some prefer to punctuate εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τις αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ, | ἔστω.]

μόνον γάρ κέρδος κ.τ.λ.: the only advantage which one dead man has over another is that of being well spoken of.—



other by two brethren of one blood—of that pollution there is no growing old.

If one should suffer harm, let it be free of shame; for that is all that boots when men are dead. But of harm that goes with shame what good word can you say? [*Exit SCOUT.*]

CHO. Child! What art thou set upon? Let not insensate lust of fight fill thy soul with wrath and carry thee away. Banish the wicked passion at its birth.

ET. Since Heaven with this urgency must have it so, let

η over ο of μέμονας (cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1264 where MSS give μέμνε for μέμονε). μήτις σε | θυμοπληθής M, corr. recc. 674 δορί μάργος M, corr. m'. M divides the line at φερέτω |. 675 ἔκβαλ' M<sup>a</sup>.

ἐν τεθνηκόσιν may be either (1) 'among dead men' (whose honour in the after-world depended on the manner of their death and burial, and on their estimation among the living: cf. *Cho.* 344—352, 483 and notes) or (2) 'in the case of dead men' (cf. *Ag.* 1451 τὸν αἰεὶ φέρονσ' ἐν αἰμῇ | Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, *Cho.* 951 n.). These meanings may, however, coalesce. The article is absent when the sense is hypothetical rather than generic, i.e. ἡν τεθνηκότες τινὲς ὦσι. Cf. 611 (n.), and for this (frequent) use of the anarthrous plural, *Ag.* 39 μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κού μαθοῦσι λήθομαι, 59 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινόν (= εἰ τινες παρέβησαν), *frag. adesp.* 414. 2 καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κὰν κακοῖσι κειμένων | σοφὴ κέκλημαι.

672 κακῶν δὲ κᾶσχροῶν: deeds which are ἅμα κακὰ καὶ αἰσχροτά. Cf. Theogn. 608 αἰσχρὸν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακόν, ἀμφοτέρων, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 102 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ κακόν, 756 κακῶς πέπρακται κἀπὶ τοῖς κακοῖσι πρὸς | αἰσχιστά. The words should not be taken as masculine.

οὗτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς. The 2nd pers. is generic and might have been expressed by εἵποις ἄν (*dicas*): cf. 706, Herond. 4. 28 οὐκ ἐρεῖς αὐτήν, | ἡν μὴ λάβῃ τὸ μῆλον, ἐκ τάχα ψύξει; *ibid.* 32. For simple accus. with ἐρεῖς cf. *Suppl.* 918 οὐκ ἐρεῖτ' ἀναρχίαν. For εὐκλείαν see 389 ἀνολά (n.) and 893 ἀμεμφεία. [The correction φέρεῖς is not required, but would be easy and good in itself, the act. being used in the sense of 'obtain,' 'carry off.' Cf. Theogn. 201 φέρειν κέρδος, Soph. *Aj.* 436 πᾶσαν εὐκλείαν φέρων, O. T. 590 ἐκ σού

πάντ' ἀνευ φόβου φέρω, Eur. *Hel.* 66, *fr.* 65. 3. Cf. 193 n.]

673 sq. τέκνον: an indication of the age of some portion of the Chorus. See note to the ὑπόθεσις.—θυμοπληθής: either (1) so full of passion that there is no room for the reason, or less well (2) 'filling thy soul' (cf. χειροπληθής).—δορί-μαργος: 367 (n.).—φερέτω: 'carry you away,' as in *P. V.* 909 ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης | πνεύματι μάργῳ, Plut. *Cor.* 34 ὥσπερ ὑπὸ βρέματος φέρεσθαι τοῦ πάθους, or with a different metaphor or agency *Cho.* 1021 ἐξωτέρω φέρονσι γὰρ νικώμενον | φρένες δὺσαρκτοι, Soph. *El.* 724 ἀστομοὶ | πῶλοι βία φέρονσιν.

675 ἔκβαλ'...ἀρχάν=principiis obsta.—ἔρωτος: used of any passionate desire: cf. *Cho.* 595 (n.). Philodem. *de Mus.* (Kenke p. 81) σιωπῶ γὰρ τὸ πᾶσαν ὀρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἔρωτα καλεῖσθαι.

676 τὸ πρᾶγμα...θεός. θεός is emphatic; it is Heaven which has taken in hand the 'business' (*causam*, cf. 586) and is pressing it on. In view of the following lines it should be noted that ἐπισπέρχειν is used of winds (*Od.* 5. 304 ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι | παντοίων ἀνέμων) and was perhaps a mariner's word. Cf. also Ap. Rhod. 3. 345 ἴσον δ' ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει (sc. ἡ ναῦς) καὶ δὲ ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ | νωλεμέως χεῖρεσσιν ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἐρετμοῖς. [This, with the etymologising reference so often found in κάρτα, might possibly suggest a supposed connection of θεός with θέειν (as in Plat. *Crat.* 397 c); but probably this is too subtle, and κάρτα simply='beyond doubt.']

ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν  
Φοῖβω στυγῆθ' ἐν πᾶν τὸ Λαίου γένος.

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν ἕμερος ἐξοτρύ-  
νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν  
αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

680

ΕΤ. φίλου γὰρ αἰσχροῖ μοι πατρός τελεῖν ἄρα

679 sq. The compiler of the schol. (q.v.) apparently had in his text ὁ δ' ἀμαθὴς and πικρόκαρπος, while σε was absent (Paley). He may also have had ἀντικτασίαν or αὐτοκτασίαν. 679 m' writes ἐπ' over ἐξ-. 680 ἀνδροκτασίαν M, ἀνδροκλασίαν

677 sq. ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κ.τ.λ. The metaphor is from a ship, but it is not clear whether the subject is γένος or κῦμα, and whether we should punctuate ἴτω κατ' οὖρον, κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν, | Φοῖβω κ.τ.λ. or ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ, λαχόν | Φοῖβω κ.τ.λ. We may thus render (1) 'let all the race, loathed by Phoebus, go down the wind, finding for its portion the wave of Cocytus,' or (2) 'let the current of C. go on with the wind, carrying with it, as loathed by Ph., all the race.' It happens that λαχόν is suitable either way, whether of the person who meets a fate, or of the destiny or deity obtaining control. The latter is distinctly the more familiar: cf. Theoc. 4. 40 σκληρῷ μάλα δαίμονος, ὅς με λε-λόγχει, Plat. Phaed. 107 D ὁ δαίμων ὅστις ζῶντα εἰλήχει, Il. 23. 78 κήρ... ἥπερ λάχε γενόμενόν περ, Matron ap. Ath. 698 A Κλεόνικος, ὃν ἀθάνατον λάχε γῆρας, Anth. Pal. 9. 546 κῆν πρύμνη λαχέτω μέ ποτε στιβάς. On the other hand Pind. P. 5. 96 λαχόντες αἶδαν is very apposite here, and in point of sense we may compare e.g. Soph. O. T. 423 εὐπλοίας τυχών. The rhythm also makes for the former interpretation, and on the whole it appears more natural to speak of the race as going κατ' οὖρον.—ἴτω κατ' οὖρον: cf. Soph. Tr. 467 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν | ρέιτω κατ' οὖρον, Ag. Thesm. 1226 τρέχε νῦν κατὰ τοὺς κόρακας ἐπουρίσας, Eur. Tro. 102 πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμῶν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα, | μηδὲ προσίστιν πρῶραν βίον | πρὸς κῦμα, Ag. Eq. 432 ἀφήσω | κατὰ κύμα' ἐμεινὸν οὖριον. The thought is prompted by φερέτω of v. 674.—κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ is not merely ῥέυμα K., but the water swells into a 'billow,' which goes with the direction of the wind. In fact κῦμα K. practically = Κωκυτὸν κυμαίνοντα (cf. 475 n.),

'Cocytus in high wave.' There is of course a blending of reference to a literal κωκυτός and to the river of Death; hence the choice of Cocytus rather than Acheron. The notion of this river as a stream (not here to be crossed but) to carry one away was apparently proverbial. Cf. Plut. Mor. 106 F ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς ποταμός (opposed to ὁ τῆς γενέσεως), εἰτ' Ἀχέρων εἴτε Κωκυτός καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, Anth. Pal. 7. 12. 3 πλατὺ κῦμα καμόντων.—Φοῖβω στυγῆθ' the tense as in P. V. 45 ὦ πολλὰ μισθῆῖσα χειρωναξία. The hate (with its manifestation implied in στυγεῖν, 221 (n.)) was derived from the time when Laius disobeyed the oracle of Apollo (cf. 728 sqq.). Hence the mention of Laius rather than Oedipus.—Φοῖβω, rather than Δοξία or Ἀπόλλωνι, is required for the antithesis implied between the dark world of Cocytus and the light of day, the sense of φοῖβος as 'bright' being still poetically current (P. V. 22, Bacchyl. 13. 106, Cho. 32).—πᾶν must be uttered with emphasis.

679—681 ὠμοδακῆς... ἕμερος: 'a desire for biting raw flesh.' In the first instance this suggests the mad passion of Hom. Il. 4. 34 εἰ δὲ σὺ... ὦμόν βεβρώ-θοις Πρίλαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας | ...τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο, 24. 212 (Hecuba) τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἦπαρ ἔχοιμι | ἐσθέμεναι προσφύσα (which expresses πικρία βάρβαρος καὶ θηριώδης schol.), *ibid.* 346 αἶ γάρ πως αὐτὸν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνέλῃ | ὦμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἐδμεναι, οἷά μ' ἔοργας. In Xen. Hell. 3. 3. 6 οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρίπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἀν καὶ ὦμόν ἐσθιεν αὐτῶν and An. 4. 8. 14 we have a deliberate semi-humorous hyperbole. Cf. also Soph. fr. 731. 5 οὐδ' ὥς πρὸ Θηβῶν ὠμοβρώς ἐδάισατο | τὸν Ἀστιάκειον παῖδα (sc. Τυδείδης), Eur. fr. 537 εἰς



whole race of Laius go down the wind, caught by Cocytus' with Phoebus' hate upon it.

Too fierce thy appetite, that drives thee to a rite bitter and raw of taste, where man is victim and the blood is blood unlawful.

ET. Aye, for the hideous Curse—an own father's curse—

ἀνδροπασίαν is possible. †. 682 ἐχθρά recc. (a common confusion; cf. MSS of Eur. Alc. 1037). τελεῖ M, τελεῖα m, τελε' recc. Corr. Turnebus. †. τέλειαν Woodsworth, μέλειαν Weil. It would be possible, but less near, to read ἐχθρα... τέλειαν δρᾶ.

ἀνδροβρώτας ἡδονὰς ἀφίξομαι, Plut. Mor. 462 π ὠμωσθῆν καὶ μαινόλῃν.

The notion of eating raw flesh then suggests to Aesch. the Orphic ὠμοφαγία, and in terms adapted thereto the Chorus says that passion urges Eteocles to offer a human victim (cf. τελεῖν θυσίαν, ierá, Eur. fr. 475. 11 τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελέσας) as if designing to use his flesh in the raw-eating rites. The same suggestion exists in Eur. H. F. 889, where λυσσάδες ὠμοβρώτες δίκαι (in the madness of Heracles) result in οὐ Βρομῷ κεχαρισμένα θύσσω... αἵματα (i.e. blood of a strange and unallowable kind for the ὠμοφαγία). In ἀνδροκτασίαν there is thus stress on the first element of the compound (cf. ἀνδροδάκτυς Cho. 859), the point being repeated in οὐ θεμιστόν. It is to be an ἀνδροκτασία, not a βουκτασία or ταυροκτασία. In point of construction αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ depends upon -κτασίαν: 'the slaying (i.e. shedding) of unlawful blood, the blood of a man.' Greek says κτελεῖν αἷμα (contained acc.), and ἀνδροκτονεῖν αἷμ' οὐ θεμιστόν is no unnatural extension. For the ὠμοφαγία in Bacchic and Orphic ceremonies see Harrison Proleg. to Gk. Religion pp. 479 sqq., and Plut. de def. orac. 14 (where the 'eating of raw flesh' and the 'tearing to pieces' are named). [Since the reading ἀνδροκτασίαν is not certain, and since πατέομαι is used of tasting either flesh or blood (Soph. Ant. 102 ἠθέλησε δ' αἵματος | κοινοῦ πάσασθαι), it is possible that ἀνδροκτασίαν is correct. This, however, makes no material difference to the passage.]—πικρόκαρπον: not simply 'bitter' (=to your sorrow) in its consequence, but with the literal implication of the bitter taste, like that of unripe fruit.

682 sq. φίλον γὰρ αἰσχρὰ κ.τ.λ.: 'yes, for the curse of my father is pressing me to perform it.' The usual alterations

of τελεῖ of M (crit. n.) are improbable, and the true reading should have been established by v. 680. The only emendation needed is τελεῖ for τελεῖ. Eteocles takes up the τελεῖν of the Chorus. The infin. (in prose normally accompanied by ὥστε) follows the sense of προσίζειν, as if it were ὀτρύνει (resumed in 685) or κελεύει. Such an infinitive (strictly = 'for the accomplishing') is not rare: cf. 611 (n.). The notion in προσίζειν is that of besieging or obsession, and the word (or its cognates) is a vox propria of such haunting: cf. Ag. 1187 καὶ μὴ πεπωκὺς γ', ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον, | βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει, | δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἑρινύων | ὕμνοισι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι, Porphyg. de philos. ex orac. haug. p. 149 σιτουμένων γὰρ ἡμῶν προσιᾶσι καὶ προσίζανουσι (sc. the Keres-Erinyes), Plut. Mor. 551 D οἱ οὐκ ἀτρεπτος ἡ κακία πέφυκε προσίζανειν.

ἐχθρά (recc.) for αἰσχρά (M) is plausible, and the confusion is not rare. It is natural to appreciate (and over-appreciate) the antithesis φίλου... ἐχθρά. But αἰσχρά, whether as fem. ('ugly' or 'shameful,' or both), or as neut. object to τελεῖν, is readily translatable. We may perhaps dismiss the neuter with the reflections (1) that τελεῖν, in answer to v. 680, is better left without an object, (2) that the position points to the antithesis φίλου πατρός) (αἰσχρά ἀρά. This is less mechanical than φίλου) (ἐχθρά.—αἰσχρά in fact combines the thoughts (1) of the 'shameful and wrong' curse uttered by a father whom nature meant to be φίλος, (2) of the mental picture of the embodied Curse, the haunting fiend, with its 'ugly' face and dry hard eyes. The ugliness of all forms of Κῆρες is apparent in the representations in art (cf. μέλαινα δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι Eum. 52).—φίλου expresses relationship ('own,' 'near') but

ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει,  
λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρον.

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρύνου· κακὸς οὐ κεκλή-  
ση βίον εὖ κυρήσας· μελάναιγίς οὐκ  
εἴσι δόμων Ἐρινύς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν  
θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται;

685

ΕΤ. θεοὺς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα,  
χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θαυμάζεται.  
τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον;

690

683 ἀκλαύτοις marg. Ald. ↓. ἀκλαντος Butler. ὄμμασι M. 684 μόρον M, corr. recc. ↓. 685 M divides at κεκλήση|. The sign for ΧΟ. comes from m, M having only the paragraphus. 686 βίου Hartung. μελαναιγίς δ' οὐκ M (sic). Corr. \*ed. with

not necessarily affection (*Cho.* 109). When the expected affection is not present a qualifying antithesis (or expression of oxymoron) is frequent; e.g. *Ag.* 1271 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, *Cho.* 233 τοῖς φιλότατοις γὰρ οἶδα νῦν ὄντας πικροῦς, *Eur. Phoen.* 1446 φίλος γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετ', ἀλλ' ὅμως φίλος. That antithesis is given here with fuller contents of meaning than in the bare ἐχθρά.

683 ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν: circumstantial dative. The notion is of hardness and pitilessness. The 'dry' eye may be such from fearlessness (*Hor. Cd.* i. 3. 18 *qui siccis oculis monstra natantia...vidit*), or pitilessness, or madness (*Eur. Or.* 389 δεινὸν δὲ λείσσεις ὀμμάτων ξηραῖς κόραις). The last is out of the question here, the meaning being defined by ἀκλαύστοις. The words complete the picture of the 'ugly' Ara. The glare of fiends is proverbial. It is not possible to keep apart the meanings of ἀκλαντος and ἀκλαντος (see Jebb on *Soph. O. T.* 361 and cf. *Cho.* 698 n.). [Otherwise we may render 'haunts my eyes, which are dry and cannot weep'; but this is obviously less apt, and is somewhat against the order of the words taken as a whole.]

684 λέγουσα κέρδος κ.τ.λ. The sense is manifestly 'declaring that an earlier death, rather than a late, is a gain.' Death is better than protracted misery: cf. 691, *Soph. Anti.* 461 εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου | πρόσθεν θανοῦμαι, κέρδος αὐτ' ἐγὼ λέγω, *El.* 1485 τί γὰρ βροτῶν ἂν σὺν κακοῖς μεμειγμένων | θνήσκειν ὁ μέλλων τοῦ χρόνου κέρδος φέροι; *Eur. Hipp.* 1047 ταχὺς γὰρ Ἀἰδης ῥᾶστος ἀνδρὶ δυστυχεῖ.

With μόρον the grammar is simple: 'a death earlier than a later one,' and the fullness of expression is not un-Greek (*Eur. Andr.* 392 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείς | πρὸς τὴν τελευτὴν ὑστέραν οὖσαν φέρη). With μόρον (which owes its shape only to the preceding ὑστέρου) the meaning and construction are quite obscured. [The version 'telling me of gain (*i.e.* the glory in the slaying of Polyneices) to precede the death which follows' is not much to the point of the context, nor is such a dry analysis of the situation suited to the passionate state of Eteocles. We might render λέγουσα as 'counting' (the gain first), but this hardly improves matters.]

685 sq. μὴ 'ποτρύνου: referring to προσιζάνει (683).—κακὸς οὐ κεκλήση: 'you will not bear the name of coward.' The pride of Eteocles urges him to answer his brother's challenge, and the Chorus argues (cf. 703) that it is not κακία to refuse such an undertaking from sound prudential motives and when the result is victory. The proverb 'all's well that ends well' or 'nothing succeeds like success' is known to Greek in the form ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ (*Theogn.* 169). Somewhat like is *Pind. N.* i. 10 ἐστὶ δ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ | πανδοξίας ἄκρον.—βίον εὖ κυρήσας: *i.e.* when fortune approves your course (τιμὰ θεός 703). The accus. with κυρεῖν is not confined to such neut. pronouns and adjectives as may be considered 'contained accus.' (e.g. *Cho.* 710 κακεῖ κυρούντων δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα, *Theoc.* 3. 51 ὅς τοσσὴν' ἐκύρησεν, ὅς οὐ πενσεῖσθε βέβαλοι), but has a wider use of 'falling in with':

Hero



with eyes too hard for tears, besets me to fulfil it. 'The earlier death comes, the more the gain,' saith she.

CHO. Nay, let urging move not thee. Let thy life prosper, and none will call thee craven. Will not the black-cloaked Hauntress of the house be gone, when the Gods accept oblation at thy hands?

ET. The Gods! Already, methinks, all care from them is past, and the service of ours they prize is that we perish. Why any longer then cringe at the doom that ends us?

question-mark added (μελάναιγεις Arnald). ψ. ἐκ δ' Weil. 687 δόμον recc. δόμους Brunck. οὐτ' ἂν M, οὐτ' ἂν m and schol. 689 m' supplies the sign for Eteocles, M

cf. Eur. *Hec.* 698 ἐπ' ἀκταῖς νιν κυρῶ θαλασσίαις, *Rhes.* 113 εἰ μὴ κυρήσεις πολεμῖος ἀπὸ χθονὸς φεύγοντας, *ibid.* 695. Here βίον is easier, since it may be regarded either as cognate or as accus. of respect. The word includes material prosperity, which will enable him to offer the (liberal) sacrifices next mentioned.

686 sqq. μελάναιγεις οὐκ κ.τ.λ. When the interrogation sign had been omitted, δ' was inserted to the confusion of the sense. The thought is that of *Cho.* 963 τάχα δὲ παντέλης χρόνος ἀμείβεται | πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας | μύσος ἅπαν ἐλάσῃ καθαρμοῖς ἄρ' ἂν λυτήριον, Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 D, E. The sentiment is general: 'one who is rich and prosperous can always offer sacrifices of ἀποπομπή, so long as his hands are undefiled.'—δέχονται is not simply λαμβάνωσι. The gods will not 'accept' offerings from a polluted hand (*Cho.* 72 χειρομυσῆ, *Ag.* 769 σὺν πίνῳ χειρῶν). In μελάναιγεις the poet is thinking of the representations in art, in which the Erinyes wear over the tunic a skin (αἰγίς), sometimes fastened at the waist with a knot of snakes. See illustrations in Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* pp. 225 sqq. This may be symbolic of these mysterious powers moving in the darkness and perhaps the storm (Hom. *Il.* 9. 571 ἡεροφύοιτις Ἑρῆνυς).

689 θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη κ.τ.λ. θεοῖς is stressed in reply to θεοί of the last line: 'as for the gods you speak of....' For the thought cf. Soph. *O. C.* 385 ἤδη γὰρ ἔσχατος ἐλπίδ' ὡς ἐμοῦ θεοῖς | ὤραν τιν' ἔξειν, ὥστε σωθῆναι ποτε;—ἤδη: the hope suggested is past, the refusal of the gods to notice him or his brother has 'already' occurred.—πως lends a certain lingering qualification to the positiveness of this assertion. The plural used through-

out the passage and emphasised in ἡμῶν must refer to both members of the λαῶν γένους (678), Οἰδῶν γένους (641). Elsewhere Et. speaks of himself in the singular.

690 χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.: 'and the way in which we can please them is by—perishing.' Eteocles does not say with the bitterness of Ajax (Soph. *Aj.* 589) οὐ κατοίσθ' ἐγὼ θεοῖς | ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρκεῖν εἰμ' ὀφειλέτης ἔτι; (with which cf. *P. V.* 1017). Rather it is in despair that he argues 'no right action in this matter, no sacrifice, will move them; they set a value only on our death'—τὸ δλέσθαι ἡμᾶς (μόνον) θαυμάζεται ὡς χάρις.—θαυμάζεται, as often, = τιμᾶται: cf. Eur. *El.* 84 μόνον δ' Ὀρέστην τόνδ' ἐθαύμαζες φίλων, *Med.* 1144, Thuc. 1. 38. For χάρις of a service procuring gratitude cf. Soph. *O. C.* 779 εἰ... | πλήρη δ' ἔχοντι θυμὸν ὧν χρήσις, τότε | δωροῖθ', δτ' οὐδὲν ἡ χάρις χάριν φέρει.—δόλομένων in grammar is hypothetical (= ἦν δλώμεθα, εἰ δλώμεθα), with the apod. in the lively indic. present. For the absence of μόνον cf. Plat. *Rep.* 357 A τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὡς εἰκοι, προοίμιον and *ibid.* 352 C (n.). [The rendering (1) 'and gratitude from us, who have been abandoned, is a matter of wonder (to the gods)' is weak and lacks connection with the following line; (2) 'and the service rendered by our death is (= will be) prized (by the citizens)' is too far-fetched for the Greek in the absence of ὑπ' ἀστών, nor is it clear that this is the particular service which the country would most prize.]

691 τί οὖν κ.τ.λ.: since the Gods wait only for our death, why seek to delay it? (cf. 684). For hiatus in τί οὖν see 192 (n.), and for σάινοιμεν 370 (n.).—τί... ἂν σάινοιμεν; is not identical with τί

ἀντ. β'. ΧΟ. νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρ', εἵκε· δαίμων ἐπεὶ  
λήματος ἂν τροπαία χρονία μεταλ-  
λακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θελεμωτέρῳ  
πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ.

695

ΕΤ. ἐξέξεσαν γὰρ Οἰδίπου κατεύγματα·  
ἄγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων  
ὄψεις, πατρῶων χρημάτων δατήριον.

ΧΟ. πείθου γυναιξίν, καίπερ οὐ στέργων ὄμω.

ΕΤ. λέγοιτ' ἂν ὦν ἄνη τις· οὐδὲ χρή μακράν.

700

ΧΟ. μὴ 'λθης ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις.

having the paragraphus.

692 νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέσταν· ἐπεὶ δαίμων M, with ζτ in marg. Corr. \*ed. ↓. An alternative νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρεστ', εἵκ'· ἔτι δαιμόνων | λήματος ἂν τροπαία is perhaps not so good. ἐπεὶ δόμων Ellis, ἐπεὶ κλύδων Hermann.

693 ἀντροπαία χρονία M, ἀντροπαία χρόνια m. ἂν τροπαία Heath, αὐ τροπαία Paley,

σαίνωμεν; but='why should we be deprecating (supposing we were to deprecate)?'—*δλέθριον μόρον*. Since *μός* is always 'death' in tragedy (*Cho.* 8 n.), and therefore an *δλεθρος*, the adj. must refer to the previous *δλομένων* ('the death that does so end us').

692 νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέσταν of M is commonly defended (as a more emphatic form of νῦν σοι π.) by the doubtful νῦν ὅτε καὶ θεοὶ διογενεῖς κλύοιτε of *Suppl.* 638, with which are compared the Latin *nunc cum maxime* and the much easier *nunc id est quom* (Plaut. *Rud.* 664). Even granting the possibility of such an expression, perhaps conceivable as a formula of urgency, it is hard to see what fitness there is in 'now is it present to you.' If the subject is *μός*, the sentence has no relevance to the argument, although the expression itself may be good (Hom. *Il.* 16. 852 ἀλλά τοι ἦδη | ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος, Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 56 τοῦ θανάτου παρῆσθηκός, Herond. 1. 16 χῆ σκῆ παρῆσθηκεν). If again *παρέσταν*=*πάρεστι*, *ἔξεστι* the use is hard to support (Thuc. 1. 133 *παρῆσθηκός* is the only instance quoted, but see Poppo-Stahl), and there is scarcely an appreciable sense. If, retaining a proper force in *ὅτε*, we render 'now (avoid death), when the occasion has come' the words are more naive than consequent. Of two emendations which suggest themselves the one given in the text is preferred to an alternative νῦν, ὅτε σοι πάρεστ', εἵκ'· ἔτι δαιμόνων | λήματος ἂν τροπαία χρονία κ.τ.λ. (1) as keeping *δαίμων* and *ἐπεὶ*

and assuming only the transposition which is rather frequent in the lyrics of this play, (2) as leaving *δαίμων* in the sing., of the specific 'evil genius,' (3) as avoiding the pleonastic *τροπαία μεταλλεκτὸς* (although the gender of the participial adj. is good; cf. *Cho.* 22 (n.) and add Eur. *Suppl.* 578 *λόγῃ σπαρτός*, Soph. *Tr.* 163 *μοῖραν...διαρετόν*).—*δαίμων* is not generic, but 'your attendant genius.' Cf. *Pers.* 604, *Ag.* 1663, *Cho.* 511, Menand. *inc.* 18 *ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται*.

693 sq. *τροπαία*: originally *τροπαία πνοή* or *αἶρα*. Cf. *Ag.* 229 *φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν*, *Cho.* 771, Eur. *El.* 1147 *μετάτροποι πνέουσιν αἶραι δόμων*. The same thought (with *λήμα* and *χρόνος*) in Eur. *Herac.* 702 *λήμα μὲν οὐπω στόρνυσι χρόνος | τὸ δόν*. Among the seafaring Athenians such metaphors from favouring or contrary winds were naturally very common, e.g. *Cho.* 391, Eur. *H. F.* 216 *ὅταν θεὸς σοι πνεῦμα μεταβαλὼν τύχη*, Soph. *O. C.* 612, *Ant.* 929: cf. *πνέει χάριν, ὀργήν* &c. The repetition of *ἂν* with the verb, when it has already occurred towards the beginning of the clause, should never have been suspected: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 155 *κατὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐμοῦ | τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι*; and even without such separation Soph. *O. T.* 446, *ibid.* 139. For *ἂν...ἔλθοι* of a defensible expectation see *Cho.* 463 (n.) and add Eur. *H. F.* 97 *ἔλθοι τ' ἐτ' ἂν παῖς οὐμός*, Ar. *Thesm.* 528, Pind. *O.* 2. 20, Soph. *Aj.* 186.

*θελεμωτέρῳ* (Conington) is based on



CHO. Now, while thou mayest, yield! For the mood of the bad Genius may haply veer at last. It may change, and blow with milder breath. But now it is aboil.

ET. Aye, set aboil by Oedipus and his curses. All too true are the visions that haunt my dreams and apportion our father's substance.

CHO. Take a woman's counsel, although thou like it not.

ET. Say on, but to a purpose, and no long speech withal.

CHO. Go not where thou art going! Not to the seventh gate!

ἐν τροπαίᾳ Ald. ↓. M divides at μεταλλακτὸς |.

694 θαλωτέρω M, θαλερωτέρω m. ↓. θελεμωτέρω Conington (cf. *Suppl.* 1038 θελεμὸν (M), θαλερόν (P)). χαλαρωτέρω Hermann.

697 φασμάτων ἐνυπνίων recc.

698 δωτήρι\*\* M, δωτήρι\*\* M<sup>a</sup>, δωτήριοι m.

ΔΑ over δο m. 699 πιθοῦ Blomfield. ↓. 700 τίς M, τίς m' (superscr.).

μακρὰ Robertello.

700—703 With paragr. only in M.

701 The accus.

Hesych. θελεμὸν ἥσυχον (also οἰκτρὸν). Cf. *Suppl.* 1038 θελεμὸν πῶμα, where cod. Par. again has θαλερόν. Arcadius (61. 3) says τὸ δὲ θελεμὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ θελημὸς, and Bacchyl. (17. 84) has πόντιον τέ νιν | δέξατο θελημὸν ἄλσος. The sense 'gentle' exactly suits the opposition to ζῆ. [If θαλερωτέρω has any apposite sense it is that of 'more wholesome'.]

695 ζῆ. It is not certain whether the subject is δαίμων or λῆμα. The sense amounts to the same, but the latter is preferable: cf. Soph. *O. C.* 434 ὀπηνίκ' ἔξει θυμὸς (and context). Similar in thought is Eur. *Med.* 128 μείζους δ' ἅτας δταν ὀργισθῇ | δαίμων οἴκοις ἀπέδωκεν. It should be noted that ζεῖ glances also at a boiling sea (Hdt. 7. 188 τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης).

696 ἐξέεισαν: sc. τὸ λῆμα or τὸν δαίμονα. The trans. use (e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 840 Νέσσον... κέντρ' ἐπέεισαντα, Eur. *I. T.* 987 δεινὴ τις ὄργη δαιμόνων ἐπέεισε | τὸ Ταντάλειον σπέρμα, Ap. Rhod. 4. 391, Babr. 1. 95. 60 χολὴ δ' ἐπέζει καρδίην) is not confined to the compounds, but is found in the aor. of the simple verb (Antiph. *ap.* Ath. 295 D, Dionys. Com. *ibid.* 381 D) and in the imperf. in Ap. Rhod. 3. 273 τοὶ δὲ λῶετρα πυρὶ ζέον. For the use of the plur. after neut. cf. *Pers.* 861 νομίματα... ἐπηθύονον, Kühner-Gerth 1. pp. 65 sq., Gildersleeve *Gk. Synt.* § 102. The intention of the line is 'the curses of Oed. set it boiling, and only their fulfilment can make it cease.'

697 ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων κ.τ.λ. The present play has said nothing of these dreams, but Hermann is probably right in supposing that they had been mentioned in the middle play of the

trilogy. They would naturally be derived from the epic. Terrifying dreams are one of the agencies of the Erinyes (*Cho.* 287) and other nether powers: cf. Hippoc. *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου* p. 133. 20. 'The visions dividing our father's substance' = the visions relating to the manner in which it should be divided. They doubtless concerned the 'Scythian stranger' who was the δατητής (see 714 sqq., 801 sq.).

699 πείθου γυναιξίν: i.e. though we are but women, our advice is good. Cf. *Ag.* 360 τοιαυτὰ τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις, Eur. *Suppl.* 294 ὡς πολλὰ γ' ἐστὶ κάπὸ θηλειῶν σοφά, *Hel.* 1049 ἀκούσον, ἦν τι καὶ γυνὴ λέξῃ σόφον.—πείθου is better than πιθοῦ since the concession will require some effort.—καίπερ οὐ στέργων: either (1) 'though the advice is against your wishes,' or (2) 'though you do not like to accept the advice of women' (cf. 216—218). The former is the more natural.—οὐ, going closely with στέργων, is not affected by the imperative.

700 ἀνῆ=ἀνυσίς καὶ πράξις (Hesych.) and Bacchyl. (5. 162) has οὐ... τίς ἐστὶν | πράξις τάδε μυρομένοις. Cf. Theogn. 461 μήποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοις νόον ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοίνα, | χρήμασι τῶν ἀνυσίς γίνεται οὐδεμία. The word ἀνῆ itself occurs in Alcman *fr.* 29 ἀνα καὶ τέλος, Callim. *Hymn.* *Ion.* 89, probably in *Cho.* 955 (n.), and should be read *inf.* 900.

701 μὴ ἄθης. Though the orthography (this or μὴ ἔλθης) is varied, the pronunciation is a synecphonesis. Cf. Soph. *Ph.* 985 ἦν μὴ ἔρπης ἐκῶν, *Ant.* 33 τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσιν, Eur. *Suppl.* 362 ὅστις μὴ ἀντιδοῦλεῖ, *I. T.* 1322 μὴ ἐν-

ET. τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ.

XO. νίκην γε μέντοι καὶ κακὴν τιμῇ θεός.

ET. οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην τοῦτο χρὴ στέργειν ἔπος.

XO. ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἷμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις;

705

ET. θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.

στρ. α'. XO. πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεσίοικον  
θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,  
παναλαθῇ κακόμαντιν,  
πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἐρινὺν

710

ἐβδόμας πύλας should not be substituted. ↓. 703 καλὴν rec. ↓. κού κάκην Bourdelot. καὶ κάκης is possible, but the text can hardly be improved. 706 M has

ταῦθα.—σὺ is appealing, not for αὐτὸς σὺ (as opposed to some other champion).—ἐφ' ἐβδόμας πύλαις: either (1) 'to take charge of the gate,' 'for the protection of...' or (2), by an old usage, in place of the accus.: cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 327 νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῶν ἐλαυνόμεν, Soph. *fr.* 369 σὺνδὲ μέγιστον χρῆμ' ἐπ' Οἰνέως γύαις | ἀνῆκε, Eur. *Phoen.* 1129 Καπανεὺς προσ- ἔγγε λόχον ἐπ' Ἡλέκτρας πύλαις. The point of ἐβδόμας (stressed) is that he may choose some other.

702 λόγῳ: with emphasis. With the expression cf. Eur. *Or.* 1625 λῆμα... τεθηγμένον, Plut. *Dem.* 12. 3 τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀμβλύναι πικρίαν, Shak. *Hamlet*. 3. 4. 107 *This visitation | Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.*—τοί 'marks that the phrase is a proverb applied to the present case' (Verrall). If so, the Chorus answers one proverb with another.

703 νίκην γε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.: 'Victory, so long as it is victory, even if it is won without daring (with yielding), bears the approval of Heaven.' The fact that a victory is such, no matter how it is won, is sufficient proof that Heaven approves the act; otherwise the success would not be gained, since the *τύχη* on which it depends is dispensed by the gods. Cf. 612 θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτοῦς. The sentiment that nothing succeeds like success has occurred in 685 (n.): cf. also 1038 (n.), Eur. *Phoen.* 721 καὶ μὴν τὸ νικᾶν ἐστὶ πᾶν εὐβουλία (according to one interpretation). The sentence is a γνῶμη, and it is not implied that the refraining of Eteocles would actually be cowardice or dishonour. 'But, since victory, even

without honour, is approved, a mere abstaining like yours, if you win by it, will do you no hurt.' The line carries on their advice of v. 701. The defeat of the Argives and of Polyn., without a fray between the brothers, will be just as much a victory.—θεός is emphatic: ('whatever men may think or say'). For the phrase cf. *fr.* 302 ψευδῶν δὲ καιρὸν ἔσθ' ὅπου τιμῇ θεός.

704 οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην κ.τ.λ.: Soph. *El.* 401 ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τᾶπρὸς κακῶν ἐπαίνεσαι.

705 αἷμα δρέψασθαι. The primary notion in δρέπειν is that of plucking fruit; in the middle of plucking and enjoying. But from the thought of fruit comes particularly the thought of the juices of the fruit (Plut. *Mor.* 646 B τοὺς χυμοὺς δρέπεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύειν). Hence such phrases as the present and Bion 1. 22 αἱ δὲ βάτοι νιν | ἐρχομέναν τείροντι καὶ ἱερὸν αἷμα δρέπονται. When a fruit is plucked, its life is ended; when the blood δρέπεται, the result is the same. Hence the total contents of the expression are 'to drain your brother's life-blood for your own satisfaction.' [Verrall understands the word as 'pluck as a prize.']

706 οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις = οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις τις. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 155, *Ant.* 476, Pseudo-Plut. *de vit. et poes. Hom.* § 57 καὶ ἕτερον δ' εἶδος ἀποστροφῆς ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον: 'Τυδεΐδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετεῖν.' ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'οὐκ ἂν τις γνοίη.' Eteocles maintains the tone of fatalistic despair. For the sentiment cf. Solon *fr.* 12 (4). 64 δῶρα δ' ἄφικτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων.



ET. Talking, I say, will not blunt my whetted edge.

CHO. Winning, though poor its way, is winning, and Heaven approves it.

ET. That is no text for a man in arms to welcome.

CHO. But would you drain the blood from your own brother's veins?

ET. Ill things, when heaven sends them, cannot be shunned.

[Exit ETEOCLES (to left).]

CHO. I shudder in dread of the God, unlike to Gods, wrecker of kith and kin—the vengeful spirit of a father's prayer, whose presages of ill prove all too true. I dread her wreaking of the

paragr. only. ἐκφύγοι μ' (i.e. οι superscr. to οἱς). ἐκφύγοιν Nauck. †. 707 M has paragr. only. 709 παραληθῇ M, παράληθει M<sup>a</sup>. παραλαθῇ Dindorf.

707 sqq. πέφρικα τάν...θεόν...τελέσαι. Abnormal as the construction may look, it is quite sound and not very rare (lit. 'at her accomplishing'). Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1564 θανείν σε δέσας μητρὸς ἐκ βουλευμάτων, *Rhes*. 934 καὶ σε...οὐκ ἐδέλμαινεν θανείν, *Suppl.* 554 ὁ τ' ὀλβιος...πνεῦμα δειμαίνων λιπεῖν (sc. αὐτόν), *Hec.* 768 πατήρ νιν ἐξέπεμψεν ὄρωδῶν θανείν (αὐτόν). The same aor. in Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 17 τῶν φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι. See Goodwin *M. & T.* § 373.

τάν ὤλεσίοικον: cf. 1046 φθερσιγενεῖς. The epithet is general; she destroys a house in this case, but only as she destroys it in others. The Erinyes particularly intervened when a curse fell on a family through unnatural conduct within it: cf. Hom. *Od.* 2. 134 (Telemachus *log.*) ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πείσομαι, ἄλλα δὲ δαίμων | δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσεται 'Ερινύς (viz. if he forces her to marry).

θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν. For the wider and narrower senses of *θεός* see 510 (n.). In Soph. *EL* 112 σεμναὶ τε θεῶν παῖδες 'Ερινύες there is a different value to the words (Jebb (n.)). The δασπλήντις 'Ερινύς is both in form unlike the conception of *θεοί* (who were anthropomorphic) and also in function and character. Apposite is Plut. *Mor.* 458 c 'Αθηναῖοι...καλοῦσι...τὸ κολαστικὸν ἐρινυῶδες καὶ δαιμονικόν, οὐ θεῖον οὐδ' 'Ολύμπιον. In the wider sense of *θεός*, indeed, there are included personified agencies which, while superhuman, are malevolent. Thus Soph. *O. T.* 27 ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς | ...λοιμὸς

ἐχθιστος, Semon. *fr.* 7. 101 λιμὸν...δυσμενέα θεόν. But it was realised that these were οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοῖοι and were not regarded with favour by Gods of the ideal type. So *Eum.* 644 the Erinyes are στύγη θεῶν, and in Soph. *O. T.* 215 Ares as Death-god is τὸν ἀπότιμον ἐν θεοῖς θεόν (θεῶν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους schol.). So rites are paid to the Erinyes ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν (*Eum.* 109). In appearance they resemble neither gods nor mortals (*Eum.* 410). The best commentary on the passage is Isoc. 106 A ὁρῶ...τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν αἰτίους ὄντας 'Ολυμπίους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωραῖς τεταγμένους δυσχερεστέρας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ νεὸς καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρυμένους, τοὺς δ' οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς εἰχαῖς οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιοῦμένους. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 880 B, C, where the gods are classed as ὠφελούντες and βλάπτοντες, the latter including Παιναί, 'Ερινύες, 'Αρης.

παραλαθῇ κακόμαντιν: to be closely joined; her evil prophecies are all too true.—κακόμαντιν: in the dreams (696—698). The expression 'Ερινύς τις is regular (cf. 70, Hom. *Od.* 11. 280 μητρὸς 'Ερινύς): she belongs to the person invoking her (*Il.* 9. 454 πολλὰ κατηράτο στυγερὰς δ' ἐπέκεκλετ' 'Ερινύς). There is no proof, either in the antistr. or in principle, that εὐκταῖαν here must have -αῖ-, although such shortening is frequent enough: see *Cho.* 803 (n.), *Suppl.* 390 ἰκταίου, Simon. 29. 2 'Αμνκλαίαν, Bacchyl. 17. 129 παῖαίσιζον, *ibid.* 98 ἀλναῖαίτα.

τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους  
κατάρας βλαψίφρονός <γ'> Οἰδιπόδα·  
παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ἄδ' ὀτρύνει.

ἀντ. α'.

ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινομά  
Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος  
κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας  
πικρός, ὠμόφρων σίδαρος,  
χθόνα ναίειν διαπήλας,

715

712 <γ'> add. \*ed. ↓. βλαψίφρονάς τ' Hartung, Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος Triclinius.  
713 δ' ἔρις δ' ὀτρύνει M, δ' ἔραδ' ὀτρύνει m' (with is above the line). Both readings might be due to δ' ἔριδ' ἄδ' or to δ' ἔριδι σφ', but the text is best. ↓. Ἔρις ἐξοτρύνει

711 sq. τὰς περιθύμους κ.τ.λ. τὰς = 'those' (strange) curses, which the accompanying words are intended to excuse or account for. Thus περιθύμους = 'too angry,' but explained by that anger. The insertion of γ' does more than mend the metre, it gives the tone of a plea, 'he was frenzied at the time.'—Οἰδιπόδα: from the epic, in which the convenient form Οἰδιπόδης would be usual. So also 870, 1047, Soph. *Ant.* 380, *O. T.* 495, Eur. *Suppl.* 835. [On curses and their effect see Harrison *Prolegomena* Gk. Rel. pp. 138 sqq.]

713 παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ἄδ' ὀτρύνει. See crit. n. With the reading of m' the sense is 'and she is urging on (the issue, or simply αὐτοὺς) in the shape of the present strife, which destroys the children.' The Erinys takes the form of the present ἔρις. This is the more easy in the Greek since ἔρις is often the personified spirit of quarrel (cf. ἄρης, ἀφροδίτη), and is a mythological figure (*Il.* 4. 439, Hes. *Sc.* 148, *Theog.* 225), a malign power like the Ἐρινύες and Κῆρες (*Il.* 18. 535).—ὀτρύνει is explained by schol. as ταῦτα παρορμᾷ. [It is possible that both readings are due to παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔριδ' ἄδ' ὀτρύνει: 'and, for the destruction of the children, she here (ἄδε) is urging on the strife.' But this is less vigorous.] With the fem. παιδολέτωρ cf. 211 (n.), [Eur.] *Rhes.* 550 παιδολέτωρ μελοποιὸς ἀηδονίς (though τεκνολέτειρα in Soph. *El.* 107), Bacchyl. 9. 44 ἱστορες κοῦραι, *Ηγυμν.* *Sel.* 1 Μοῦσαι... ἱστορες ψῶδης, Soph. *Ant.* 1074 λωβητήρες Ἐρινύες, Aesch. has χερὶ πράκτορι (*Ag.* 113), θέλκτορι Πειθοῖ (*Suppl.* 1050). With the sense

cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 254 Ἄρης... παισὶν Οἰδίπου φέρων | πημονῶν Ἐρινύων.

714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κ.τ.λ. The rather cryptic mention of this Scythian stranger (without its explanation) apparently formed part of the dreams (697) and their μαντεύματα (709). As reported in 773 sqq. the curse of Oed. contained only allusive language. The general character of curse and dreams must have been that a ξένος Σκύθης (or πόντιος) was to serve as a πικρὸς χρηματοδαίτης (cf. 924—928). Gildersleeve (on Pind. *O.* 13. 81 κραταίποδα = 'bull') remarks that 'oracles had a vocabulary of their own.' The same applies to all prophetic utterances and warnings. The cryptic words would contain Σκύθης, but not Χάλυβος, since the explanation would then be too clearly indicated, inasmuch as χάλυψ itself sometimes = σίδηρος and Euripides (*Heracl.* 160) can say simply μὴ γὰρ ὡς μεθήσομεν | δόξης ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἄτερ Χαλυβδικοῦ. It is here that the Chorus perceives the true explanation, which it gives in the words ὠμόφρων σίδαρος κ.τ.λ.: 'the sharp stranger from Scythia' is to be, proves to be, 'the cruel iron': his 'division of land by portions' is to be an allotment of 'enough to be buried in.' 'Iron is a Χάλυβος; Chalybes are Scythians; and therefore the prophecy comes true.' Grammatically this takes the shape 'and there manages the lots, as the "stranger from Scythia,"...the cruel iron.' This might have been expressed, with less idiom, by ξένος δ' ὁ κλήρους ἐπινομῶν ὠμόφρων ἐστὶ σίδηρος.—ἐπινομά: cf. *Eucl.* 310 λάχῃ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπων | ὡς ἐπινομά



curse that Oedipus, distraught the while, uttered in stress of wrath. Here is her urgency; she is this strife, bent on the children's doom.

The alien who doles the lots, Chalyb who comes from <sup>1st anti-</sup>Scythia abroad, harsh portioner of goods, is the cruel-hearted <sup>strophe.</sup> steel. 'Tis he hath cast the lot that parcels them land to dwell

Headlam, ὦδ' ὁτρύνει Butler. 714 κλήρους M<sup>a</sup>, κλήροις M (and schol.). ἐπινοῶμαι M, ἐπινοῶμαι m (and schol.). †. 715 Σκυθῶν M, Σκυθῶν Dindorf. 716 κτεάνων M, corr. m'.

στάσις ἀμά, Soph. *Ant.* 139 ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπενόμα... Ἀρης. In κλήρους there is a glance at the allotments of an Athenian κληρουχία. The whole story points to the time when iron was a new and strange metal (ξένος) in Greece. [The reading ξένος δὲ κλήροις ἐπινοῶν κ.τ.λ., though very involved, is just translatable, viz. 'and we have as the stranger, for the dispensing by means of lots, ...' = ὥστε κλήροις ἐπινοῶν (τὸ πρᾶγμα).]

715 Χάλυβος = Χάλυψ: cf. Eur. *Alc.* 980 τὸν ἐν Χαλύβοις δαμάζειν σὺ βία σίδαρων, fr. 472. 6 Χαλύβω πελέκει. Hesych. has Χαλύβοι· ἔθνος τῆς Σκυθίας θρον σίδηρος γίγνεται. Steph. Byz. quotes the same form from Hecataeus.

Σκυθῶν. To Aeschylus the Chalybes are in Scythia: cf. *P. V.* 740 λαῖα δὲ χειρὸς οἱ σιδηροτέκτονες | οἰκοῦσι Χάλυβες, i.e. N. or N.W. of Io's journey towards the Crimea. The actual iron-workers were probably those of Styria, Carinthia and Bohemia (see Ridgeway *Early Age of Greece* p. 612), but ancient writers, especially those of the date of the Theban story upon which Aesch. is drawing, were extremely vague in their notions of geography beyond the Balkans. The same name is applied to these as to the iron-workers of Asia Minor (Xen. *An.* 5. 5. 1, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1003, Strab. § 549). We must not therefore render 'a Chalyb, colonist of the Scythians,' as if the reference were to a supposed migration of these people into Asia Minor. ἀποικος is used in the wider and less technical sense of one who comes ἀπ' οἴκου to Thebes. Relatively to Thebes the ξένος is ἐποικος or μέτοικος; relatively to Scythia he is ἀποικος (cf. ἀπόδημος, ἀποικεῖν and Soph. *O. T.* 1518 γῆς μ' ὅπως πέμψεις ἀποικόν), 'our visitor come abroad from

the Scythians.' Besides defining the stranger as iron, both Χάλυβος and Σκυθῶν carry in themselves the suggestion of ὠμόφρων. Thus of the Chalybes Prometheus says (*P. V.* 742) ἀνήμεροι γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσπλατοι ξένοι, and the Scythians were proverbially savage: cf. Strab. 7. 298 τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν περιουκούντων ἔθνων (viz. round the then called Ἄξενος πόντος) καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Σκυθικῶν.

716 sq. κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας is not mere pleonasm. A χρηματοδαίτης has the function of the Athenian δατητής (liquidator), for whom see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56. 36 (Sandys), and he may be dividing goods or moneys from any source. Here the division is of τὰ κτεῖνα in the sense of the landed property.

σίδαρος connotes heartlessness or ruthlessness: cf. fr. ap. Plut. *Mor.* 91 Α κείνος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδάρων κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν, and σιδηρόφρων, σιδήρεος; so Shak. *Hamlet* 3. 3. 70 heart with strings of steel.

πικρός, besides the sense 'sharp' = 'severe' (as judge), may still retain (from the epic) some of its original physical sense of 'sharp' = 'biting' (as sword).

718 sqq. χθόνα ναλεῖν κ.τ.λ.: i.e. χθόνα διαπήλας (ὥστε αὐτοὺς) ναλεῖν (αὐτὴν) ἀμοίρους τῶν κ.τ.λ., while the construction of the rel. clause is ultimately for ὅποσον καὶ φθιμένοισιν (διαπήλειεν ἂν τις) κατέχειν. There is some slight confusion, but not of a kind to discredit the text. By tense διαπήλας is antecedent to κλήρους ἐπινοῶν: 'see! he dispenses the portions after shaking the lots.' The act of πάλλειν naturally precedes that of assigning. καὶ belongs to the rel. expression, not to φθιμένοισιν. For the thought cf. 803.

ὅποσαν καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,  
τῶν μεγάλων πεδίων ἀμοίρους.

720

στρ. β'.

ἐπειδὴν αὐτοκτόνως  
αὐτοδαίκοι θάνωσι,  
καὶ χθονία κόνις πῆν  
μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον,  
τίς ἂν καθαρμοῖς πόροι;  
τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὦ πόνοι δόμων  
νέοι παλαιούσι συμμιγείς κακοῖς.

725

ἀντ. β'.

παλαιγενῇ γὰρ λέγω  
παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον—  
αἰῶ δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει—  
Ἀπόλλωνος εὔτε Δαίος

730

719 φθιμένοισι M. φθιμένους ἂν Blomf., φθιμένους γε Stanley. καφθιμένοισιν is possible, but καὶ (with the rel.) is better. 720 ζτ in marg. M. 721 ἐπειδὴν is preferable to ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν. ψ. αὐτοκτόνως | αὐτοδαίκοι M, αὐτοὶ κτάνωσι m'. The schol. (q.v.) points to \*αὐτοκτόνοι | σιδαροδαίκοι with παρβασίαν in antistrophe (729). αὐτοκτόνως Triclinius, αὐτοκτονώσιν Wellauer, αὐτοκτόνοι καὶ αὐτοδαίκοι Heimsoeth.

719 κατέχειν: occupy in the tomb. Cf. *Suppl.* 25 χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, *Ag.* 460. For the infin. (=τοσαύτην ὥστε...) cf. *Od.* 3. 349 ὃ οὐ τι χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα πῶλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, | οὐτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξεινοῖσιν ἐνευθεῖν, *Ar. Vesp.* 352 κοῦκ ἔστιν ὁπῆς οὐδ' εἰ σέρφῳ διαδῶναι, *Ecc.* 592 τῷ δ' εἶναι (sc. γῆν) μὴδὲ ταφῆναι, *Plut.* 556, *Soph. O. C.* 790 χθονὸς λαχὼν τοσοῦτον ἐνθανεῖν μόνον, *Thuc.* 1. 2 νεμόμενοι...τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι δσον ἀποζῆν, *Xen. An.* 4. 18. 12, *Plut. Cor.* 6 τόπον ἐνταφῆναι...παρέξειν &c.

720 τῶν: 'those (well-known).' The πεδία of Boeotia were famous in a country where 'level lands' are comparatively small. So *Eur. H. F.* 468, *Suppl.* 619, *Phoen.* 643 πεδία...πυροφόρ' Ἀδῶν (the χλοηφόρους βαθυσπόρους γῆρας of *ibid.* 648, cf. *sup.* 295 τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν). The word naturally connotes fertility and wealth: cf. *Sol. fr.* 22 (5). 1 ὅτῳ πολὺς ἀργυρος ἔστιν | καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία, *Pind. N.* 8. 37 χρυσὸν εἴχονται, πεδίων δ' ἕτεροι | ἀπέραντον, *Eur. H. F.* 369 μακρὰ ἀρουραὶ πεδίων (of Thessaly), *frag. adesp.* 127, *Eur. fr.* 515. 2 πεδὶ ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα (of Calydon), *Plut. Mor.* 499 f.

721 sq. ἐπειδὴν κ.τ.λ. The reference is general (as the absence of δ' shows): 'when men die....'—αὐτοκτόνως αὐτοδαίκοι: cumulative in pathetic insist-

ence: cf. *Cho.* 328 πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων γῶος, *Soph. fr.* 61 πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας καὶ φυτεύσαντας, *Eur. I. T.* 800 ὦ συγκασιγνήτη τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός. [With ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν the reference might be specific and σφε (726) would = αὐτοῖς.]

723 καὶ χθονία κόνις κ.τ.λ. There can be no objection to χθονία in point of sense, whether it mean (1) 'dust of the earth' or (2) 'dust of their land' (πατρώα schol.). Doubtless neither such use is frequent, but for (1) cf. *fr. ap. Plut. Mor.* 98 ε δευὰ μὲν φύλα πόντου | χθονίων τ' αἰρίων τε | δάμναται βουλεύματα, and for (2) *Soph. O. C.* 947 τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος ἐβουλον πάγον | ἐγὼ ξυνήδη χθόνιον ὄνθ' (=ἐγχώριον). The similar passage *Cho.* 64 ε δ' αἷμα' ἐκποθένθ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς τροφῷ | τίτας φόνος πέπαγεν οὐ διαρρύδαν might support the latter sense, but *inf.* 806 we have simply πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖα. It is on the whole safer to render the word as=γαῖα (i.e. ἡ κόνις τῆς χθονός). Any objection is metrical, but we may scan as χθονία (see 115 n., 225 n.) and emend in v. 730. [Should χθονία, however, be wrong, it would be better to find in its place an adj. of colour, contrasting the κόνις with the φοίνιον αἷμα which stains it, as in *Shak. Henry V.* 3. 7. 153 *We shall your tawny ground with your red blood | Discolour.* Cf. *Pind. ap.*



in—e'en so much as they may hold in death—with no share in those wide-spreading fields.

When men die, kin slain by kin, gashed by brother hands, and the crimson gore, clotting to black, is drunk by the dust of earth, who can offer cleansings? Who can wash it out? slain  
strophe.

O house, where troubles new and sorrows old fill the same cup!

Aye, old in age is the transgression, swift to find punishment, though to the third generation it abides. 'Twas Laius who sinned. Thrice at the mid-navel of the world, Pytho's prophetic 2nd anti-  
strophe.

**723** The line in M does not answer to the antistr. (730 q.v.). καὶ γὰρ Hermann, καὶ νερότερη Weil. With αἰῶ in antistr. χθονία may stand, but the schol. appears to lead to e.g. χλωρά (↓).

**725** κάθαρ \* \* M, κάθαρμα m, καθαρὸν m' (i.e. ὄν over μα). The schol. (q.v.) points to τίς ἂν καθάροι (or καθαρμοῦ) πόρος; | τίς ἂν κ.τ.λ. ψ. καθαρμοῦς recc.

**726** λύσειεν appears to have been read by schol. (Dobree).

**727** παλαιοῖς M, corr. recc. **729** παραβασίαν M, παραιβασίαν recc. (see 721 c.n.).

παρβασίαν Porson. ὠκύποινον M<sup>a</sup>, ὀξύποινον Weil (cf. schol.), ὠμόποινον Oberdick. ψ.

**730** αἰῶνα M. Corr. \*ed. See 723 (c.n.).

Ath. 574 A χλωρᾶς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη. Such words are χλωρὰ and ξανθὰ: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1064 ἀμφὶ χλωρὰν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος, and the *fulva harena* of Vergil. This would leave the same necessity for emending v. 730.]

**724** μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον = the crimson blood clotted into a fixed black stain. For μελαμ- cf. Eur. *El.* 318 αἷμα δ' ἔτι πατρὸς κατὰ στέγας | μέλαν σέσηπεν (where μέλαν is predic.). In -παγὲς is implied more than mere clotting. There is the same allusion to the supposed indelibility of the bloodstain of murder as in *Cho.* 65 τίτας φόνος πέπαγεν οὐ διαρρέ-δαν (a passage which shows that πῆλη does not mean 'drinks up' but 'drinks a draught of...').

**725** sq. τίς ἂν καθαρμοῦς πόροι; See crit. n. The denial of purification or full atonement is frequent: cf. *Cho.* 47 τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδω; Soph. *O. T.* 1227 οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν Ἴστρον οὐτε Φᾶσιν ἂν | νίψαι καθαρμῶ τήνδε τὴν στέγην, Seneca *Hipp.* 715 quis eluet me *Tuñais*?—σφε: either (1) = αὐτοῦς, the men who have slain each other, or (2) the blood (λούσειεν being = ἀπολούσειεν). [If the true reading is τίς ἂν καθάροι (or καθαρμοῦ) πόρος, τίς ἂν κ.τ.λ., the use of πόρος is identical with that in *Cho.* 70 πόροι τε πάντες ἐκ μᾶς ὀδοῦ | <φοι>-βαίνοντες τὸν χειρομνητὴ φόνον κ.τ.λ., *Eum.* 454 ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα | ...καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ νητοῖς πόροις.]

**727** συμμειγείς: partly perhaps with

the same metaphor as in *Ag.* 1396 τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὄδε | πλήσας, *Cho.* 740 τὰ...παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα ἄλγη. But the thought which connects these with the following words is rather that the new sorrows are 'part and parcel' of the older ones, of which they are the consequence.

**728** sq. παλαιγενὴ γὰρ λέγω...: 'yes, I speak of...,' i.e. 'yes, the original trouble from which this flows was...'

ὠκύποινον: with antithesis to the words in the following parenthesis. Punishment came speedily, but the sin lasts to the third generation, and, even as late as this, there is more punishment due. In prose, ὠκύποινον μὲν, μένουσαν δὲ κ.τ.λ. The 'speediness' of the first punishment is relative, for the ποινή did not fall till Oed. grew up and slew Laius. Frequently vengeance is slow (*Juv.* 13. 100 ut sit magna tamen, certe lenta ira deorum est). See *Cho.* 59 sqq. (n.).

**730** αἰῶ. The form is vouched for in Aesch. (*Bekk. Anecd.* 1. 363. 17 αἰῶ τὸν αἰῶνα κατ' ἀποκοπὴν Αἰσχύλος εἶπε) and is read by some editors in *Cho.* 349 (where see note). Cf. *Ichw.* (*Il.* 5. 416). ἰδρῶ (11. 621), κικεῶ, Ἀπόλλω. Kühner-Blass 1. p. 425. 2. For the antithesis in a parenthesis cf. *Cho.* 25 ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμω | δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰνυμοῖσι βόσκειται κέαρ (where νεοτόμω is answered or commented on), Eur. *Or.* 4 ὁ γὰρ μακάριος, κοῦκ ἐνειδίξω τύχας, | Διὸς πεφικώς.—ἐς τρίτον: Laius, Oedipus, the sons of Oedipus.

μναν πόλεως καχλάζει·  
μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ δι' ὀλίγου  
τείνει πύργου ἐν εὐρεῖ·  
δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι  
μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.

750

στρ. δ'.

τελείᾳ γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρχῇ  
βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί· τὰ δ' ὅλοα  
πελόμεν' οὐ παρέρχεται·  
πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει

747 ἀλκὰν rec., ἀλκαρ Blomfield.  
ἐν 'Ἀρει Herm. from rec. (γρ. ἄρει).  
himself would write συμβασιλευσι.  
Corr. \*ed. ψ. Schol. had τέλεια before him.

748 πύργος M. Corr. \*ed. (with rec.). ψ.

749 συμβαλεῦσι M, corr. m'. Aeschylus

751 τέλεια\* M (οἱ over α by m'). ἀραι M.  
Corr. \*ed. ψ. Schol. had τέλεια before him. τέλειαι...ἀρᾶν Bothe (τελειᾶν Headlam).

spoken of either as 'three waves' or a 'triple-ridged wave.' For Aesch. cf. *P. V.* 1047 οἶός σε χειμῶν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμῖα | ἐπεισ' ἀφύκτος. [There cannot, in the case of the oncoming wave, be any reference to the fate of the three generations, two of which are past.]

δ καί: '(the same) which (now)...'—  
περὶ πρύμναν πόλεως κ.τ.λ.: cf. 2 (n.), Hom. *Od.* 13. 84 sq. ὥς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνῃ μὲν αἰέρετο, κύμα δ' ὀπισθε | πορφύρεον μέγα θῦε πολυφλοίσβοιο (cf. καχλάζει) θαλάσσης, and (applied to a person) Soph. *Aj.* 351 ἰδεσθὲ μ' οἶον ἄρτι κύμα φοινίας ὑπὸ ζάλης | ἀμφιδρομον κυκλείται. For the comparison of a πόλις to a ship in a storm cf. 2 (n.) and add Alcaeus *fr.* 6 (18), Soph. *O. T.* 22, Theogn. 671 sqq. (ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα | ἀμφοτέρων τοίχων), Hor. *Od.* 1. 14. 7 *vix durare carinae | possint imperiosius (aequior)*.—With καχλάζει cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1210.

747 sq. μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ κ.τ.λ. For the general notion cf. Soph. *O. C.* 14 πύργοι μὲν οἱ | πόλιν στέγουσιν. The particular expression belongs to a favourite conceit of the Greeks: Arat. *Phaen.* 299 ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ ξύλον αἰδ' ἐρύκει (on which see Longin. *de Sublim.* 10. 6), Diog. Laert. 1. 8. 5, where (as in schol. to *Il.* 15. 628) the saying is attributed to Anacharsis that, if the πάχος τῆς νεῶς is four inches, then τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν τοῦ θανάτου; Jun. 12. 58 *digitis a morte remotus | quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda* (with Mayor's note), *ibid.* 14. 289.

δ' ὀλίγον. In Eur. *Phoen.* 1097 ὥς τῷ νοσοῦντι τειχέων εἴη δορὸς | ἀλκή δι'

ὀλίγου the sense is the natural one, 'at a short distance,' nor are we justified in rendering the phrase otherwise here. The common version 'extends with but a narrow line of separation' is not to be got from the Greek. Strictly 'and, between, protection extends at but small distance (viz. from doom),' i.e. the ἀλκή is within a very little of being no ἀλκή at all. It is meanwhile difficult to extract a proper grammar from πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ (M). No parallel is found for the obvious-looking meaning 'a wall in width.' At most it would be '(namely), a wall in the width (which separates us).' But this is so far-fetched that we need scarcely hesitate to emend with \*πύργου, i.e. 'depending on (lying in, *penes*) the width of a wall.' For ἐν cf. Hom. *Il.* 7. 102, Hdt. 3. 85 &c.

749 sq. σὺν βασιλεῦσι: not generic for Eteocles, nor meaning Et. and Polyn., but 'with its royal house' (doomed one and all since the time of Laius). The order of the words (instead of μὴ σὺν β. πόλις) is intended to stress both the anti-thetic βασιλεῦσι and πόλις. In δαμασθῇ the picture is of a ship struggling with the storm and 'beaten' in the contest.

751 sq. \*τελείᾳ γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρχῇ κ.τ.λ.: lit. 'for to a matured curse belonging to a pronouncement of old the settlement is heavy.' This is the best reading, since παλαιφάτων plainly refers to the oracle and the oracle did not utter curses (plur.); but a curse (= a plague) follows from the old oracle when disobeyed. The words τελείᾳ, βαρεῖαι, and καταλλαγαί are all adopted from the



seethes about our country's poop. Small is the verge that stretches between to save us; it is but a wall's width; and I am afear'd lest, with its royal house, the city be borne down.

For when a curse of old promise falleth due, the settle-<sup>4th</sup>ment is heavy; the dire account keeps current and passes strophe. not by. And when the prosperity of moiling men hath waxed

**753** τελόμεν' οὐ μ', τελλόμεν' οὐ recc. The text may be sound (↓); otherwise \*τὰ δ' ὀλό' ὀφελόμεν' οὐ might be suggested. *πενόμενος* Bücheler. τὰ δ' ὀλό' ἐπιπλόμεν' οὐ Weil. **754** πρόπρυμμα M. πρόπρυμνον Turnebus and (omitting δ') Blomf., πρόπρυμμα Wecklein. See 71 (n). ↓. ἐκβολῶν M, corr. m' (scholl. recognise both).

Probably ἐκβολαν was read as ἐκβολῶν and then the common form was substituted.

language of commerce into the language of poetry (cf. *Ag.* 532 sq., where there is a sustained metaphor from the dealings of a χρυσαιομοιβός). καταλλαγή is exactly the English 'settlement,' whether of a feud (cf. Hesych. καταλλαγήν δорос· ἀνάπαυλαν, μεταλλαγήν, κατάλλαγμα, and *Ar. Av.* 1588 where περί πολέμου καταλλαγῆς is a reading of good MSS) or of an outstanding account. βαρίς is a word of 'heavy' price: cf. *Alex. ar.* *Ath.* 224 F 'δέκ' ὀβολῶν' φησιν. 'βαρύ'. | ὀκτώ λάβοις ἄν, *Shak. Haml.* 4. 5. 135 *Thy madness shall be paid with weight.*

**παλαιφάτων:** παλαι- is almost a standing portion of words relating to oracles which come to maturity 'in time' (*Hom. Od.* 9. 507 ἡ μάλα δὴ με παλαιφάτα θέσφαθ' ἱκάνει). It does not necessarily denote any great interval, but παλαι properly = 'a time ago' (cf. the use of Latin *procul*). Usually the sense becomes 'a (considerable) time ago,' but that implication is not inherent. Thus *Xen. Oec.* 18. 10 παλαι = 'a (little) while ago' and in *P. V.* 845 it is used of the recent past. In any case the meaning is relative. In *Soph. El.* 124 παλαι refers to an event of seven or eight years before; in *Trach.* 821 προσέμειζεν ἄφαρ | τοῦπος τὸ θεόπρον ἡμῖν | τὰς παλαιφάτου προνοίας the date was only 12 years. In *Pind. O.* 2. 36 ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι χρησθὲν | παλαιφάτον τέλεσεν the interval is from the oracle given to Laius till his death. The 'length of time' is mentioned in connection with the consequent heaviness of the payment. The reflection is a general one. It is not stated, but is only feared (707 sqq., 775 sq.), that the curse is matured in the present case. [The reading τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἄρ' ἂν κ.τ.λ. is less good for the reasons already given. Otherwise grammatically it would be best to make

its gen. depend on τέλειαι rather than on καταλλαγαί. So *Ag.* 1155 γάμοι δ' ἐλέθριοι φίλων, 1166 θυσαίαι... πολυκακείης βοτῶν, *Cho.* 27 λυοφθόροι ὕψασμάτων λακίδες, 658 δόμοις πανδόκοις ξένων.]

**752 sq. τὰ δ' ὀλόα πελόμεν' κ.τ.λ.** If the text is sound the sense is (once more generically) 'the deadly forces, when once in being (or current), do not pass away.' The commercial metaphor is thus continued. The expression, however, appears weak (although for πέλει = 'hold good' we might compare *Solon fr.* 12 (4). 16 οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει), and it is tempting to suggest τὰ δ' ὀλό' ὀφελόμεν' (the quantity of the first syll. of the line being optional). In favour of this word it may be pointed out that it suits both the notion of a debt which increases with time (*Plut. Mor.* 410 D 'χρέος ὀφελίσσθαι' φησιν, ὡς τοῦ ὀφελίσσθαι τὸ αἰετῆσθαι δηλοῦντος) and also that of a swelling wave (*Hom. Il.* 15. 383 ἰς ἀνέμου... κύματ' ὀφέλλει). Both these notions would then combine in παρέρχεται: cf. *Hdt.* 2. 86 ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδόμη-κοντα ἡμέραι (and so of any day of settlement) and, on the other hand, *Hom. Od.* 5. 429 ἔως μέγα κύμα παρήλθεν: similarly *Dem. Cor.* 291 τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάνα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. [Bücheler's ingenious *πενόμενος παρέρχεται* introduces a new thought which is neither relevant nor true.]

**754 πρόπρυμμα:** see 71 (n.) *πρυνυόθεν* and cf. *προβέλυμνος, πρόρριζος*. The word is either (1) adverb, 'right from the bottom (of the hold),' or (2) adj.-noun in apposition to ἐκβολῶν, i.e. 'pays (goods) from the bottom (of the store in the metaphorical ship) as jettison.' The mention of the storm at sea and of the accumulated debt brings home the thought that, the greater the immediate prosperity, the

ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν  
ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

755

ἀντ. δ'. τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν  
θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεος ὁ  
πολύβωτός τ' ἀγῶν βροτῶν,  
ὅσον τότ' Οἰδίπουν τίον  
τὰν ἀρπαξάνδραν  
κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χώρας;

760

στρ. ε'. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων < ὦν >  
ἐγένετο μέλεος ἀθλίων  
γάμων, ἐπ' ἄλγει δυσφορῶν  
μαινομένα καρδιά

765

**758** Qu. \*πα for καί? (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 79 καὶ MSS, παῖ Erfurdt, Jebb). ὅσοι τε ξυνέστιοι Meineke, ξένοι καὶ Paley. πόλεως M. πόλεος ὁ Dindorf. **759** πολύβωτός τ' αἰῶν M. πολύβωτος Blomf. (from schol.). ἀγῶν Weil. ψ. For confusions cf. Eur. *fr.* 364 ὁ δ' ἥδ' αἰῶν (cod. Orion.) for αἰῶν (Stob.), Moschion *fr.* 6. 11 εὐγωτίδος for εὐιωτίδος (Grotius), Theogn. 507 μάταγον (A) for μάταιον, and ψ.

greater the disaster. The jettison searches to the bottom of the merchandise; no little off the surface will suffice. [The rendering 'over the stern' is wrong in meaning and would not be true to fact.] The metaphor is that of *Ag.* 995 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων | κτησιῶν ὅκνος βαλὼν | σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου, | οὐκ ἔδω πρόπας δόμος | πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν. Somewhat differently Eur. *Or.* 341.—φέρει: not 'endures,' but 'pays' (cf. 644 n.).

**755** ἀλφηστᾶν. In the present instance it might look as if Aesch. connected the word with ἀλφάνω. This was doubtless a popular etymology, although the real derivation is more likely to have been from ἀλφά ('white meal' = ἀλφίτα) and ἔδω: cf. ὠμηστής, δερμηστής. Men are opposed to gods in respect of τὸ σῖτον ἐσθλεῖν, τὸ ἐσθλεῖν ἀλφίτα (μυελὸν ἀνδρῶν *Od.* 2. 290). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 341 (of the gods) οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἰθῶπα οἶνον | τοῖνεκ' ἀναιμόνες εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται, as against *Hymn. Apoll.* 364 (186) βροτοῖσιν | ... οἱ γαίης πολυφάρβον καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, *Od.* 8. 222, 9. 89 &c. The equation (ἀνδρες) σιτοφάγοι = ἀλφησταί is complete. Through this distinction from the Gods the word (like the mysterious *μέροπες*) came to be used as a term of pity for δειλοὶ βροτοί, *mortales aegri*:

*Od.* 1. 348 Ζεὺς αἰτίος, ὃς τε δίδωσιν | ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν, ἐκάστω, Hes. *Opp.* 82, *Theog.* 512, *Scut.* 28. It might indeed be argued that men who have to 'earn' (ἀλφάνειν) their living are equally δειλοὶ βροτοὶ as opposed to the ἀπονοὶ θεοί, but the phrases quoted above and the form of the word make for the other derivation. There is no proof that here Aesch. is thinking of the 'winnings' or 'gains' of men, or of etymology at all. The context will equally bear the simple implication of pity for human lot. If he has ἀλφάνω in mind his thought is not of their great gains (which would contradict the regular depreciatory use of ἀλφησταί) but of the pains with which they gather δλβος.

**757** sqq. ἐθαύμασαν. There can be no zeugma in the application of this word to the Gods, since zeugma only occurs when the verb is placed nearest to that noun to which it is appropriate. The sense is 'showed respect for' (cf. 760 τίον and see 690 n.). If καὶ is sound the clause with τε (πολύβωτός τ' κ.τ.λ.) is exegetic or amplifactory of ξυνέστιοι πόλεος, i.e. 'the Gods, and the sharers in the city's hearth, the thronged gathering of mankind.' The townspeople were ξυνέστιοι



too fat, it pays jettison of goods from the ship's deepest hold.

For was there man set ever in such regard by Gods, or by them who share the country's hearth, the mortals in their thronged gathering-place, as Oedipus was honoured at that day, when he had rid the land of that Deadly Thing whose prey was man? 4th anti-strophe.

But, when he was made to know aright the misery of his wretched wedlock, in the sore fretting of his pain and the madness of his heart he wrought to make his grief twice grievous 5th strophe.

**760** τῶν M, τῶν M<sup>a</sup>. **761** ἀναρπαξάνδραν M, corr. Butler. τὰν ἀναρπάξανδρον Todt, but see schol. and ↓. **763** <ὦν> add. \*ed. See antistr. 770. ἀρτιόφρων is possible, but αὐτόφρων might be too bold. ↓. γρ. δ' ἀρ' ἐμφρων rec., ἀρίφρων Enger. **764** ἐγένεθ' ὁ Öberdick. ↓. ἐγεντο Arnald. **765** Nothing is gained by δυσφρονῶν (Heimsoeth). **766** καρδίαι M, corr. Turnebus.

of Oed., but only in the sense limited by πόλιος. [There seems, however, little point in this use of ξυνέστιοι, and βροτῶν is awkwardly delayed for the antithesis to θεοί. If we substitute πᾶ (crit. n.) the sense is 'what man did the Gods who anywhere share a city's hearth honour so much as (the Theban Gods) did Oedipus?' They were grateful, with the city, for its deliverance from the Sphinx.]

πολύβατός τ' ἄγων is a certain emendation (see crit. n. and scholl.). πολύβοτός τ' αἰών might indeed be construed in the sense 'and men of rich life' (lit. 'men of a life rich in cattle'), but the remoteness and improbability of this require no demonstration. With the text cf. Pind. fr. 75. 2 θεοί, | πολύβατον οἷτ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν... | οἰχνεῖτε πολυδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν. The Homeric sense of ἄγων was still alive in Thebes (παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς ἄγων ἢ ἀγορά schol. to II. 24. 1) and Aesch. may very well have known that the Theban Agora was so styled.

The reversal of fortune in the case of Oedipus was proverbial: cf. Eur. fr. 157 ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ, followed by εἰτ' ἐγένετ' αὐθις ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν, and the whole passage Soph. O. T. 1193—1215, where there is much similarity to the present place.

**761** sq. τὰν ἀρπαξάνδραν: cf. 528 sqq. The Sphinx is Κῆρ as being one of the baleful powers akin to the Erinyes, Gorgons &c. See Harrison *Prol. Gk. Rel.* pp. 207 sqq. ('The Kér as Sphinx').

The fem. form of the adj. is perhaps deliberately adopted to emphasise the

ferocity in a female, but in any case poetry uses such forms freely in compounds. See *Cho.* 68 παναρκέτας νόσου (n.) and add Alcaeus 33. 2 λαβὰν χρυσοδέταν, *Hymn. Apoll.* 181 Δήλοιο περικλύστης. Paley compares proper names, e.g. Ἀλεξάνδρα, Κασάνδρα. The notion is of a bird of prey, but the prey is man. In the act. ἀφελόντα the action is not self-regarding. Oedipus performed the service for the Cadmeans before he was one of themselves.

**763** sq. ἐπεί δ' ἀρτιόφρων \* <ὦν> κ.τ.λ.: 'when to his misery he became rightly conscious of his own wretched nuptials.'—ἀρτιόφρων = ἀρτίας φρένας ἔχων (Eur. *Tro.* 417 οὐ γὰρ ἀρτίας ἔχεις φρένας), and, though the ordinary meaning is 'sane,' it is natural for the word to imply the opposite of any error or deception, especially when (as here) the application is defined. To some extent Aesch. may have been influenced also by e.g. ἀρτιμαθής, ἀρτιδαής, ἀρτιδιδάκτος, where, however, the sense of ἀρτι- is 'newly.' The gen. follows ἀρτιόφρων as it would ἰδρις, ἐπιστήμων, δαήμων, συνετός. Cf. ἀρτιμαθής κακῶν (Eur. *Hec.* 687), Kühner-Gerth i. p. 369. The gen. is perhaps also felt with μέλεος (Eur. *Or.* 159 μέλεος ἐχθίστων θεῶν ἐργων &c.).

[A reading αὐτόφρων suggests itself: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 51 (of Oed.) πρὸς αὐτοφῶρων ἀμπλακημάτων διπλᾶς | δψεις ἀράξας αὐτὸς αὐτουργῶ χερσί, with O. T. 1213 ἐφηυρέ σ' ἄκουθ' ὁ πάνθ' ὄρων χρόνος. But the alteration is bold and the sense not improved.]

δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν  
πατροφόνῳ χερὶ τῶν  
μισοτέκνων δ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη.

ἀντ. ε'.

τέκνοισιν δ' ἀραιᾶς  
ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφᾶς,  
αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,  
καί σφε σιδαρονόμῳ  
διὰ χερὶ ποτε λαχεῖν  
κτάματα· νῦν δὲ τρέω  
μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἑρινύς.

770

775

767 ἐτέλεσαν M<sup>a</sup>. The common punctuation is ἐτέλεσεν· πατροφόνῳ κ.τ.λ. †. 769 κρείσσω τέκνων (κρείσσοτέκνων m) δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων M. δ' ὀμμάτων rec. and schol., ἀπ' ὀμμάτων recc. Editors commonly omit δ'. †. δεργμάτων M. Schmidt. μισοτέκνων (anon.) is here provisionally adopted, but I believe the true reading to have been \*τῖς στυγερῶν (or τρισστυγερῶν). The confusion of τ and κ is very frequent (e.g. Eur. fr. 781. 28 τηδεύσεις, Hom. Hymn. 4. 338 τέρτομον, Aesch. Suppl. 246 ἀκρέστω, Ar. Lys. 106 πορπατισάμενος (R.V.), Ath. 645 D κηροῦ (E) for τυροῦ (A) &c.). Also στ and ω are often confused. φρισσοτέκνων (Stanley) should be φριξο-

767 sq. δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν πατροφόνῳ χερὶ τῶν κ.τ.λ. The punctuation here given is based partly upon the appearance of δ' in all MSS and partly upon the sense. Oedipus did not curse his sons because of the discovery of the truth concerning his marriage. Hence 'on discovering the truth he wrought a double mischief: he blinded himself and cursed his children' cannot be the poet's meaning. There is moreover no τε...τε or μὲν...δὲ. Rather 'he wrought a doubling of disaster with the (same) hand which slew his sire—he blinded himself with it.' The κακά already wrought were not sufficient. δ' (ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ, as scholiasts say) introduces the explanation of the words.

768 sq. τῶν μισοτέκνων δ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη. See crit. n. Though μισοτέκνων is not an entirely satisfying emendation of κρείσσω τέκνων it is technically not remote and yields a tolerable sense. Oedipus did in fact shrink from the sight of his children: Soph. O. T. 1375 ἀλλ' ἢ τέκνων δὴτ' ὄψις ἦν ἐφίμερος, | βλαστοῦς' ὅπως ἐβλαστε, προσλεύσσειν ἐμοί, *ibid.* 1334 τί γὰρ ἔδει μ' ὄραν, | ὅτω γ' ὄρωντι μηδὲν ἦν ἰδεῖν γλυκύ; 1273. [Yet an act not referring to the children would suit better with the following τέκνοισιν δ' κ.τ.λ. Probably τῖς στυγερῶν (or τρισστυγερῶν) is correct. Each step in the corruption is technically ex-

plainable.] The insertion of ἀπ' (M) was natural. So Soph. O. T. 1349 δλοῖθ' ὅστις ἦν δς ἀγρίας πέδας...ἔλυσ', where MSS insert ἀπ' before ἀγρίας. But the gen. requires no prepos.; cf. Pind. O. 1. 54 εὐφροσύνας ἀλάται, Eur. Tro. 635 ἀλάται τῆς πάροιθ' εὐπραξίας, Rhés. 283 πλαγχθεὶς πλατέας πεδιάδος θ' ἀμαξитоῦ, Babr. 1. 89. 1 ἀρρα πεπλανημένον ποίμνης.

770 sq. τέκνοισιν δ' ἀραιᾶς... τροφᾶς. The reading (ἀραιᾶς or ἀραιάς) depends upon the legend as accepted by Aeschylus. If the father had 'tabooed' certain food, and yet this was offered to him, ἀραιάς would be necessary. If he was angry at the stunted manner in which he was supported (ἐγροτροφεῖτο) and complained, like Lear, 'ye scant my sizes,' we must read ἀραιᾶς (*lenius*: cf. Ar. Pol. 7. 16. 14 ἀραιὰ τροφῇ χρησθῆαι). See Introd. pp. xxvii sqq., where the schol. quoted from Soph. O. C. 1375 (with the whole passage) makes distinctly for ἀραιᾶς. The schol. remarks there that Aesch. wrote τὰ παραπλήσια τῷ ἐποποιῷ. Compare the sons' behaviour in Eur. Phoen. 64.

The gen. follows ἐπικότους: cf. Hom. Il. 4. 168 τῆσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων, Soph. Ant. 1177 πατρὶ μῆρις φόνου, Eur. Or. 751 θυγατέρος θυμούμενος.

ἐφῆκεν: 'launched.' Eur. Hipp. 1324 ἀρὰς ἐφῆκας παιδί, Phoen. 1364 ἦκε Πολυνείκης ἀράς, Andr. 954 ἀγαν ἐφῆκας



with the hand that slew his sire; for he put away the eyes which loathed to see his children.

And on his children he launched curses of wrath at their stint of his maintenance, curses, alas! bitter of tongue: 'May ye hereafter divide your substance with a hand that doles with steel.' And now I tremble lest the Vengeful Spirit with rapid stride bring on fulfilment. [Enter SCOUT (from left).]

5th anti-  
strophe.

κυρσοτέκνων Hermann. Verrall's ingenious χρυσοτέκνων πωμάτων assumes a particular version of the curse.

770 τέκνοις δ' ἀραιάς M. τέκνοιςιν δ' ἀραίς Hermann. ἀραιάς \*ed. ψ. τέκνοις δ' ἀγρίας Francken. τέκνοις δ' <οἷς> ἀραιάς is also possible.

771 ἐπιτρόπους rec. ἐπίκοτος Heath. τροφάς M, corr. rec. (with schol.). 773 ἡ σφέ recc. ἡ σφε Heimsöth.

774 διαχειρίαι M. Corr. Porson. The αι is for ε, intended to be a correction written over ει of χειρί. (The phenomenon of such incorporation of the superscript into the text is not rare: cf. Ar. Ach. 1146 μουνγῶν

(i.e. μῖγῶν corrected as μῖγῶν), Lys. 1138 Περικλείδῃσα (N) = Περικλείδης, Av. 1062

εὐανθαεῖς (R) = εὐανθεῖς.)

775 κτήματα M.

γλῶσσαν, Soph. O. C. 1375 ἀράς... ἐξάνηκα.—αἰαῖ deplores his impatience.

773 καὶ σφε κ.τ.λ. We must not render 'that they also...', since σφε is necessarily unemphatic. καὶ is explanatory of πικρογλώσσους, 'namely that....'—σιδαρονόμῳ: while the ordinary division of portions would be by a hand wielding lots (κλήροι), theirs is by a hand wielding steel. Cf. Eur. Phoen. 67 ἀράς ἀράται παῖσιν ἀνοσιωτάτας, | θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν τόδε and inf. 801.

775 sq. νῦν: with τέλει, but put first for emphasis.—τέλει: without obj., 'bring fulfilment' (682).—The interpretation of καμψίπους is much disputed. Meanings which have been, or may be, offered are: (1) 'with returning foot', i.e. returning (cf. κάμπτεν δρόμον) from generation to generation (Verrall): (2) 'with roundabout foot', i.e. fetching a compass round her prey (by going a δοχμίαν κέλευθον: cf. fr. adesr. 493 ὄρας Δίκη... ἐξῆς δ' ὅπαδεῖ δόχμον, ἀλλοθ' ὕστερον): (3) 'with lame foot': (4) 'with nimble foot.' Before considering these we may observe words of similar formation elsewhere used of an Erinys or the like. Such are δεινόπους 'Ἄρα' (Soph. O. T. 418) of the terrible insistence of pursuit; 'Ἐρινύς τανόποδας (Aj. 837) of their swiftness; χαλκόπους 'Ἐρινύς (El. 491) of her tirelessness (cf. χαλκέντερος). In Eum. 373 μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα | ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπτεσῇ | καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν, | σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις | κῶλα the stride is one of rapidity. On the other

hand Hor. Od. 3. 2. 31 raro antecedentem scelestum | deseruit pede Poena claudo the notion is of a dogging which, though slow, overtakes in the end. The general impression from these is one of tireless pursuit, but the Avenging Spirit may be regarded either as limping behind but never desisting, or as striding rapidly when the sinner has received a long start. We shall do best therefore to limit the choice in καμψίπους to two interpretations (1) 'lame' (lit. 'with twisted feet'), (2) 'vigorous,' 'nimble.' In deciding, it must be remembered that ποῖς may be used either of the foot or of the whole leg (Cho. 980).

For (1) 'lame' may be cited Horace (l.c.), καμψός ('crooked'), and the χωλαὶ Λιταὶ of Il. 9. 503 (opposed to ἀτη ἀρτίπος: see Leaf ad loc.). Malevolent beings (e.g. the ghouls or female jinns of Arabic poetry) are often imagined with misshapen legs. 'The belief in spirits and witches who wander about with their feet turned backward is common in India' (R. W. Frazer A Literary Hist. of India, who quotes Tylor Prim. Cult. 1. p. 307). See also Perdrizet Mélusine ix. 1898, p. 99. On the other hand (2) καμψίπους (cf. καμπεσίγυνος) is a natural expression for one who has lissom or nimble limbs: cf. Hom. Il. 11. 668 οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἴς | ἔσθ' οἷη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν, 24. 359, Od. 13. 398. The sense is well supported by Xen. Eq. 1. 6 τὰ γε μὴν γόνατα ἦν βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς κάμπτη and Poll. 1. 191

## ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι.  
 πόλις πέφηνεν ἤδε δούλιον ζυγόν·  
 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα,  
 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε, καὶ κλυδωνίον 780  
 πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο·  
 στέγει δὲ πύργος, καὶ πύλας φερεγγύοις  
 ἐφραξάμεθα μονομάχοισι προστάταις.  
 καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλείστ' ἐν ἑξ πυλώμασιν·  
 τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομαγέτας 785

777 τεθρυμμένοι Hermann, τεθραγμένοι Hartung. †. 778 δούλιον M, corr. rec.  
 779 πέπτωκεν δ' M, corr. rec. †. πέπτωκε δ' Burgard. ὀμβρίμων rec. 780 Qu.  
 \* ἐνευδιᾷ τε? †. ἐν εὐδία 'στι Blomf. (a correction which might be supported by e.g.

γόνατα δυσκαμπῇ (quoted by Hermann). It is to works of art that we may most safely look, and in the vase-paintings there is no appearance of the crippled foot. On the other hand the Erinyes are commonly depicted with legs bent at the knee in a way to suggest rapid running. See Harrison *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, figg. 47, 73 and p. 234 (n.). Moreover the merely descriptive epithet is less like Aesch. than the more relevant 'I fear that she may, with rapid stride &c.'

777 παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι: rightly treated by Verrall as 'reared so that you are mothers' children,' an expression of 'gentle contempt for their fears.' The alternative rendering 'children reared by mothers' is more difficult to extract from the Greek and misunderstands παῖδες. The Chorus does not consist of young maidens (see 673), and the gen. is very dubious. The use in e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 3 ὁ κρατίστου παιδὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφέας is that of origin (as with γεγώς, βλαστάνειν, πέφυκα; Kühner-Gerth i. p. 376. 5). In a few instances where it appears to be gen. of agent the reading is probably unsound, e.g. Eur. *El.* 133 κείσαι σᾶς ἀλόχου σφαγείς (σφαγαῖς Paley), Or. 496 ἐξέπνευσε ... πληγείς θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς (πληγαῖς?). In other places the explanation is obviously different. Thus Cho. 634 βροτῶν ἀτιμωθέν is gen. privative. We can hardly therefore render as τεθραμμένοι ὑπὸ μητέρων. But children who 'take after' the father are called (οἱ τοῦ) πατρὸς παῖδες, while daughters, or sons lacking manliness, are παῖδες τῆς μητρός. Cf.

Cho. 826 (n.), *Eur.* 738 κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρὸς (Athena loq.), Soph. *fr.* 139 οἱ τοὶ γένειον ὥδε χρὴ διηλιφές | φοροῦντα κἀνδρόπαιδα καὶ γένει μέγαν | μητρὸς καλεῖσθαι παῖδα, τοῦ πατρὸς δέον, *El.* 365, O. C. 442 οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς (the sons, who should naturally be the father's children rather than the mother's), Eur. *Hel.* 954q. Somewhat differently Eur. *El.* 1103 οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἀρσένων, | οἱ δ' αὖ φιλοῦσι μητέρας μᾶλλον πατρὸς.—τεθραμμένοι=τοιαύτην τροφήν λαβοῦσαι ὥστε εἶναι.... They have been brought up, not to war and action, but to retirement and timidity.

778 ἤδε: with affection.—πέφηνεν (like πέπτωκεν, 'lie low,' of the next line) expresses a state rather than an act.—πόλις, resumed by πόλις of 780, reiterates the reassuring news before mention of the accompanying disaster.

779 πέπτωκεν: dramatically more effective than πέπτωκε δ'. The word is not merely 'are overthrown,' but (as the context indicates) it glances at the dropping of winds and waves (cp. Hom. *Od.* 14. 475 ἀνεμὸς πέσε, the use of *cadere*, and νήνεμος εὐδὲι πεσών of the sea).—ὀβρίμων. It is possible that ὀμβρίμων (of rec.) should be preferred here as connecting the word with ὀμβρος and therefore more closely with the following metaphor. ὀβριμος, while suited to the notion of storms, once more recalls the Πίαντες to whom the Argive champions have been compared (e.g. 411). Cf. Pind. O. 4. 7 Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου, and (in keeping with such a character) Hom. *Il.* 22. 418 ἀνέρα τοῦτον ἀτάσθαλον



## SCOUT.

Courage, ye true mothers' children, bred thereto. This realm is free of the yoke of slavery. The braggings of the bravoes are overthrown. Our state is in still waters, and, for all the lashing of the billow, it hath sprung no leak, but the wall proves taut, and it was with trusty champions that we blocked the ports. For the most part—at six gateways—all is well. The seventh that august Captain of Sevens, the lord Apollo,

Soph. *Trach.* 295 πολλή τ' (recc.) for πολλή 'στ', *El.* 309, Ath. 36 E &c.). *κάν* κλυδωνίου is possible. **783** ἐφαζάμεθα M, corr. recc., ἐφαρζάμεσθα Dind. (see 63 c.n.). **784** m' adds δ' (Δ superscr.) after καλῶς. **785** ἐβδομαγενής Burton

ὄβριμοεργόν, Hes. *Th.* 996 ὄβριστης Πελλῆς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὄβριμοεργός. In *El.* Mag. 613, 23 one of the senses of ὄβριμος (besides ισχυρός) is ἀπειλητικός.

**780** sq. πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε: sc. ἐστὶ. There is, however, a feeling of grammatical abruptness about this, and the true reading may be ἐνευδία τε (cf. εὐδιᾶν and Ap. Rhod. 2. 935 ἐνευδιῶν). For the expression itself cf. Eur. *Anacr.* 1145 ἐν εὐδία δέ πως | ἔστη φαεινοῖς δεσπότης στίλβων ὄπλοις.—καί: 'yes....' It is tempting to read *κάν*, but the instrum. dat. is joined to the passive sense in ἀντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, i.e. οὐκ ἐρράγη, οὐκ ἐτρώθη.—πολλαῖσι: 'though so many.'

**782** sq. στέγει: 203.—The πύργος of the town answers to the τοῖχος of the ship (747 sq.), the πύλαι answer to the 'ports' (32 sq.) and cf. θυρίδες of a ship in Ath. 205 A), and the προστάται to the fighting ἐπιβάται.—φερεγγυοῖς is stressed.—μονομάχοισι defines the reference as being to the individual champions selected by Eteocles. The word should be noted as shewing how the fighting was actually done.

**784** καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλείστ' κ.τ.λ. It might be disputed whether this means (1) 'the most part has gone well—to wit, at six gates (but not so well at the seventh)' or (2) 'at six gates the most part has gone well (but not without some harm to our men)'. Moreover τὰ πλείστ' may be the true subject of ἔχει or may be adverbial ('things have gone well for the most part'). The simplest interpretation is (1).

**785** τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας κ.τ.λ. A connection of Apollo with the number seven (perhaps originally astronomical) is indicated in various passages, e.g. Hes. *Orph.* 770 ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ | τῇ γάρ

Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσόορα γείνατο Λητώ, Plut. *Mor.* 717 D τὸν θεόν, ὡς ταύτη (sc. τῇ ἐβδόμῃ) γενόμενον... Ἐβδομαγενῆ καλεῖτε, *ibid.* 738 D ἡ δ' ἐβδόμας τῷ Μουσηγέτῃ προσκεκλήρωται, 391 F, Herod. 6. 57, Herond. 3. 53 (where see Nairn). But to suppose that ἐβδομαγέτας is here simply substituted παρὰ προσδοκίαν for ἐβδομαγενής would make a very feeble point. The addition of ὁ σεμνός contrasts Apollo with others who might bear the title ἐβδομαγέτης. In view of the continued metaphor from a ship and its defenders it may be no idle guess that the ἐβδομαγέτης (or ἐβδόμαρχος) was an officer who 'commanded seven.' Cf. the πεντηκόνταρχος controlling 50 oarsmen on a trireme, and for other officers see Neil on Ar. *Eq.* 542. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* speaks of πεμπάδαρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, δωδέκαρχοι in the Persian army. An ἐβδόμαρχος might very well command the six ἐπιβάται on one side of a ship, being ἐβδομος αὐτός. He would choose his own post (hence ὤλετο). Literally taken such an office would not be a very exalted one, but ὁ σεμνός makes all the difference. Apollo condescends to that position. Hence also the honorific ἀναξ: 'no less than Lord Apollo.'—ἐβδομαγέτας is correctly formed for ἐβδομ(αδ)αγέτας: cf. μελανθής, Πλεισθένης (= Πλειστοσθένης) &c. The first α is one of a frequent type: cf. λοχαγέται (42), κυναγός. See *Chio.* 569 (n.) and add νοθαγενής, ναμέρεια, ποινάσσομαι, δίβαμος. The termination -τας is probably a correct survival in a military word, and would be especially fit in connection with ritual (cf. Alex. *ap.* Ath. 39 B ὁ διμῆτωρ Βρόμιος). 'Dorica forma etiam Proclus usus est in commentario ad Timaeum Platonis 111. p. 200' (Herm.).

ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἴλετ', Οἰδίπου γένει  
κράινων παλαιὰς Λαῖου δυσβουλίας.

ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;

ΑΓ. πόλις σέσσωται· βασιλέως δ' ὁμόςποροι— 789

ΧΟ. τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγον. 791

ΑΓ. φρονούσα νῦν ἄκουσον, Οἰδίπου τόκοι—

ΧΟ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.

ΑΓ. οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι—

ΧΟ. ἐκέις κῆλθον; βαρέα δ' οὖν ὁμως φράσον. 795

(and schol.?). ψ. 788 πρᾶγος recc. παρὼν recc. (for πλέον), πέλον Kiehl, πάλιν Dindorf. ψ. 789 sqq. The order in M is disturbed. The verse (790) which in the text above has been placed (\*ed.) after 795 is written in M after 789. For explanation of the error see ψ, and, for various arrangements, Wecklein's Appendix. 789 σέσσωται M, the text being otherwise sound. m' writes εἰς over ἐως of βασιλέως.

786sq. Ἀπόλλων: not merely through his traditional association with the number seven, but as the God whose oracle was disobeyed (731 sqq.).—εἴλετ': if ἐβδομαγέτας has been correctly explained, the sense 'chose' is most simple. It might, however, only mean 'took' (cf. Soph. O. T. 889 κακά νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα, and more freely still Herond. 3. 54 οὐδ' ἕπνος νιν αἰρείται).—κράινων gives the reason. He did not choose the gate simply to defend it, but 'in working conclusion to the error of Laius.' Apollo is not to blame for this result. He is the mouthpiece of destiny; the δυσβουλία of Laius must find their necessary outcome; and Apollo is represented as giving that perversity its full way. For παλαιὰς see 728 and for δυσβουλίας 735. The news is being gradually broken.

788 τί δ' ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ. The Chorus takes up the last words, of which it dimly conceives the meaning.—νεόκοτον: with the sense of 'alarming' found so frequently in νέον (357 n.).—πλέον: 'added' to previous troubles, to make matters worse (not 'left for you still to tell').

789 sqq. That something is wrong with the arrangement in M is universally admitted. The error might be one of the order or of an interpolation. The following considerations make strongly against v. 790 as it stands in M (crit. n.). (i) the reading ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτομάτων is so peculiarly corrupt that it is hard to think of it as merely a misreading of a line written in the ordinary script of the current text. It must be either an inter-

polation made at a date when the laws of iambic metre were not understood, or an interlinear explanation not intended for a verse, or it represents a line accidentally omitted and obscurely written in the margin, whence it was inserted (with misreading) at the wrong place: (2) πόλις of v. 789 has all the appearance of introducing a natural answer to the question of the Chorus; i.e. in reply to the word πόλει the Scout says 'so far as the country is concerned, it is safe enough.' This line is therefore probably genuine where it stands: (3) but, if 789 is genuine, it is natural to expect simple στιχομυθία, and therefore *prima facie* v. 790 is not genuine in its present position: (4) if the Messenger here actually said ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοκτόνων (or its equivalent), there would be no little absurdity in the subsequent dialogue. The Chorus could only ask its excited questions if it had not received the information which the line gives: (5) those questions imply the following development. The Mess. begins to speak of the brothers; he names them first in terms not quite specific (βασιλέως ὁμόςποροι). The Chorus really guesses what is coming, but in its excitement exclaims τίνες; He has not yet said that they are dead, still less that they slew each other. That they are dead is next told, but the Chorus is anxious to know, not only whether they are dead, but the worse matter still; 'Did they actually come to that dread crime? Did they make havoc of each other with hands thus too much akin indeed (796) &c.?' But to give



took for himself, bringing upon the house of Oedipus the crowning of the follies of Laius long ago.

CHO. Nay, what fresh matter is there now to alarm the realm?

SCOUT. The realm is saved, but the joint seed of the king—

CHO. Who? What sayest thou? Dread of the news confounds my mind.

SCOUT. Keep thy right mind and listen. The sons of Oedipus—

CHO. Ah! miserable me! I am true seer in things of evil.

SCOUT. Aye, and with no gainsaying, done to destruction—

CHO. Did they e'en go so far? Though sore the grief, yet tell us.

βασιλῆες recc. 792 τόκος M, with γένος superscr. (m). The glossing was frequent (see e.g. MSS at Eur. Alc. 505). τόκοι Heimsoeth, τόκω Dindorf. 793 οἱ ἐγὼ M. 794 κατεσποδημένω Dindorf. 795 ἐκεῖθι κείσθων M, with Ηλ over eis (m). Corr. \*ed. For the corruption see ↓. γ' οὖν Blomf., γ' ἀλλ' Paley, δ' ὄνθ' Herwerden. ↓.

both these last lines at once to the Chorus is to break the *στιχομυθία*. Hence it would seem that there, if anywhere, should be inserted v. 790 of M, as the necessary complete and unequivocal answer of the Messenger.

From this it will be seen that the ascription of the lines to the speakers in M is quite correct, and that the only serious error which that MS commits is in the position of v. 790. It is not very hard to find a reason why the line should have been carelessly written here. It will be observed that v. 795, which it should follow, ends in *ομωσφρασον*, while v. 789, which it does follow, ends in *ὁμόσποροι*. It was this resemblance which misled the eye of some scribe when he had copied v. 789.

789 βασιλῆες δ' ὁμόσποροι: 'the joint-seed of the king,' subsequently (792) interpreted by *Οἰδῖπου τόκοι*. The intended expression is perhaps not complete, as he may have meant to continue with *παῖδες (τεθνήσιν κ.τ.λ.)*. Though not so stated, it appears to be assumed by Aeschylus (and implied in a natural consideration of the whole situation) that the brothers were twins. If so, *ὁμόσποροι* = *οἱ μὲν σπορῶ (or ὁμοῦ) σπαρέντες*.

791 τίνες; with a tone not merely of enquiry, but of alarm. 'Who?' The last *στάσιμον* shows that they are ready for the news.

792 φρονούσα takes up *παραφρονῶ*.—*νυν* (rather than *νῦν*): 228 (n.), 232.—*τόκοι* is at least as probable as *τόκω*:

when the speaker resumes we have the plur. *κατεσποδημένοι*.

793 μάντις ἐμὲ τῶν κακῶν: not 'I presage what you are about to tell me' (a remark too naive for the circumstances), but 'I am (it appears) a prophet of the evil side of things' (referring to vv. 707 sqq.). The article is the same as that of 560 (n.), 581. It was a common reproach against *μάντιες* that they nearly always predicted *τὰ κακά*, and seldom or never *τὰ ἀγαθὰ*. The Chorus admits that it deserves this character, and there is doubtless a certain self-reproach, since the notion that prophesying evil also induced it still lingered.

794 οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κ.τ.λ. For *οὐδέ...μὴν* cf. 655 (n.), 525 (n.). The sense is either (1) 'out of question *κατεσποδημένοι*,' i.e. the word *κατεσπ.* can be applied to them beyond all question, or (2) 'equally (without distinction) *κατεσπ.*' The latter appears the more satisfactory. The former would possess point only if *κατεσπ.* were felt to be a peculiarly strong word, needing to be asserted with emphasis. The use of *οὐδέ* rather than *οὐκ* is due to the thought. It is as if he had already said 'slaughtered'—'and without distinction too.'

795 ἐκέισε κήλθων; 'Did they actually come to that?' (viz. to that fell deed which was threatened and which we feared: 668 sq., 705, 721 sqq.). Not 'Did they come to that?' (= *κάκεισε κήλθων*). The reading *ἐκεῖθι κείσθων* was due to a

- ΑΓ. ἄνδρες τεθνήσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. (790)  
 ΧΟ. οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἡναίροντ' ἄγαν;  
 ΑΓ. οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἅμα.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.  
 τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα·  
 πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται, 800  
 δισσῶ στρατηγῷ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ  
 Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμπησίαν·  
 ἔξουσιν δ' ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονὸς  
 πατρὸς κατ' εὐχὰς δυσπότημους φορούμενοι.  
 πόλις σέσσωται· βασιλείῳ δ' ὁμοσπόρου 805  
 πέπωκεν αἷμα γαί' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ.

790 ἄνδρες M, corr. Porson. χερῶν M, corr. recc. αὐτομάτων M with κτόνων superscr. (m?), but the corruption was unlikely. Qu. \*αὐθαιμάτων? αὐτοσφαγῶν Weil, αὐθαιρέτων Dindorf. 796 ζτ M in marg. ὄντως recc. ἄρα Meineke for ἄγαν. Nauck transposes ἄγαν and ἅμα (797). †. 797 ὄντως recc. 798 M

correction of ἐκείθι by κείσε. The verb is corrected by m, but ἐκείθι (not elsewhere found in tragedy, although that consideration is perhaps not of great weight) was left. The expression itself reminds one of ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν (Cho. 938), χωρεῖν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον (Soph. El. 614), ἐπὶ πᾶν ἵεναι (Ar. Lys. 543). [ἐκείθι κείσθον is a very bald phrase, whether it be taken as a question or an excited completion of the Messenger's sentence.]

795<sup>a</sup> (= 790) ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. This gives the dread news (βαρέα). The reading αὐτομάτων is difficult to explain if the original was αὐτοκτόνων. For \*αὐθαιμάτων (see crit. n.) may be quoted (1) αὐθαιμος, αὐθαίμων, (2) the similar formations φιλαίματος, ἀνόμματος. It is a stronger word (= ὁμοσπόρων) than συναίμων or ὁμαιμώνων.

796 οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς... ἄγαν: i.e. οὕτως ἄγαν ἀδελφαῖς. The hands were those of brothers, but they were also too much 'alike,' too well matched in cruel temper and in successful slaying. For adj. ἀδελφός (germanus) cf. Soph. O. C. 1262 ἀδελφά... τοῦτοισιν φορεῖ | τὰ... θρεπτήρια (and frequently). In ἡναίροντ' the imperf. gives the panoramic effect. The brothers are seen in the deliberate effort to slay.

797 οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κ.τ.λ. The Messenger prefers to see the matter from another standpoint: the work was that of their evil genius (692). He treated both alike, and at the same moment (ἅμα).

798 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ κ.τ.λ.: (1) 'by himself...', i.e. with the same thought as in 939 δυοῖν κρατήσας ἔληξε δαίμων; or better (2) 'in his own person' (no less), i.e. the deed seemed to be theirs, but it was the δαίμων himself assuredly (δῆτα), who in this act is destroying the race. [αὐτὸς δ' may be suggested; 'and in one and the same way he is in fact destroying the whole race.' Cf. αὐτὸς δὲ Soph. Ant. 715, αὐτὸς Ant. 85, O. T. 931, Eur. Med. 319. This gives point to the pres. ἀναλοῖ and also to δῆτα and γένος.]

800 sq. πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσιν: the motive of χαίρειν. Though the accus. is made the easier partly by the preceding τοιαῦτα and partly by δακρύεσθαι, it would follow χαίρειν itself by a familiar idiom. Cf. Soph. Ph. 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε, Aj. 136 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω, Hom. Il. 8. 377 ἢ νῶϊ Πριάμοιο πᾶσι κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ | γηθήσει προφανέντε, [Eur.] Rhes. 390 χαίρω δέ σ' εὐτυχοῦντα, Hipp. 1340 τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ | θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσιν, El. Mag. χαίρω σε ἐληλυθότα Ὀρωπικοὶ οὕτως λέγουσιν, Pind. P. 7. 14, Eur. fr. 328, 673.

οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται: not regarded as commanders of the two armies (since tears would not be shed for Polyn. as leader of the Argives), but in opposition to πόλιν: 'its heads.' Though Eteocles has been for a time *de facto* king of Thebes, Polyneices had his claim. The state is now headless. The words δισσῶ στρατηγῷ might



SCOUT. The men are dead, by hands of the selfsame blood.

CHO. By hands so brotherlike—too like—did they seek death?

SCOUT. So equal the spirit of their fate for both alike.

Yea, 'tis for sure none other who blots out the ill-starred race. Such cause we have for joy and tears. With the country all is well, but its heads and chiefs, its pair of high commanders, have divided with the hammered Scythian steel their substance and estate, and their holding of land will be as they find it in the grave, borne thither on the stream of their sire's unhappy prayers.

The realm is saved, but, for the princes of joint seed, the earth hath drunk their blood by death at each other's hands.

[Exit SCOUT (to right).]

end of  
3rd epis.

gives the sign for ἄγγελος to this line. *m'* writes γ' (Γ) over δ'. αὐτός γ' Heimsoeth. †. Qu. \* αὐτὸς δ' ? †.

799 δακρύσσεσθαι *m'* (i.e. σ superscr.), δακρύσασθαι recc.

803 ἐνταφῇ *M* (ξτ in marg.) and schol. χθόνα Brunck. †.

804 δυσπότμος

Headlam. πορθοῦμενοι Meineke, κληρούμενοι Weil, φθατοῦμενοι Kirchhoff. μοιρώμενοι is possible, but no conjecture is preferable to the text. †.

805 *M* has here σέσωται.

βασιλείου *M*, corr. recc.

806 γὰν *M*, γαί *m'*. ἐπαλλήλῳ Wecklein. †.

mean 'each at the head of an army,' but such a fact is irrelevant to their grief. Rather it amplifies the notion in ἐπιστάται '(our) two leaders.' Α στρατηγός is one who rules a στρατός, whether as army or people (see 107 n.): cf. Soph. *Ant.* 7 τί τοῦτ' αὖ φασι πανδήμῳ πόλει | κήρυγμα θείναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρτίως; The title is also familiar for the 'chief magistrate.' The word δισσώ and the emphasised dual point to their combination in one function (relatively to Thebes) rather than to their opposition at the head of different armies. For δισσολ as two conjoined cf. *Cho.* 866, Soph. *Aj.* 57 δισσοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας.

801 sq. σφυρηλάτῳ Σκύθῃ κ.τ.λ. The epithets are not purely ornamental, but refer once more to the cryptic prophecy. See 925 (n.). Α 'lot' was generally of softer material than iron (cf. 714 sqq. n.) and, if of iron, it would not be 'hammered' into shape.—παμψησίαν: 'full portion.' Cf. παγκληρίαν (*Cho.* 484), but the present word is nearer to the legal language (Poll. 10. 12 κάλλιον δὲ τὴν ἐνδομενίαν (supellectilem) παγκτησίαν ἢ παμψησίαν ὀνομάσαι...τραγικώτερον γὰρ ἢ παγκληρία).

803 ξξουσι...χθονός. The common alteration to χθόνα is technically very improbable.—ἣν belongs to παμψησίαν (which may denote one person's share; cf. *Cho.* 484), and the construction is strictly ξξουσι δὲ χθονός παμψησίαν ἣν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ, 'they will hold, as their full share of land (i.e. as far as their

estate in land is concerned), that which they get in burial.' For the notion cf. 718 sq.

804 δυσπότμος = κακοδαίμονας in the sense of 'misguided,' 'infatuated': cf. Bacchyl. 5. 138 μάτηρ κακόποτμος ἐμοί | βούλευσεν ὀλεθρον, Soph. *O. T.* 888 δυσπότμον χάριν χλιδᾶς. So *Aj.* 1156 ἀνολβον = 'foolish' (where Jebb cites Dem. 3. 21 οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχής εἰμι). Similarly δύστηνος (*Ar. Ecc.* 166). Hence φορούμενοι is sound. Their reckless conduct is due to their being borne helplessly along on the current of their father's misguided prayers. The notion in κατ' εὐχὰς φορούμενοι is precisely that of κατ' οὖρον (677) following μήτι σε...ἅτα φερέτω (674), and the whole thought is the same as in that context. Cf. also *Cho.* 926 (n.) πατρὸς γὰρ αἴσα τόνδ' ἐσουρίζει μόνον, Pind. *I.* 3. 5 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιός οὔρος | πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαΐσσων εὐαίνειν, Sol. fr. 12 (4). 45 ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλείοισιν.

805 πόλις σέσωται κ.τ.λ. Before departing the ἄγγελος formally sums up his tidings of good and bad. In ὁμοσπόρον followed by ὑπ' ἀλλήλων there is the thought that, as they were born together, so they died together and through each other. The opposition πόλις) (βασιλείου as in 749 sq.

806 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ. It is doubtless tempting (though unnecessary) to read ἐπαλλήλῳ (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 56 αὐτοκτονούντε τῷ ταλαιπῶρ μόνον | κοινὸν κατηργάσαντ' ἐπαλλήλων χερσίν, where

ΧΟ. ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιοῦχοι  
δαίμονες, οἳ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους  
τούσδε ῥύεσθε,  
πότερον χαίρω κάπολολύξω  
πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτηρίᾳ,  
ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας  
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους,  
οἳ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν  
καὶ πολυνεικεῖς  
ῶλοντ' ἀσεβεῖ διανοία;

810

815

στρ.

ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία  
γένεος Οἰδίπου τ' ἀρά,  
κακόν με καρδία τι περιπίτνει κρύος.

807 πολισσοῦχοι M, corr. Pauw.

809 ῥύεσθαι M<sup>a</sup>, τοῦσδ' ἐρύεσθε rec. For metre

↓. 811 σωτήρι M, σωτηρία rec. (of which some transcriber of M failed to make metre). ↓. σωτήρι <τύχη> Scholfield (φορῆ, πότμω, δρόμω or φήλῃς might also be

MSS give ἐπ' ἀλλήλων). The construction is φόνω (modal or instrumental) ὑπ' ἀλλήλων (with the verb) rather than ὑπὸ φόνω 'under (to the accompaniment of) slaughter.' Cf. Ar. *Eg.* 1169 ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τῇ χειρὶ τῆλεφαντίνῃ, Eur. *Suppl.* 401 Ἐτεοκλέους θανάτῳ... | ...ἀδελφοῦ χειρὶ Πολυνέκους ὕπο. A similar but more ambiguous combination in Eur. *H. F.* 20 Ἦρας ὕπο | κέντροις δαμασθείς. [It is possible also to construe φόνω ὑπ' ἀλλήλων as = τῷ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φονεῖν θῆναι.]

807 μεγάλε Ζεῦ κ.τ.λ. Zeus, though invoked first and separately according to the principle *ab Iove principium* (cf. *Suppl.* 1 (n.)), is himself one of the πολιοῦχοι (111). Hence καὶ virtually = καὶ ἄλλοι (see schol.).

808 sq. οἳ δὴ κ.τ.λ. δὴ takes up πολιοῦχοι: they prove 'guardian gods indeed.'—ῥύεσθε: though the pause is perhaps greater in the instances cited by Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 1303, the break in synapheia is allowable when there is any appreciable stop at all (cf. *Suppl.* 7, 13, 36, *Cho.* 861, *Pers.* 15). There is affection in τούσδε and a plea in Κάδμου (cf. 125 with 153).

810 sq. ἐπολολύξω: 254 (n.), *Ag.* 28, 592 (ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρὰς ὕπο). If πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτήρι is correct it must apparently mean 'its unharmed Σωτήρ,' 'its Saving Power unimpaired,'

i.e. the state of the city is identified with the state of its Σωτήρ (not specifically Zeus, but a generalising of its saving agencies as a genius). The Σωτήρ is represented as being injured when his city is hurt. [Otherwise we may render 'bringing no harm' i.e. 'permitting no harm.' Activity and passivity were often scarcely distinguished by a Greek in certain classes of adjectives: cf. φοβερός, τυφλός.] The paroemiac verse regularly ends in ~ ~ ~ ~, but ~ ~ ~ ~ is no less permissible (cf. *Suppl.* 7, *Pers.* 33). But σωτηρία (of rec.) is probably correct, the scansion being Homeric (συβοσῆ, ιστίη, ἀκομιστή, προθυμίῃσι, ἀεργίη, ὑποδεξίη, ἀτιμίῃσι all occur). In Soph. *Ant.* 130 ὑπεροπλίας (anapaestic) appears correct, as in *Il.* 1. 205, Theoc. 25. 138. Cf. Xenophanes *fr.* 2 (19). 7 προεδρίη, Hippon. *fr.* 40. 4 πονηρίη. [All these occurrences are Ionic, and it is quite possible that Aesch. actually wrote σωτηρίη. In that case the corruption of σωτηρίη ἢ τοὺς into σωτήρι ἢ τοὺς would follow.] The sense 'with its σωτηρία (the state of τὸ σῶον εἶναι or τὸ σῶζεσθαι) uninjured' is not open to objection. A σωτηρία may be accompanied by more or less loss and ἀσινεῖ practically = παντελεῖ.

812 sq. τοὺς: 'those.'—ἀτέκνους: i.e. besides being slain, they also leave



CHO. O mighty Zeus and the land's guardian Powers, who save indeed from harm these walls of Cadmus! Shall I rejoice with chant of jubilation that no hurt hath touched the safety of the realm, or shall I weep for the cruel and ill-starred fate of yon childless leaders of the war, who, true to their name and quarrelsome indeed, perished through wilful wickedness?

Black and inexorable Curse upon the race, O Curse of Oedipus! *strophe.* a chill of wretchedness falls round my heart. 'Twas for a tomb

suggested, but it is hard to see why any of these, except φορῶ, should be lost). *ἀσινὴς εὐσσία* Ritschl. **814** οἱ δῆτ' ἐτεῶς Halm. **815** <ἐτεὸν κλεινοί> καὶ (Priēn) or <ἐτόμως κλεινοί> or the like are not required. **816** ἀσεβῆ M<sup>a</sup>. **818** Οἰδίπου γ' rec. **819** καρδίαν rec. **τ\*** M (i add. m). περιπτυνεῖ

no children behind them, whether to continue the race or (a point very essential to Greek notions of happiness in death) to pay honours to their tombs. In Lucian *Luci.* 13 the father who has lost his son will cry οἶχαι μοι καὶ τέθνηκας...οὐ γαμήσας, οὐ παιδοποιησάμενος. Cf. *Cho.* 1004 δλοίμην πρόσθεν ἐκ θεῶν ἄπαις (n.), Soph. *El.* 187 ἄτις ἀνευ τεκένων κατατάκομαι, Eur. *I. T.* 697 ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαις δόμος | πατρῶος οὐμὸς ἐξαλειφθεῖη ποτ' ἄν. Though according to Pind. (*O.* 2. 38) and Hdt. (4. 147) Polyneices left a son Thersander, and according to Hdt. (5. 61) Eteocles left a son Laodamas, to play their parts among the Epigoni, yet none of the tragedians recognise the existence of these sons, but all imply the contrary. So in Soph. *Ant.* 174 it is γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεία that Creon succeeds to the throne.—πολεμάρχους: see 800 sq. (ἐπιστάται and στρατηγῶ). Not 'leaders (on either side) in (this) war,' but those who would naturally lead Thebes in its wars. There are no princes left to take this place, and the fact is a cause of public concern.

**814** sq. οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κ.τ.λ. The notion that e.g. <ἐτεὸν κλεινοί> has fallen out is due to an instinct for seeking in poetry the formality of prose. A prose-writer would perhaps say 'who perished true to their names—Right-Famous and Right-Quarrelsome.' But among poets Aesch. at least would hardly have used so pleonastic an introductory expression as δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. For him δῆτ' ὀρθῶς or δῆτα κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν at most would have sufficed. He might, for instance, have written οἱ...ἐτεῶς δὴ κλεινοὶ καὶ πολυνεικεῖς ὤλοντο. What he actually says is οἱ ὤλοντο ('who perished, in the one case') ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν (viz.

Eteocles, 'true to his name,' i.e. with ἐτεὸν κλέος, as fighting for his country and his honour) καὶ ('and in the other case') πολυνεικεῖς (i.e. Polyneices, διὰ τὸ πολυνεικής εἶναι). The only word which belongs equally to both persons and emphasises the fitness of the names is δῆτ'.

ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. For ὀρθῶς in this connection cf. 392 (n.), Soph. *fr.* 880 ὀρθῶς δ' Ὀδυσσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακοῖς. For instances of similar etymological play on names see *Cho.* append. to v. 32, Paley, *Intro.* to Eur. Vol. 1. p. xxxii, Smyth on Bacchyl. 6 (3). 1, and add e.g. *Hymn. Aphr.* 198 τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκά μ' αἰνὸν | ἔσχεν ἄχος.

**817** sq. ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελέα. At first sight the combination of adjectives appears strange, but τελέα, in its sense of 'completing' or 'completed,' involves that of 'unrelenting.' The Ἄρά is personified; hence μέλαινα (cf. 686 (n.) and *Kῆρες μέλαινα* Mimnerm. 2. 5).

γένεος Οἰδῖπου τ': i.e. the curse which has attached itself to the race as a whole since the πρῶταρχος ἄτη (*Ag.* 1191), and which was renewed in the malison of Oedipus. So far as concerns the subject in Aesch. the reference is to the consequences of the δυσβουλία of Laius, but even the prohibition laid upon Laius was due to a previous ban upon the γένος. The schol. on Eur. *Phoen.* 1611 ἀρὰς παραλαβὼν (Οἰδῖπου) Λαῖου καὶ πασι δούς relates that Laius had been cursed by Pelops for carrying off his son Chrysippus.

**819** καρδία: either locat. or dat. incommodi.—καρδίαν of the later copies is the more common (*Suppl.* 384 φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας, *Eum.* 88, Hom. *Il.* 23. 47 ἐμὲ...ἔξετ' ἄχος κραδίην, Hes. *Scut.* 41

ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος  
 Θυιάς αἵματοσταγαῖς  
 νεκρὸν κλύουσα δυσφόρως  
 θανόντας· ἢ δύσσορnis ᾗ-  
 δε ξυναυλία δορός.

820

ἀντ.

ἔξέπραξεν, οὐδ' ἀπείπεν  
 πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις·  
 βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαῖου διήρκεσαν.  
 μέριμνα δ' ἄμφι πτόλιν  
 θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται.

825

m'. *δεινόν* (for *κακόν*) Heimsoeth. †. 821 *νι* of *θυιάς* is written by m' in an erasure. *θυιάς* *ὡς* rec. (*ὡς* being interpretative). \**Θυιάς ᾗτ', αὐτοσφαγείς* would answer exactly to the antistrophe (829), but the syllable affected is of either quantity. (For *-σφαγής*

*τοῖος* γὰρ *κραδίην πόθος αἰνυτο ποιμένα λαών*), but is scarcely therefore the more probable.

With *κρύος* of grief and fear cf. *Eum.* 161, *Ar. Ach.* 1191 *στυγερὰ τάδε κρνερά πάθρα*, *Pind. P.* 4. 73 *κρύον μάντευμα*, *Batrachom.* 74 *φόβον κρύοντος*, and the same metaph. in *Cho.* 82 *κρυφαῖος πένθεσιν παχυνομένη* (n.), *Hom. Il.* 22. 452, *P. V.* 719 *ψύχειν ψυχάν*, with the contraries *λαίνειν*, *θάλλειν*. All *κρύος* is unpleasant, and the force of *κακόν* is to intensify—a *κρύος* of more than ordinary distress. *τι* should be noted. It is not merely *κρύος τι*, as if the met. were qualified by *τι*, but = *κρύος περί τινος*; there is 'a certain matter' causing the chill. The meaning is brought out in what follows. There is a sense of guilt in their feeling.

820 sqq. *ἔτευξα κ.τ.λ.* It is perhaps natural to think of *ἔτευξα* as a virtual present (or 'timeless') after the pattern of *ἐπήνεσα*, *ἤσθην*, *ἐέλασα* (= *ἤσθην*), *ξυνήκα*, *ἐμαθον*, *ἤδεσάμην*, *ἐφριξέ' ἔρωτι* &c. But all these express feelings or attitudes of mind, and they have no analogy with *ἔτευξα μέλος*. In *Cho.* 422 *ἐκοῦσα κομμὸν Ἄριον* the tense is a true past. Moreover in v. 823 those who render *δύσσορnis ᾗδε ξυναυλία κ.τ.λ.* as 'ill-omened harmony (or symphony) of the spear'—whether it mean the equal combat of the brothers or (as Verrall takes it) the dirge which the Chorus is now to sing—do not give to *δύσσορnis* any satisfactory value. The combat (or dirge) may be 'sad,' but why 'inauspicious'? As used to describe a fight *ξυναυλία* is surely a naively

incongruous term, and as used of a musical performance *ξυναυλία δορός* should mean music which accompanies fighting, not which follows it. The tense of *ἔτευξα* can only relate to the past, and the *μέλος* must be that of the last ode (707—776). This was sung while the fight was proceeding and was therefore *ξυναυλία δορός*, the latter word being stressed, since the *αὐλός* usually accompanies more peaceful actions. But it was an unfortunate and inauspicious theme to have chosen at such a time, the *δυσφημία* being a species of *μαντεία κακῶν* (793 n.), and therefore it was *δύσσορnis*. There is no difficulty in *ᾗδε*, which = *ταῖαδε* (for *ταιαύτη*).

The surface objection to this interpretation lies in the words *αἵματοσταγαῖς* ... *κλύουσα θανόντας*, and the mistaken rendering naturally arose from assuming that the singing does not occur till it is heard that the brothers are slain. But we may join the words closely to *Θυιάς*, 'in my frantic condition (in my Thyiad possession) hearing...' i.e. 'my frenzy made me hear' (prophetically).—*τύμβῳ* is emphatic, and the sense of the whole passage is 'The tune I made was a tune for the tomb, when in a Thyiad state I heard of blood-dripping corpses miserably slain. Verily such an accompaniment to a fight was inauspicious (and hence my shudder of self-reproach).'

[For the reading see crit. n.—*Θυιάς ᾗτ', αὐτοσφαγείς* would help towards obviousness as well as produce exact metrical correspondence, but the metre is sound enough and the omission of *ᾗτ'* is idiomatic.]

820 *ἔτευξα τύμβῳ*: i.e. not for some



I raised a song, when, as in frenzied vision, I heard of dead forms miserably slain, dripping with blood. Ill-omened it was for men to fight to music such as that!

The father's malison, once uttered, wrought its end un-<sup>anti-</sup>wearying. In disobedience Laius chose, and his choosing has<sup>strophe.</sup> run the course. No care of country can make blunt the word<sup>necessity</sup> of Heaven. <sup>double</sup>

and -σταγῆς confused see MSS at *Pers.* 818.) θινὰς ὤς, αἰμοσταγεῖς Heimsoeth.

822 δυσφόρως M, δυσμώρως schol. and recc. ↓. δυσμώρως recc.

823 ἄθε M.

827 ἀπειστοὶ rec. ↓. ἀπειστοὶ, Λάι', οὐ Verrall.

828 The usual punctuation is

πτόλιν· | θέσφατ' ↓. ἀμύνεται would be an easy suggestion for the metre, but is less

pleasurable διατριβή.—ἐτευξα simply = ἐποίησάμην: cf. Hom. *Od.* 10. 118 τεύχε βοήν, Pind. *P.* 1. 4 ὅπταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχης, *ibid.* 12. 19 τεύχε πάμ-φωνον μέλος.

821 Θινὰς: in frenzied inspiration. Cf. Eur. *H. F.* 1121 "Αἰδου βάκχος. The absence of ὤς makes the phrase more idiomatic: ἐτευξα μέλος θινὰς = ἡ οἷα θινὰς τεύχοντα μέλος. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 159 ὄνος ἀγῶ μυστήρια, Cephisod. (*Com. Frag.* 11. 883) ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὄνος ὕμαι. Cic. *de Or.* 2. 57 docebo sus oratorem. In αἰματοσταγεῖς we have once more a woman's dread of blood as the chief feature in the slaughter which she visualises (cf. 406 αἱματηφόρος).

822 δυσφόρως: i.e. in a manner distressing for us to bear. This is supported by *Cho.* 344—352, where it is wished that Agam. had died with glory and left a tomb δώμασιν εὐφώρητον. The moral aspect is added to the physical by this word as much as by δυσμώρως (i.e. fratricidal).

823 sq. δύσσορνος: since δυσφημία induces an evil result.—ἄθε: 'this (of ours)'; practically = τοιάδε. Otherwise we may make ξιναυλία concrete (cf. ξυντέλεια 237, προσφίλεια 502): 'we were an ill-omened accompaniment.'

ξιναυλία. The αὐλὸς was played as the accompaniment to various operations, e.g. at weddings, banquets, theatrical performances, and doubtless during various peaceful ἀγῶνες. Here the song accompanied a bloody ἀγῶν, an ἀγῶν δорός.

825 sq. ἐξέπραξεν οὐδ' ἀπείπεν κ.τ.λ. The words are an answer of one half-chorus to the self-reproach of the other. 'Our inauspicious μέλος is not the cause; the deed came through the relentless exaction of the debt by the

Curse of Oedipus and in consequence of the folly of Laius.'—ἐξέπραξεν: without obj. (e.g. τὸ χρέος): cf. 776 τελέση.—πατρόθεν belongs to the combined εὐκταία φάτις (the ἀρά or εὐχή of 804), but in strict grammar is connected with the verbal notion in εὐκταία. The fuller phrase is not merely a variation of εὐχή, but expresses more specifically 'the prayer, when once uttered.'

827 βουλαὶ δ' ἀπειστοὶ κ.τ.λ.: 'the unconvinced will of Laius has run its full course' (lit. 'has lasted out'), i.e. has gone on to its full and natural effects: cf. 787 κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαῖον δυσβουλίας (n.).—βουλαὶ ἀπειστοὶ = αἱ δι' ἀπιστίας δυσβουλῆαι. Laius thought he knew better than the oracle. (ἀπιστος· ἀπαράπειστος, ἀπειθής Hesych. from Soph. *Troilus.*) The sense is the same as that of ἀπειστοὶ 'not persuadable,' but there is probably no clear rule for the substitution of the latter form (cf. στιπτός, σπειπτός and note on Ar. *Ran.* 505). We may perhaps be content to write ἀπειστοὶ when there would be ambiguity (as perhaps *inf.* 861).

828 sq. μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν θέσφατ' κ.τ.λ. The lines are generally punctuated otherwise (crit. n.), being regarded as separate sentences with emphatic asyndeton. The first then means 'I fear for the country' (a sort of premonition of the war of the Epigoni?). But this is very abrupt and could scarcely have conveyed an intelligible sense to the audience. By making ἀμβλύνεται causal middle we remove the difficulty: 'and care for the country does not cause divine utterances to lose their edge.' For such middles cf. 841 (n.), *Cho.* 567 τί δὴ πόλιν τὸν ἱκέτην ἀπεργεῖται | Αἰγισθος; *Eum.* 169 (ἐχράνατο), Eur. *H. F.* 168 τῶνδε τιμωροῖς... λιπέσθαι. The allusion is not to the conduct of Eteocles

ἰὼ πολύστονοι, τόδ' ἥρ-  
γάσασθ' ἄπιστον; ἦλθε δ' αἰ-  
ακτὰ πῆματ' οὐ λόγῳ;

830

τάδ' αὐτόδηλα, προῖπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος·  
διπλᾷ μερίμναι διδύμιν ὄραν  
κάκ' αὐτοφόνα δίμοιρα τέ-  
λεα τὰ<δε> πάρ' ἢ τί φῶ;  
τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων  
δόμων ἐφέστιοι;

835

ἀλλὰ γόνων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὔρον

expressive. **830** εἰργάσασθ', M without question-mark. Corr. \*ed. †. For ἦ- see Meisterhans<sup>2</sup> 135 sqq. **831** ἄπιστον Schütz, ἀελπτον Wecklein. **833** πρῶτος M (presumably from πρῶτος), corr. m'. **834** sqq. διπλαῖν μερίμναι διδύμ' ἄνορέα | κάκ' αὐτοφόνα, δίμοιρα τέλεια τὰ πάθη· τί φῶ; M. διπλαῖ μερίμναι διδύμ' κ.τ.λ., m.,

alone, but to that of all the kings, Laius, Oedipus and Eteocles. All these were patriotic enough and watched the good of the country, but no amount of such μέριμνα will (ever) prevent oracles from finding effect with the same trenchancy. The pres. tense makes the remark one of general application.

**830** sqq. τόδ' ἡργάσασθ' ἄπιστον; a rhetorical question, which is answered by **833** sqq., when the dead are seen approaching.—ἄπιστον is either proleptic or at least = ἄπιστον ὄν.—οὐ λόγῳ: ἄλλ' ἔργῳ (as in Thuc. 6. 18, Hdt. 5. 24). Cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 5 οἶδα δ' οὐ λόγῳ μαθῶν. More fully οὐ λόγῳ μόνον (Soph. *El.* 1453, *Aj.* 813), ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (*P. V.* 352), ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (P. V. 1114), οὐ λόγοις ἄλλ' ἐμφανῶς (*Ar. Nub.* 611). The λόγος consisted in the oracular warning and the curse of Oedipus, by which these πῆματα were foretold.

**833** τάδ' αὐτόδηλα κ.τ.λ.: 'Yonder it is, self-evident; a messenger's news is foreseen,' i.e. there is no need of an ἀγγελος to announce what is approaching. The Chorus thus informs the audience of the coming procession (a παραχορήγημα). With the general treatment of the situation cf. the entrance of the corpse of Neoptolemus in Eur. *Andr.* 1166 sqq. and of the dead chieftains in Eur. *Suppl.* 794 sqq. (*ibid.* 1115 sqq.). An Athenian audience found a tragic pleasure in 'contemplating a funeral.'

**834** sqq. The metre can hardly be determined. Hermann makes it iambic

(see crit. n.), and this has some probability, but is by no means certain. Neither can it be decided in what way the words here are to be distributed between members or halves of the Chorus. On the whole it seems best to ascribe them as in the text. The succession of short syllables is a feature of excitement: cf. the resolved dochmiacs in Soph. *O.* T. 1330 ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ' ἐμὰ πάθεα. The reading of M διπλαῖν μερίμναι διδύμ' ἄνορέα yields no meaning and the διδύμναι of recc. is very weak. διπλαῖ μερίμναι (of m) would mean 'double is the care' (for the two brothers). This might be followed by διδύμ' ἄνορέα κάκ' αὐτοφόνα 'twin sorrows of fratricide (wrought) through high courage' (thus putting the more favourable view of the struggle). But the uncertain tradition of the MSS and the peculiar accentuations in M point to the reading given in the text above: 'Here for us to see are the twofold ends—cruel, suicidal, fraught with double fate—of twin objects of care.'—κάκ' is the adj. and τέλεια the noun, the latter combining the meanings 'issues' (of their actions) and 'deaths' (τέλεια βίον: cf. Hdt. 1. 31 ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἐσχοντο, Soph. *O.* C. 1720 τέλους βίου, Plat. *Legg.* 740 C τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ ὄντων ἀν' ἥδη τέλος ἐχῆν).—\*μερίμναι διδύμιν: the two princes, regarded as objects of care and grief (cf. μέλημα, μελέδημα, κῆδος applied to persons). Somewhat similarly Eur. *Suppl.* 896 ὡς τῷδ' ἀδελφῷ πλησίον μὰ φλογί, | δισσή μερίμνα μητρὶ,



Oh lamentable! have ye wreaked this thing passing belief?  
Have woes so meet for groans come in very deed?

[*The bearers of the bodies of ETEOCLES and POLYNEICES  
are seen approaching (from left).*]

Yon sight tells its own tale; it needs no harbinger. Here is the end, plain to behold, of twin objects of our care—end cruel, fraught with double doom by mutual slaying. What other can I call it? What but griefs born of griefs homing at the hearth?

Come, friends; down the full wind of sighs ply round your

διδυμάνορα recc. τάδε recc. Corr. \*ed. (i.e. διδυμαιοραν and παρη). †. διπλαῖ μέριμναι, διδυμ' ἀγανόρεα κακά, | αὐτοφόνα διμοῖρα τέλεα τάδε πάθη Herm., ἀντιφώνα Herwerden. I formerly thought of διπλαῖ μέριμναι· διδυμ' ἀγορέα κακ' αὐτοφόνα· διμοῖρα τέλεα τάδε πάθη (assigning each clause to different speakers). **837** Paley (after Robort.) omits πόνων, thus weakening the passage. **839** γόον M, corr. recc.

κρυφθῆτον χθονί.—**δίμοῖρα**: since the end of each involved the end of the other in 'a double fate.'—**τέλεα** is subject to \*πάρ', not object to \*δράν: cf. *Pers.* 422 θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν. Hence the nom. πόνου in the answer.

**837** sq. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' κ.τ.λ. sc. παρῆσιν ὄραν.—**δ'** in such (responding) questions = 'nay' (French *mais*).—**πόνου** πόνων: 'troubles, the children of troubles.' Join in grammar **δόμων ἐφέστιοι** (*Soph. Aj.* 796 σκηνῆς ὑπαῖλος).

**839** sqq. This highly figurative passage (cf. *Cho.* 32—36 (n.) and the passage there quoted from *Ag.* 445 sqq.) is perfectly clear in meaning and construction, the text being doubtful only at one point (842), which does not affect either the general interpretation or the syntax. The Chorus metaphorically prepares to aid in wafting or ferrying the spirits of the dead brothers over the waters of Acheron to the sunless land. The manner of this will be by performing the ritual of mourning, which consists in lamentations and beatings of the hands upon the head. The sighings of lament are for the wind; the beating of the hands is for the stroke of the oars; and these together carry the boat with its melancholy freight across the water. To the Greek mind this sustained similitude is made the easier by (1) the words **ἑρέσσει** and **πίτυλος**, each of which has a special nautical application as well as the wider use, (2) the accepted notion that the dead are only admitted to Charon's boat to make a speedy passage when they

are buried with due rites. While pondering this notion the Chorus fancies it sees the boat departing across the water to the sunless land, and there springs to its mind a contrast of this boat—black-rigged and melancholy—departing to 'Pluto's gloomy reign,' with the ship which puts forth in circumstances and with a destination so different, viz. the mission-ship (**θεωρίδα**) which proceeds with bright sails and in festive trim to Delos. Delos is the 'bright' island (**δῆλος**, **εὐδέλειος**), while Hades is the 'dark' (**αἰδής**, **αἰδηλος**, **αφανής**): Delos is the land of Apollo, while Hades is a land **ἀστυβῆς** **Ἀπόλλωνι**; Delos is therefore loved of the sun, while Hades is **ἀνήλιος**. At Delos on these festal days only the pure are welcomed, to Hades (**πάνδοκος**) all classes are admitted; Delos is an island, Hades is a **χέρσος**. Aesch. is thinking of the same antithetic terms as those in *Plut. Mor.* 394 **Α** λέγεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὁ δὲ Πλούτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δῆλος ὁ δ' Αἰδωνεύς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ Σκότιος. It should also be observed that in the Delian *θεωρίαι* there went a chorus to chant *προσόδια*, and the Chorus here is thinking of such a service as contrasted with the present song of γόοι (*Eur. Suppl.* 976 αἰδαὶ θ' ὡς χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται).

A chief mistake of interpretation has lain in joining **τὰν ἀστυβῆ** **Ἀπόλλωνι** to **θεωρίδα** instead of to **χέρσον**. With this error rectified there remains no perplexity except that of the reading in v. 842. There M gives **τὰν ἀστονον μελάγκροκον ναύστολον** **θεωρίδα**. It is obvious

ἐρέσσει' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν  
 πίτυλον, ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται  
 τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα,  
 τὰν ἄστιβῃ Ἀπόλλω-  
 νι, τὰν ἀνάλιον  
 πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῇ τε χέρσον.

840

845

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦκουσ' αἰδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος  
 πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἦδ' Ἰσμήνη,  
 θρήνον ἀδελφοῦν οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως

οἰρων M, corr. m.

841 ζτ in marg. M.

842 sq. τὰν ἄστονον μελάγκροκον |  
 ναύστολον M, ἄστολον recc. Thom. Mag. (181, 10) quotes ναύστολον μελάγκροκον  
 θεωρίδα (and so Dind., with τὰν). The original ταναστολον appears to have been  
 read variously as ταναστονον and ταῖναυστολον. †. A possibility is \*ἀνόστιμον or

that ἄστονον is impossible in sense, while ναύστολον enfeebls the whole expression. Later MSS have the excellent ἄστολον for ἄστονον, and it is highly probable that ταναστονον and ταῖναυστολον are both misreadings of ταναστολον, and that, of these, the ναύστολον of one copy has become (from a marginal note) incorporated into a text containing ἄστονον. Thom. Mag. quotes the line with τὰν ναύστολον μ. θ., and this bears out the above theory. [If this is not, as it would appear to be, the true explanation, we might suggest ἀμείβεται ἀνόστιμον. The sense would be that of an unusual kind of *theoris*, which does not bring back its passengers, since they have gone to *That undiscovered country from whose bourn | No traveller returns* (*Hamlet*. 3. 1. 79), across the *irremediabilis unda* (*Verg. Aen.* 6. 425) ἐς τὸν ἀνόστητον χώρον...ἐνέρων (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 467). Hades is proverbially ἀδαιυλος (*Eur. fr.* 868), ἀνέξοδος, ὅθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος (*Theoc.* 17. 120). For the actual word in this connection cf. *Eur. H. F.* 430 τὰν δ' ἀνόστιμον τέκνων | Χάρωνος ἐπιμένει πλάτα | βίου κέλευθον.]

839 γόνων κατ' οὖρον: 'along (with) a full wind of sighs'; i.e. let our sighs be full and deep, forming an οὖρος to fill the sails. The notion of sighs as a 'windy suspiration' is not confined to Aeschylus, but is much played upon in Elizabethan conceits, e.g. Shak. *T. G. of Ver.* 2. 3 *If the wind were down, I could drive the boat with my sighs*, *Ant. and Cl.* 1. 2 *winds and waters, sighs and tears*, *R. and J.* 3. 5 *the winds, thy sighs*.

840 sq. ἐρέσσει'. The word is used

specially of rowing, but is applicable to any regular or measured motion. Cf. *Pers.* 1047 ἐρεσσ' ἐρεσσε καὶ στέναζε. *Dionys. ar. Ath.* 443 D κυλίκων ἐρέτας, *Eur. I. A.* 139 18' ἐρέσσων σὸν πόδα.

ἀμφὶ κρατὶ κ.τ.λ. Beating of head and breast was part of the funeral ceremonies. Cf. *Cho.* 424 ἀπρικτόπλακτα πολυπλάνατα δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν | ἐπασσυτεροτριβῇ τὰ χερὸς ὀρέγματα | ἄνωθεν ἀνέκαθεν, κτύπῳ δ' ἐπιρροθεῖ | κρότητον ἄμυν καὶ πανάθλιον κᾶρα, *Eur. Tro.* 788, *Phoen.* 1351, *Andr.* 1210.—πόμπιμον: 'rapid' or 'vigorous' (*supr.* 358): cf. *Soph. Tr.* 560 οὔτε πομπίμοις | κώπαις ἐρέσσων οὔτε λαίφειαν νεῶς.

χεροῖν πίτυλον. The gen. defines or identifies as in 64 κύμα στρατοῦ (n.). The usual πίτυλος is κωπών, but that application was not primary. With the present use cf. Hesych. πιτύλους· οἱ ἀλειπταὶ τὰς ἐν περιδῶν καταβολὰς τῶν πληγῶν, *Eur. Tro.* 1235 ἄρασσε κράτα | πιτύλους διδοῦσα χεῖρός.

841 αἰὲν: i.e. the ritual is always required, or always used, to enable the vessel to cross.—ἀμείβεται is causal (cf. ἀμβλύνεται 829). So *Pind. N.* 3. 26 θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὰν | ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόνον παραμείβει; ('make to change its course').—δι' Ἀχέροντ': whereas the Delian *theoris* goes across the Aegæan. The sense of ἀχος is realised in the word: cf. *Melanipp. fr.* 3 καλεῖται δ' ἐνὶ κόλπῳσι γαῖας | ἀχεα <βροτ>οῖσι προχέων Ἀχέριον, *Eur. Alc.* 443 and context.

842 τὰν ἄστολον: 'the undecorated, undressed' (cf. στολή, στέλλεσθαι). Of the *theoris* to Delos Plato says (*Phaed.* 58 C) ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας, ἐπειδὴν



heads that oar-stroke of your hands, whereby across the Acheron the unbedecked black-mantled mission-ship is ever borne into the land that Apollo may not tread, the sunless land, the land that welcomes all into the dark.

[The sisters, who have heard the news, appear (from the right).]

Stay! yonder is come Antigone; Ismene too. Bitter their business—the deathsong of two brothers. In no questionable

(with change of metre) \*τὰν ἀνοστον. ψ. μελάγκροκον ναῦν ἀστολον Sidgwick. νεκρόστολον Casaub. (to which a schol. might point), νεκυόστολον Blomf., ἀγάστονον Weil. 844 ἀστιβεῖ M<sup>a</sup>. παιῶνι H. L. Ahrens. ψ. 845 Dobree ejects τὰν ἀνάλιον. ψ. 847 ἀχανῇ (Meineke) destroys the passage.

ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψη τὴν πρύμναν τοῦ πλοίου. Cf. Soph. *Ph.* 343 ἡλθὼν με νηὶ ποικιλοστόλῳ μέτα ('with gaily-decked prow' Jebb), Pind. *P.* 2. 62 εὐανθέα δ' ἀναβάσομαι στόλον. The dressing was with flowers and probably with bunting.

μελάγκροκον. κρέκειν (cf. κρόκη) = 'weave' (Eur. *El.* 542, Pind. *O.* 6. 16 φοινικόκροκον ζωνάν). The 'black woof' here is the mourning garb accompanying the bier. On the Delian ship the sails would be white and the garments festal. Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 97 κοῦραι δὲ καὶ πεπλώματ' οὐ θεωρικά, *Hec.* 1105 τὸν ἐς Ἀἶδα | μελανοχρῶτα πορθμόν, Leonidas in *Anth. Pal.* 7. 67 τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος | ὕδωρ δὲ πλώεις πορθμῶδι κινάετη. Athenaeus (535 D) describes how Alcibiades entered the Peiraeus ἀλουργοῖς ἱστίοις.—θεωρίδα: see Plat. *Phaed.* 58 A, B. [Some have understood the word of a sacred road, after one interpretation of Hesych. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, δι' ἧς ἴασι ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, θεωρίδα. But of course no such road existed to Delos.]

843 sqq. τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι: with χέρσον. The dat. Ἀπόλλωνι differs from the gen. as 'not to be trodden by Apollo' from 'untrodden by....' It is a land which he may not tread. Cf. *Suppl.* 570 ὕδωρ νόσοις ἀθικτον ('which no disease may touch'). Delos is the land of Apollo, who is also to Aesch. the Sun-god (the notion to the contrary is entirely mistaken; see notes to *Cho.* 984, *Suppl.* 186 (=218)). Yet ἀνάλιον is not merely synonymous with, or explanatory of, ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι. The thought is that Hades is neither trodden by Apollo as the god of health and brightness, nor shone upon by him as the Sun-god, whereas Delos is favoured in both ways (cf. Hor. *Od.* 1. 14. 19 *nitentes*

*Cycladas*). The contrast between Delos and Hades is elaborated in each of the four epithets, as well as in χέρσον (opposed to νῆσον; cf. χερσόνησος). The usual interpretation of Δῆλος was naturally that of 'clearly-seen,' the exact antithesis of ἀφανῆ. Hades is ἀδηλος (Soph. *Aj.* 607), its πλάκες are ἄσκοποι (*O. C.* 1681): cf. Hermesianax *ap.* Ath. 597 B ἐπλευσαν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπειυθέα χῶρον. On the other hand the Δῆλος of men is called by the gods τηλέφαντος (Pind. *fr.* 87. 4) and in the riddle (Ath. 455 D) ἐν φανέρα γενόμεν is to be interpreted ἐν Δῆλῳ. So πάνδοκον is opposed to the purity maintained at Delos and the exclusion of disease and the dead from the island. Hades is proverbially πάγκοιτος (Soph. *El.* 137), παγκευθής (*O. C.* 1562), πανδοκεύς (Lycoph. 655), πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων (*Hymn. Dem.* 17). So *Suppl.* 163 τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων.

847 ἤκουσ' αἰδ'. The procession has already entered; next the sisters, who have heard the news, appear from the other wing. As usual the new characters are introduced by name for the benefit of the audience (cf. 6).—πράγος: 'business,' cf. 2 (n.).

849 θρήνον ἀδελφοῖν may either explain πρᾶγος πικρόν, or may be joined with the following ἦσαν, ἄλγος being in apposition. The former is the simpler. The 'bitterness' is brought out by the stressed ἀδελφοῖν.

οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως: i.e. 'sincerely.' The tragedians often make their characters insist upon the sincerity of their funeral lamentations. The professional ἡλεμιστρίαι, when beating their heads and breasts, tearing their hair &c., naturally spared themselves; their groans and tears were of course artificial: Hor. *A. P.* 431 *ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt* |

οἶμαί σφ' ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων  
στηθέων ἦσειν ἄλγος ἐπάξιον.

850

ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης  
τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἑρινύος  
ἰαχεῖν Ἀίδα τ'  
ἐχθρὸν παῖαν' ἐπιμέλπειν.

855

ἰώ. δυσασαδελφώταται πασῶν ὀπόσαι  
στρόφον ἐσθῆσιν περιβάλλονται,  
κλαίω, στένομαι, καὶ δόλος οὐδεὶς  
μὴ 'κ φρενὸς ὀρθῶς με λιγαίνειν.

854 sq. M writes the two lines as one. ἡχεῖν Elmsley, ἀχεῖν Lachmann. Ἀἰδα

*et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo*, Lucil. 22. 1, Juv. 13. 131 *nemo dolorem | fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam | contentus, vexare oculos umore coacto*: *ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris*. So (Ath. 259 E) the tyrants of Erythrae compel the citizens *στερνου-πέισθαι μετὰ βίας καὶ βοᾶν ὅδ' καὶ μέγα*. It is therefore necessary, where the grief is heartfelt, to assert the reality (*Khes*. 894 *ἰαλέμω αὐθιγενεῖ...σ' ὀλοφύρομαι*). Cf. 858 sq., 899 sqq., and see notes to *Cho*. 23—31. In *Soph. El*. 89 *πολλὰς δ' ἀντήρεις ἦσθου | στέρνων πληγὰς αἰμασσομένων* there is emphasis on the participle, 'the blows fetch blood.' The situation is clear in *Plut. Timol.* 39. 2 *φωναὶ δὲ καὶ δάκρυα συγκεκραμένα τῷ μακαρισμῷ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐ τιμῆς ἀφωσίωσιν οὐδὲ λητουργίαν ἐκ προβουλεύματος, ἀλλὰ πῶθον δίκαιον ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ χάριν ἀληθινῆς εὐνοίας*. [The sense 'in two tones,' i.e. differently for the two brothers, is difficult to get from the word and is not likely to have been in the mind of the Chorus.]

850 sq. *ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων στηθέων*. The adjectives set the soft charms of the tender breasts in contrast with the bitter sighs which rend them.—*βαθυκόλπος* and *βαθύζωνος* imply *ἀβρότης* (*Cho*. 168 n.), to which sorrow is so unfit. Cf. *Hom. Il.* 18. 339 *Δαρδανίδες βαθύκολποι | κλαύσονται νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δάκρυ χέουσας*, *ibid.* 122 *καὶ τινα Τρωάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων | ἀμφοτέρησιν χερσὶ παρειῶν ἀπαλάων | δάκρυ ὁμορξαμένην ἄδων ὀστοναχῆσαι ἐφείην*. Leaf remarks that 'κόλπος itself always indicates in Homer the breast itself (bare or clothed), not the loose bosom of the robe.' Deep bosoms are, however, thought of as going

with luxurious nurture, and the dress of the non-working classes would emphasise this point of charm. The word therefore often describes the Greek 'lady': cf. *Hom. Od.* 3. 154 *κτῆματά τ' ἐντιθέμεσθα βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας* (as prizes), *Lycophronidas fr.* 1 *παρθένων | τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων*. In [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 31 *ἱμεῖρων φιλόητος ἐνζώνιο γυναικὸς* the attractions of figure and the elegance of dress are considered together. *Hesych.* explains *βαθυκόλπων* *ἡρωίδων, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους*, and, though this is too precise, the feature may have been a racial characteristic of the feudal lady of epic times, like her *ξανθότης*.

851 *ἄλγος ἐπάξιον*: i.e. worthy of the occasion and of their relationship. Cf. *Pers.* 549 *καγὼ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων | αἶρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῆ*, *Cho*. 329 *γῶος ἐνδίκος*.

852 *ἡμᾶς*: emphatic.—*δίκη*: 'the right course' (in duty or etiquette). See 585 *δίκαιον* (n.).

*πρότερον φήμης*: 'before any utterance (of theirs).' This is part of the ritual. The words serve as an explanation of the prolonged silence of the sisters after appearing upon the scene. The Chorus will act like the *θρήνων* *ἐξαρχοι* in *Hom. Il.* 24. 720.

853 sqq. *τὸν δυσκέλαδον ὕμνον Ἑρινύος κ.τ.λ.* The qualification in adj. and gen. is of exactly the same kind as in *κῆμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ* of v. 64 (n.). Here there are oxymora. 'It is the Erinyes who has achieved, and our hymn is hers—but one of bitter sound: it is Hades who is victor, and our paean is his—but one hateful to utter.' The demonst. *τὸν* = 'that (only too well known)...' In appraising *δυσκέλαδον ὕμνον* we must



way, methinks, will they give forth from their breasts, so lovely and deep of bosom, grief due and full.

But 'tis our part, ere word be uttered, to raise loud the dismal hymn of the Avenging Spirit, and to chant thereto the loathed paean of the Lord of Death.

Ah! ye least blest in your brothers of all women who bind their robes athwart the breast! I weep, I sigh; in all guileless truth 'tis from out my heart my shrill cry comes.

Victorius. **855** ἐχθρῶν M, corr. m'. **856** M prefixes τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ χοροῦ.

remember the common use of *κελαδεῖν* in celebrating glories, and of *ἕμνος* in connection with victories (*ἕμνος καλλνικος*, *Ὀλυμπιονίκης*). The same point occurs in Eur. *Ion* 1090 *δυσκελάδοισιν* | ...*ἀείδθ' ἕμνοισ* | *ἀμέτερα λήχεα*. With the oxymoron *Ἄϊδα παῖάνα* cf. *Ag.* 650 *παῖάνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων*, *Cho.* 151 *παῖάνα τοῦ θανάτου*, Eur. *Alc.* 424 *παῖάνα τῷ κάτωθεν...θεῷ*, Eur. *Tro.* 578 *παῖάνα...σπενάζεις*. Strictly speaking "*Ἄϊδας ἕμνεϊ δίχα παιδῶν*" (Eur. *I. T.* 182). [On the paean see Smyth *Gk. Mel. Poetry* pp. xxxvi sqq.]

*ἐπιμέλπειν*: i.e. ἐπὶ τῷ ἕμνῳ. They are to sing the words of the *ἕμνος* and then add the *παῖαν* of Hades, viz. cries of lamentation as a *παιανικὸν ἐπίρημα*.

**856** sq. *δυσαδελφότητα* κ.τ.λ. For the form of expression cf. 911 sq. Some treat the present passage as meaning no more than 'of all women,' others as 'of all maidens.' The objection to the latter is that there is no sign of the use of the *στροφος* (or *στροφίον*) being restricted to maidens. Nonius (p. 538. 7) indeed calls it in its Latin form *fascia brevis quae virginalium tumorem cohibet papillarum*, but this, even if it really implies a limitation, was not a limitation for the Athenians. In Ar. *Thesm.* 638 *χάλα ταχέως τὸ στροφίον* (cf. *ibid.* 139, *Lys.* 931) married women are in question. The *στροφίον* (the popular word), as distinguished from the *ζώνη*, was in particular a twisted band or sash round the bust under the breasts (Catull. 64. 65 *tereti strophio lactentes vincta papillas*). (That it is thought of as worn outside is clear from *περιβάλλονται*, since *περιβλήματα* are outer wear.) It appears however that at least the form *στροφος* was used of any 'sash,' and it is only in direct opposition to *ζώνη* (*Suppl.* 466, Ar. *Thesm.* 255) that it specially belongs to the breast. See *Dict. Ant.* II. p. 720, Rich p. 625.

On the other hand it is quite unlike Aeschylus to use such a periphrasis for 'of all women.' He would have used some such natural expression as that in Eur. *Heracl.* 570 *τλημονεστάτην δὲ σὲ | πασῶν γυναικῶν εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ*, or *Hipp.* 679 *κακοτυχεστάτα γυναικῶν ἐγώ*. We could defend the periphrasis only on the ground that it might be part of an old allusive phraseology of dirges and the like. But there is no evidence of this, and it seems more likely that the allusion is similar to that in *βαθυκόλπων* (850). The wearing of the *στροφος* is probably part of the attire of ease and elegance, not of working-dress. She who *στροφον περιβάλλεται* is the same who is *εὐζωνος*, *βαθύζωνος*, *καλλιζωνος* (Bacchyl. 5. 89).

**858** sq. *κλαίω, στένομαι*: see 60 (n.), 643 (n.).

*δόλος οὐδὲς μὴ* κ.τ.λ. It is true that *μὴ οὐ* is the more regular idiom after the negative, but the simple *μὴ* is very frequent. Cf. *Ag.* 1169 *οὐκ ἐπήρκεσαν | τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν*, *P. V.* 1089 *τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαλεῖν*; *Soph. Aj.* 950 *οὐκ ἂν τὰδ' ἔστη τῇδε μὴ θεῶν μέτα*, 96 *κούκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μὴ*, *Phil.* 348 sq., *Tr.* 90, Eur. *Or.* 1033 *οὐχ οὖν τε μὴ στένειν κακά*. It is surely unscientific to substitute *μὴ οὐ* wherever synizesis would permit of it. Doubtless the copyists might sometimes omit *οὐ* (as in *Soph. Tr.* 622 where A has *τὸ μὴ οὐ* and rec. *τὸ μὴ*), but the copyists were capable of erring in the other direction. In *P. V.* 812 *οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι | τὸ μὴ γεγωνεῖν* has *οὐ* superscript, and the same addition occurs *ibid.* 950, but it is impossible to say whether *οὐ* had been omitted or whether some reader is noting the usual combination. Fortunately the metre rejects *οὐ* in the present instance. [Under whatever name we classify this infin. (e.g. 'exegetic') it is equal in effect to *ὥστε μὴ...* and is in strict grammar the locat. of a verbal noun, i.e. 'in re-

στρ. α'.

ἰὼ ἰὼ δύσφρονες,  
φίλων ἄπειστοι καὶ κακῶν ἀτρυμονες,  
δόμους πατρώους ἐλόν-  
τες μέλαιοι σὺν ἀλκᾷ.

860

μέλαιοι δῆθ', οἱ μελέους θανάτους  
εὗροντο δόμων ἐπὶ λύμᾳ.

865

ἀντ. α'.

ἰὼ ἰὼ δωμάτων  
ἐρειψίτοιχοι καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας  
ιδόντες, ἤδη διήλ-  
λαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ.

κάρτα δ' ἀλσθῇ πατρὸς Οἰδιπόδα  
πότνι' Ἐρινὺς ἐπέκρανεν.

870

**860—940** The parts are marked in M sometimes with the paragraphus (viz. at 860, 864, 866, 878, 879, 880, 883, 895, 899, 910), sometimes with the indication of the person, viz. for Χο. at 900, 923, Ημυχ. at 906, 1Σ. at 917, 933, ΑΝ. at 929. At 860, 864 the sign for Ημυχ. comes from m, and at 895, 896, 898 the signs have been erased. It is impossible to tell upon what evidence the ascriptions are based, but they manifestly lack probability or adequacy. Any modern division must rest on subjective grounds. In view of the necessary uncertainty, and to avoid confusion, the present text leaves much of the distribution an open question. It has seemed sufficient to indicate the change of speaker without further identification. For

spect of my not lamenting.'] For the sentiment cf. 849 οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως (n.).

**λιγαίνειν.** The cry of lamentation, as of intense feeling, was shrill. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 5 κλαίοντα λυγέως, *ibid.* 284 λυγ' ἐκώκυε. So 1014 δξύμολπος, Soph. *Aj.* 630 δξύτονους ψῆδας θρηνήσει, *Cho.* 818 (n.).

**861 φίλων ἄπειστοι κ.τ.λ.** The gen. follows privative compounds not only when it is fundamentally partitive (as in ἀσκενος ἀσπίδων, ἀμυγῆς ὕδατος, μνηῶν ἀνήρημος &c.), but (from the analogy of these) when the adj. is verbal and the gen. stands for either the object of the active verb (as in *P. V.* 432 μάχας ἀτρεστοί=οὐ τρέουσαι μάχην, Soph. *Tr.* 23 ἀταρβῆς τῆς θέας=οὐ ταρβῶν τὴν θέαν) or the subject of the passive (e.g. Soph. *Ph.* 867 ἐλπίδων ἄπιστον, 'not credited by my hopes,' *Ant.* 1034 μαντικῆς ἀπρακτος, Bacchyl. *fr.* 60 ἄδματες νόσων, Eur. *Hipp.* 949 κακῶν ἀκρήρατος). Here φίλων ἄπειστοί=οὐ πεπεισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, while κακῶν ἀτρυμονες may either be (1) οὐ τετρυμένοι ὑπὸ κακῶν ('never wearied by troubles'= 'ever ready for more': cf. *Il.* 20. 2 μάχης ἀκόρητον), or (2) 'inexhaustible in (creating) troubles' (the gen. being really partitive). ἀτρυτος

is applied to πόνος (Pind. *P.* 4. 178) and κακόν (Soph. *Aj.* 788) in the sense of 'unfailing,' and one who is 'unfailing in creating troubles' may very well be called κακῶν ἀτρυμων. [Hesych. ἀτρυπῶνος· πολύπονος.] There is a deliberate antithesis of φίλων)( κακῶν.

**862 sq. δόμους πατρώους κ.τ.λ.:** i.e. 'what their prowess has caught is the house of their fathers.' There is a play upon the senses of words.—ἐλόντες=(a) 'obtain,' (b) 'overcome' (as in αἰρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, and in the legal use). So *Suppl.* 794 (n.) πατρὸς σκοπαὶ δ' ἐμ' εἶλον ('and it is I that my father's watchings have caught'). The surface meaning here is 'get possession of their father's house (and substance, 635 (n)).' The underlying sense is 'overthrow (πορθήσαντες schol.) the house of their fathers,' viz. by slaying each other and leaving the house childless (813).—μέλαιοι is aptly placed in the midst of the phrase ἐλόντες σὺν ἀλκᾷ. 'They showed prowess—a misguided prowess.'

ἀλκᾷ is quite sound. Cf. *Cho.* 236 ἀλκῇ πεποισῶς δῶμ' ἀνακτήσῃ πατρός, Eur. *Phoen.* 421 ('fight'), and even κύματος ἀλκῇ (poet ap. Plut. *Mor.* 818 A).—μέλαιοι is disyll., as *inf.* 929.



(A) Ah, ye perverse, to friends so stubborn, in mischiefs so weariless, whose prowess hath o'ercome—the pity of it!—your father's house. <sup>1st strophe.</sup>

(B) The pity in truth! 'Twas to ruin their house that they won themselves a pitiable death.

(A) Alas! Ah ye, who beat down walls—the walls of your own house: who gat sole sway—and gat it to your sorrow!—your quarrels are here ended with help of steel. <sup>1st anti-strophe.</sup>

(B) Yea, right true is the fulfilment of the great Vengeful Spirit of Oedipus their sire.

various arrangements see Wecklein (Appendix). **861** ἀπιστοι M, ἀπειστοι Hartung. **862** πατρώους δόμους, corr. Schütz.

**863** ἀλκαί M, γρ. αἰχμαῖ m (which many editors unfortunately adopt). **865** εὔροντο M. The argument is not demanded in lyric anapaests. **867** ἐρριψίταχοι M, ἐρριψίτοιχοι m. Corr. recc. **868** ἰδόντες, τί δὲ Lachmann (see str. 862). The schol. (q.v.) may point to the dual \*ἰδόντ', ἴση δὴ. Transcribers often altered the unfamiliar dual (see MSS at Soph. Phil. 533, Ar. Av. 36, 43, 44, 97, Eq. 71, Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 24, Ath. 180 D).

**869** Following this line there is an interpol. οὐκ ἔτ' ἐπὶ φίλῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνῳ διεκρίθητε (ejected by Triclinius). This might suggest that the original of M was a copy with some few scholia already written between the lines, and that the copyist of M read one such schol. as part of the text itself. **870** ἀληθῆ M. ἀληθὴς Schütz. καταρὰς δὲ θ' ἢ

**864** sq. μέλει δὲ θ', οἷ κ.τ.λ. μέλει had conveyed the moral sense of 'misguided,' 'foolish' (see 804 n.). The reply plays upon that meaning and the more common one of 'wretched' (μελέους θανάτους). The plur. θανάτους is not used simply because there were two to die, whose deaths are considered separately. Rather as in Soph. El. 205 τοὺς ἐμὸς ἴδε πατὴρ | θανάτους αἰκεῖς, *ibid.* 778 ἐγκαλῶν δέ μοι | φόνους πατρώους, the plur. is allusive. The use is frequent in the case of 'death' and its synonyms, where the exact English would be 'sort of death,' 'process (or operations) of slaying.'—εὔροντο: 'won for themselves' (P. V. 283).

δόμων ἐπὶ λύμῃ: (1) 'the ruin of the house' (repeating the notion of 862) is put sarcastically as if it were the aim of the struggle. It was the sure result, and they seemed to be bent upon it. Cf. Hdt. 2. 121 τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηλθας: or (2) 'over and above the ruin of the house.' The latter is distinctly less vigorous.

**866** sq. δωμάτων: not only takes up δόμων but is needed to limit and define ἐρριψίτοιχοι (see 64 n.). The cognates of that word are generally used in compliment upon might and prowess in breaking down the walls of towns by siege as conquerors. In this instance they are only ἐρριψίτοιχοι of their house.

For the word cf. Bacchyl. 5. 56 ἐρειψι-  
πύλαν | παῖδ' ἀνικατον ... Διός. In the same writer 12 (13). 134 Αἰακίδαῖς ἐρειψ[ιτοίχοις] is one suggestion for filling the gap, but, since τοίχος is the wall of a house and not of a city, perhaps ἐρειψ[ιπύργοις] may be more approved. The plurals are allusive, ἐρειψίτοιχοι referring to Polyneices, who was seeking to break down the walls of Thebes, while πικράς μοναρχίας ἰδόντες refers to Eteocles, who had grasped μοναρχία (instead of dividing with his brother) and had done so to his cost (πικράς). With πικράς cf. Hom. Od. 17. 448 μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἴκηαι, Pers. 476 πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν | κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἤρε, Eur. Bacch. 357 ὡς ἂν... | θάνη πικρὰν βάκχευσεν ἐν Θήβαις ἰδὼν, Eubul. ap. Ath. 25 ε πικρὰν στρατεῖαν δ' εἶδον, Ap. Rhod. 3. 373 &c. Similarly Od. 1. 266 πικρόγαμοι (context).

**868** sq. ἦδη διήλλαχθε: 'your quarrels are ended here.' The words σὺν σιδάρῳ come with stress and the tone of a παρὰ προσδοκίαν '(yes), with the steel.'

**870** sq. κάρτα δ' ἀλαθῆ κ.τ.λ. The sense runs on with the preceding words: 'and so your father's curse has proved true.'—πατὴρ belongs either to ἀλαθῆ or to Ἐρινύς, but 'the Erinyes of your father has accomplished the very truth'

στρ. β'. δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι,  
τετυμμένοι δῆθ', ὁμο-  
σπλάγχων τε πλευρωμάτων

~~~~~

αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι,  
αἰαῖ δ' ἀντιφόνων  
θανάτων ἀραί.

875

διανταίαν λέγεις δόμοισι καὶ  
σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους  
ἀνανδάτω μένει  
ἀραίω τ' ἐκ πατρὸς  
<οἷ> διχόφρονι πότηφι.

880

ἀντ. β'. διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος,  
στένουσι πύργοι, στένει  
πέδον φίλανδρον· μένει

885

Weckl. (after Burgard). †. τὰ πρὸς Οἰδιπόδα Francken.

873 sq. δῆθ' M. ὁμοσπάρων Heimsoeth. †. The division of M is τετυμμένοι δῆθ', | ὁμοσπλάγχων, but for some evidence of a truer division see 896. Lachmann first marked a lacuna after

(which she foretold in dreams: cf. 709 n.) is more natural than 'the Erinys has accomplished right truthful (words or prophecies) of your father.'—πότνι': see 963 (n.), Soph. *O. C.* 84 πότναι δεινώπες. Originally the title was one of respectful propitiation applied to a dread power: 'lady.'

872 δι' εὐωνύμων: the side which would naturally be pierced by the spear in the enemy's right hand. Not only is it the side of the heart, but there is also an implied antithesis to the usual manner of reconciliation, viz. διὰ δεξιῶν. It is a reconciliation not διὰ δεξιῶν (and χειρῶν) but (with a different force of διὰ) δι' εὐωνύμων (and πλευρωμάτων). Also they are not reconciled ἀσπασάμενοι but τετυμμένοι.

873 sq. τετυμμένοι δῆθ': 'smitten indeed!' is a cry called forth by the sight of the actual wounds. τετυμμένοι seems to the speakers almost too weak. The words may either be given to other speakers or may be a repetition in the emphasis of horror.

ὁμοσπλάγχων τε πλευρωμάτων: 'sides born of the same parent.' Cf. 1022 δεινὸν τὸ κουνὸν σπλάγχνον οὐ πεφύκαμεν, Soph. *Ant.* 511, 1066, Hom. *Il.* 24. 47 κασιγνήτον ὁμογάστριν. If εὐωνύμων

is to be taken as adj. with πλευρωμάτων the τε is difficult. It can scarcely serve as a connective between the two epithets, which have no kinship of meaning. It is better to regard εὐωνύμων as substantive (cf. ἐπ' ἀριστερά, πρὸς δεξιὰ &c.), the τε-clause being exegetic: 'yes, through those sides &c.' [Yet, as a line was apparently lost here, we cannot be sure of the exact sequence of grammar.]

875 sqq. αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι is answered by αἰαῖ δ'...ἀραί and we have two aspects or causes of the deed. The blame lies partly on their own frenzy, partly on the curses invoking this mutual slaying (cf. 773 sq.). It appears therefore necessary to assume different speakers. For the plur. θανάτων see 864 (n.). The gen. is objective, representing ἀρᾶσθαι (τινι) θανάτους.

878 sq. διανταίαν...πεπλαγμένους. The manifest interpolations of the MSS (crit. n.) are easy to explain. πληγὰν speaks for itself. ἐννέπω was also written because some reader imagined λέγεις to be provided with an accus. διανταίαν, but sought a verb to govern πεπλαγμένους. Since however a reader so unready by idiom must have been of somewhat late date, it would at first sight appear as if ἐννέπω would hardly be the kind of



(A) Smitten through the left—Smitten indeed! through and sides from the selfsame loins! Alas! their frenzy! strophe.

(B) Alas the curse that doomed a mutual death!

(A) Aye, with home-thrust to house and body were they smitten, through rage too dire for words—

(B) And through impartial doom brought by a father's curse.

(A) Through the land too hath gone the pang of mourning. and anti-  
The stronghold groans, and the soil that loves its men. strophe.

this line, to answer to v. 886.

878 sq. *διανταλαν λέγει σπληγὰν* | *δῶμοισι καὶ σώμασιν* | *πεπλαγμένους ἐνέπω* M<sup>a</sup> (*λέγεισιν πλαγὰν m<sup>i</sup>, δῶμοισι M, ἐννέπω m*). The manifest glosses *πλαγὰν* and *ἐννέπω* were removed by Elmsley. †. 882 <οὐ> add. Wecklein. The loss is not rare: cf. Stob. *Eccl.* 185. 19 <οὐ> τοῦ δοκεῖν μοι, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μέλει (Gaisford). <σὺν> *διχόφρονι* Hermann. 885 *μένει* M (with

word which he would supply. Yet in Soph. *El.* 676 precisely this interpolation has occurred (in A) through a gloss which appears as such in L. With *διανταλαν* cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1307 τί μ' οὐκ ἀνταλαν ἔπαισέν τις;

*δῶμοισι καὶ σώμασιν*: dat. incomm. (or of reference) with *διανταλαν*: 'a blow which goes right home to....' *σώμασιν* might indeed have been the loc. (or the instrumental) dat. which is interchangeable with the accus. of respect (e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 683 *σώμασιν παρειμένα*, Herond. 3. 32 *γέρον ἀνὴρ ὥσιν τε κώμμασιν κάμων*, Cho. 510), but *δῶμοισι* must stand on another footing.

880 sqq. *ἀναυδάτω μένει κ.τ.λ.*: 'through unspeakable (= wicked) temper.' This is followed (cf. 875 sqq.) by another view, 'and through the fate brought on by their father's curse.'

*διχόφρονι* of MSS, apart from the metrical question, makes no reasonable sense.—<οὐ> *διχόφρονι* = 'treating both alike' (cf. *ἀντιφρόνων* 876).

883 sqq. *καὶ πόλιν*. After speaking of the brothers themselves and their house (*δῶμοισι καὶ σώμασιν*) the Chorus turns to the effect on the realm.—*διήκει* takes up *διανταλαν*. It might seem that the *πόλις* as a whole is first said to mourn, and then the *στόνος* is divided between the walled town (*πύργοι*) of Thebes and the country. But for this *πέδιον* would be required, not *πέδον*. The line in the strophe has a spondee corresponding to *πέδον*, and it is not impossible that we should read *πέδιον*, which would supply the above antithesis (cf. 257, where the *πολισσοῦχοι* are divided into *πεδιονόμοι*

and *ἀγορᾶς ἐπίσκοποι*). *πέδον*, however, is more comprehensive ('soil,' Soph. *O. C.* 380 *τὸ Καδμείων πέδον*, *Ph.* 69 *τὸ Δαρδάνου πέδον*) and the antithesis is between the built town and the native soil of the whole *πόλις* underlying all, ἡ Καδμεία γῆ.

*φιλανδρον*. A country loves population and especially one of (brave) men. Its greatest misfortune is to be *κενανδρος* (*Pers.* 122, 732 *Σούσων μὲν ἄστρ' πάντων κενανδρίαν στένει* or *ἀνδρῶν χρηρωθῆναι* (Solon *fr.* 25. 26, Hdt. 6. 83). Destitute of any prince the land is a widow who has just lost her beloved spouse.

885 sq. *μένει κ.τ.λ.*: see crit. n. A direct reference to the Epigoni is manifestly out of place. The Chorus cannot be specifically prophetic, and though a general utterance might prove to be a prophecy, it is clear that Aesch. thinks of no issue left by the brothers (see 813 *ἀτέκνους*). *ἐπιγόνους* has a more natural sense. The word is not the Greek for 'sons' or 'children' (*ἐκγονοί*), but *ἐπι-* in compounds has a force of 'after,' 'in addition' which is relative to the context. *ἐπίγονοι* are born 'in addition to' or 'after' the natural heirs (cf. Plat. *Legg.* 740 C), or (like *agnati*) those who are birth-connections (collateral) standing in the next relation to such heirs. Here they are the new successors (whoever they may prove to be) to whom the possessions will now pass. There is no heir apparent (the sisters not being regarded), and the *ἐπίγονοι* will now come in. Cf. the use of the word in Diodorus 1. 3.—*κενὰ*: 'without an owner' (lit. 'unoccupied': cf. the

κενὰ τὰδ' ἐπιγόνους,  
δι' ὧν αἰνομόροις—  
δι' ὧν νείκος ἔβα  
θανάτου τέλος.

ἐμοιράσαντο δ' ὀξυκάρδιοι  
κτάμαθ', ὥστ' ἴσον λαχεῖν.  
διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ  
ἄμεμφεία φίλοις,  
οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης.

890

στρ. γ'.

σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσιν,  
σιδαρόπλακτοι δὲ τοὺς μένουσι  
λαχαὶ πατρώων—τίνες;  
τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι—τάφων.

895

ὄδ' ἔμῳν μάλ' ἀχέτας τοὺς

the next line).

886 κτέανά τ' M. Corr. \*ed. κτέανα τὰδ' Weil. Some (with C. G. Haupt) omit the line, assuming no lacuna at 874. 889 καὶ θανάτου M, corr. C. G. Haupt. †. 891 κτήμαθ' M. ὥσθ' M (τ superscr. m). ἴσον M. Apparently there was some notion of ὥσθ' ἦσσαν (for the corruption see *Ar. Pol.* 1307 a 18 ἦττον

frequent use of *bona vacantia* and of *vacuus*, e.g. *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 9. 26 *praedia vacua*), glancing also at the sense 'bereaved' (e.g. *Bion* 1. 55 *χῆρα δ' ἅ Κυθήρηα, κενοὶ δ' ἂν ἄνδ' ὀώματ'* *Ἐρωτες*).

887 sq. The repeated δι' ὧν shows that different speakers are concerned. The gen. (instead of δι' ἃ) regards the motive as an agency rather than as an object. See Kühner-Gerth 1. p. 485 (Anm.).

888 sq. νείκος ἔβα θανάτου τέλος: 'the quarrel went on to an issue which was—death.'—καὶ was interpolated by a reader who did not understand the construction of τέλος, for which cf. *Eur. Bacch.* 526 *ἐμὸν ἄρσένα τάνδε βᾶθι νηδόν*, *Hipp.* 1371 *καὶ νῦν ὀδύνα μ' ὀδύνα βαίνει*, *fr.* 1011 *τί χρέος ἔβα δῶμα*; (burlesqued by *Aristoph. Nub.* 30).

890 sq. ὀξυκάρδιοι: stressed. They were sharply determined to get their full rights. Legally exact division would be made ὀξεῖ νόῳ (intelligence), but in this case there was a sharpness in the temper and feeling.—ἴσον. The rule of Athenian division of an inheritance was that of *ισομοιρία* between sons, and, though primogeniture must determine succession to the throne, yet where sons were twins (as apparently in this case), there might be a sharp dispute and a claim for equality even in that respect.

892 sqq. διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ κ.τ.λ. The division has in truth been equal, but it has not been natural nor kindly. The διαλλακτῆρ (*χρηματοδαίτης* 716, *λυτήρ νεκέων* 924) has indeed been πικρός (717), the ὀμόφρων σίδαρος. He has deprived them of their proper inheritance, assigning to each only enough land to be buried in (718). So the Ἄρης, who is the same arbitrator under another name (regarded as the destructive power which directed the sword), has been πικρὸς *χρημάτων κακὸς δατητής* (926 sq.). Hence the 'friends' (on either side) blame the arbitrator for the cruelty of his decision and Ares for the same temper. Ares and the sword have been impartial, but they have not been just; they have treated both alike, but both cruelly. This sense is so clear that it is surprising to find editors emending the text.—φίλοις: 'in the eyes of their friends.'—ἄμεμφεία: cf. 389, 672, 811 and Ionic forms like *ἀληθείη*, *ἐπιπειθείη* (*Semon.* 1. 6).

οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης: 'nor did Ares come (or act) in welcome fashion.'

896 sqq. τοὺς=αὐτοὺς: 372 (n.). The order of the MSS τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνες; τάφων πατρώων λαχαί is surely absurd. How would anyone be likely to ask τίτες; before the speaker had attached



Ownerless, waiting new heirs, are these possessions, through which, for these cruelly slain—

(B) Through which the quarrel went to its end—in death!

(A) With keen hearts, jealous for equal share, did they divide their substance. Not blameless do their friends hold him who made the peace—

(B) Nay, the Wargod earns no thanks.

(A) By blows of iron are they brought to this; and by 3rd blows of iron there awaiteth them the parting of that which strophe. was their sire's—'What parting?' is it said?—of their sire's tomb.

(B) Right loud this dirge of ours that thus attends them,

ἐχοντες (R<sup>b</sup>) for ἴσον (cett.) and Ath. 410 E ἰσοῦσθαι (i.e. ἴσουςσθαι) for the ἴσουςσθαι of Herodotus. 892 δ' οὖν for δ' οὐκ Wecklein. ↓. 893 ἀμεφία M, corr.

Hermann. ↓. (Cf. *Suppl.* 38 πατραδελφίαν M for -εἰαν Pauw.) 895 σιδηρόπλακτοι M, corr. Robortello. 896 After this verse M interpolates τετυμμένοι δῆθ' ὁμοῦ,

the eye having wandered to τετυμμένοι δῆθ' ὁμο- of 873. Om. recce. 897 sq. M

has the order τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνες; | τάφων πατρώων λαχαί. Corr. \*ed. ↓.

899 δόμων μάλ' ἀχέσσα τοὺς προπέμπει M. μάλ' ἀχῶ (ἀχῆν) ἐς (ἐπ') αὐτοὺς recce.

The error arose through ἀχέτας. Corr. \*ed. ↓. See schol. and antistr. 910. δεινὰν for δόμων Brunck, δόμων μάλ' ἀχὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Hermann, μάλ' ἀχέσσα ἰὰ δόμων τοὺς

any noun to σιδαρόπλακτοι? The play upon the meanings of λαχαί is also destroyed. That there was something wrong with the eye of the copyist at this point is clear from the interpolation recorded in cr. n. If the expression σιδαρόπλακτοι μένουσι λαχαί had occurred it would be natural enough for another to ask τίνες; 'what sort of σιδ. λαχαί do you mean?', and then the answer would come "λαχαί in the sense of 'digging,' the digging of a tomb (λαχαί τάφων), not in the sense 'apportionings' of property (λαχαί κτημάτων)." But to make this effective it is obvious that πατρώων should precede τάφων. The words λαχαί πατρώων are intentionally ambiguous: the deciding, or 'surprise,' word is given in τάφων. λαχαί πατρώων would first suggest a division of τὰ πατρώα: the addition of τάφων suddenly converts πατρώων into an adjective and startlingly changes the meaning of λαχαί. [The confusion was probably due, in part at least, to the similarity of λαχαί and τάχ' ἂν at the beginnings of the lines.] λαχῆ or λάχη (but cf. λαβή, ἀφή) = λῆξις (Hesych.), but the same word is connected with λαχαίνω and the schol. here says αἱ σκαφαί τὸ φιντὸν ἀμφελάχαινε (*Od.* 24. 241).

σιδαρόπλακτοι: the 'blows with the

iron' prove to be those of the δικάλλα or other instruments which open the family tomb for a new occupant. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 249 οὐτε του γενῆδος ἦν | πλῆγμ', οὐ δικάλλης ἐκβολή. The brothers will not σιδήρῳ διαλαγχάνειν τὰ πατρώα κτήματα but σιδήρῳ διαλαχαίνειν τοὺς πατρώους τάφους.

899 The metre of M cannot be related to that of the antistrophe, which has every appearance of being sound. There are also manifest objections to the words as they stand in M. In δόμων there is no point. It is not the abl. gen. of the place from which the bodies are brought (i.e. δόμων προπέμπει), since they come from the city gate. Nor does it suit any description of the Chorus, who are not women of the house. There is also nothing to agree with the fem. ἀχέσσα. The first syllable of the line being of either quantity we may read \*88 δάμων. The appearance of ἀχέσσα is due to ἀχέτας glossed by ἀχάεις. This was followed by αὐτοὺς as a gloss upon τοὺς, and the total gloss ἀχάεισαντοὺς caused the confusion of the text. The Chorus is once more emphasising the genuineness of its own manifestations of grief (849 n., 858 sq.). In ἀχέτας the ἡχώ is that both of the voice and of the κτύπος (Eur. *Suppl.* 72 ἀχοῦσιν προπύλων χέρες).

προπέμπει δαϊκτῆρ γόος αὐ-  
τόστονος αὐτοπήμων,  
δαϊόφρων δ' οὐ φιλογαθής, ἐτύμως  
δακρυχέων δ' ἐκ φρενός, ᾧ  
κλαιομένας μου μινύθει  
τοῖνδε δχοῖν ἀνάκτοι.

900

905

ἀντ. γ'.

πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν  
ὥς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας  
ξένων τε πάντων στίχας  
πολυφθόρους ἐν δαί.

δυσδαίμων σφιν ἃ τεκοῦσα  
πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν ὀπόσαι  
τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται.  
παῖδα τὸν αὐτὰς πόσιν αὐτᾷ θεμένα

910

Westphal. 900 sq. M divides with αὐτόστονος. 902 δαῖφρων M<sup>a</sup>, δαῖφρων M.  
Corr. Blomfield. δ' οὐ M, οὐ Ald. ψ. 903 δ' ἐκ M, δ' om. rec. ψ. 905 δοιοῖν  
M, corr. recc. (τοῖν διδοῖν is possible.) 906 sq. M divides with ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν

900 sq. δαϊκτῆρ: 'rending' the heart or breast. Cf. *Suppl.* 806 δαῖκτορος γάμου (which is βίη καρδίας), Shak. *Hamlet*. 3. 4. 153, and schol. We should not take it of the rending of the cheeks (*Chor.* 24 &c.). —αὐτόστονος. The sigh (1) 'comes of itself,' and not factitiously (cf. αὐτοδαής, αὐτόνομος, αὐτοδιδάκτος), and (2) is 'its very self,' i.e. no counterfeit (cf. αὐτοπρόσωπος and the philosophical αὐτοάνθρωπος &c.). The two senses run into each other, 'spontaneous and genuine.'

902 sq. δαϊόφρων. The primary sense of δαῖος implied here is plainly that of misery (*Pers.* 283 ἀποτμον βοᾶν | δυσαιανῇ Πέρσαις | δαῖος, *Soph. Aj.* 784 ὦ δαῖα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος), though it is highly probable that, using it so near to δαϊκτῆρ, the poet had the feeling of a relationship with δαῖω. The lament δαῖει τὴν φρένα in the physical sense of φρήν (for which cf. *Eup.* 158 and the next line here). It is not to be supposed that differences of meaning as tabulated in our dictionaries were consciously realised by Greek writers with every use of a word, and the sense of 'cruel' is superadded to that of 'wretched.' So Bacchyl. 5. 137 δαῖφρων | μάτηρ κακόποτος ἐμοί | βούλευσεν ὀλεθρον. The appearance of δ' is explained only by breaking up the clauses between different speakers.

οὐ φιλογαθής. An enforced lament,

e.g. of a detested master or ruler, might be a performance of joy. The γόος in itself is but a ceremony.—φίλο- livelier than πολυ- (163 n.).

In ἐτύμως δακρυχέων δ' κ.τ.λ. the particle makes antithesis to φιλογαθής. The tears come truly from the heart and not merely from the eyes ('deep in heart-wrung tears' Burns); cf. 859. Headlam quotes the proverb αἵματι κλαίνει.

904 μινύθει. The wasting away is that of the φρήν in the physical sense. Cf. Hippocr. *Art.* 796 μινύθουσι αἱ σάρκες, Theogn. 361, Hom. *Od.* 4. 374 μινύθει δέ τοι ἦτορ ἐταίρων. In *Eup.* 371 μινύθουσιν is joined with τακόμεναι, and the body is said τήκεσθαι in Plat. *Rep.* 609 C. Weeping is considered as an actual melting away (cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1089 ἐπαφηνάθη γελῶν of tears of laughter taking all moisture from the body), and when the tears come 'in very truth' from the φρήν, the φρήν μινύθει. (Verrall also finds this physical sense in the words.)

905 τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτοι: the fullness of this dual is deliberate. The lament is for two at once, both kings, and dead together.—τοῖνδε with a pathetic demonstration: 'lying here.' The gen. is causal (*Hom. Od.* 24. 425 τοῦ δακρυχέων, 22. 424 τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, *Eur. H. F.* 1114 πράσσω δ' ἐγὼ τί λυπρὸν, οὐ δακρυρροεῖς;).



and it rends us with the very groan of unforced grief. Yes, from suffering minds—no gladness there!—and with tears poured truly from a heart that wastes, as we melt in tears for the two lords lying here.

(A) Poor souls! Thus may one say of them. For their own citizens, and for strangers—come one, come all—they did much with loss and waste...in slaying. 3rd anti-strophe.

(B) Ill-starred was she who bore them, beyond all women that bear the name of mothers. Her own child she took for

ὡς ἐρξάτην | . παρέστιν M, corr. Burgard. παρέστι δ' al. 907 οἱ' Heimsoeth. πολίτας M, corr. rec. ↓. 908 δὲ rec. ↓. τ' ἐπακτῶν Meineke. ↓. 910 δυσάλων Dind. (to fit his reading in stroph. 899). ἡ M. 911 προπασῶν M, προπασῶν m. 913 αὐτὰς M, perhaps rightly (see *Cho.* 110 n.).

906 παρέστιν εἰπεῖν: all that one can say in terms of the usual funeral *ἔπαινος* is this. In the keening the virtues of the deceased were enumerated. Here εἰπεῖν ἐπ... turns out to mean a reproach.

907 sqq. ὡς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας κ.τ.λ. [The dat. comm. πολίταις of M is by no means impossible in itself after ἔρξαι or ποιῆσαι (see Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 1373); but it cannot be retained here before the accus. στίχας.] The usual *αἶνος* might set forth that a man had been a benefactor to the citizens and a φιλόξενος to ξένοι of all kinds (πάντων), no matter in what numbers or 'ranks' (στίχας) they came. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 2. 5 ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι καὶ τοίτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἔπειτα δὲ πολίτας δειπνίζειν κ.τ.λ. The Chorus plays upon this customary language: 'we can say in the case of these unhappy men that they wrought much for the citizens and for ranks of all manner of ξένοι —,' and then comes the παρὰ προσδοκίαν, 'viz. ἐν δαί.' From a translator's point of view the expression is complicated by sundry nuances which are sufficiently apparent in the Greek and eminently characteristic of the Aeschylean fondness for play upon meanings. Thus ἔρξαι πολλὰ may bear either a favourable or an unfavourable meaning; ξένων may mean guests and also foreigners; στίχας may have a military and a non-military sense. But further, πολυφθόρους has (a) an active meaning, 'causing much waste of property' (cf. *δυοματοφθορεῖν*, *οικοφθορεῖν*), which is well suited to express the loss caused by lavish entertainment; (b) a passive meaning, 'destroyed in great numbers.' Mean-

while ἐν δαί should be regarded as suggesting ἐν δαίρι. In the hospitality of feasting the πολίταις and the ξένων στίχας are πολυφθόροι ἐν δαίρι; in war they are πολυφθόροι ἐν δαί. [In the accus. πολυφθόρους the accentuation becomes identical.]

μὲν is not answered by τε (although that correspondence is not rare: cf. Eur. *Or.* 22—24, *Phoen.* 57, Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 1162, Bury on Pind. *Isth.* (App. p. 153)), but τε simply connects the ξένων στίχας with πολίτας, while μὲν is answered by the thought only: i.e. πολλὰ μὲν (κακὰ δέ) takes a shape which is virtually πολλὰ μὲν...ἀλλ' ἐν δαί. The speaker keeps his surprise word till last; until then the phrase is apparently a true αἶνος: 'did for them much, and at great cost, in—destroying them.'

For the credit of the φιλόξενος cf. Hom. *Od.* 13. 202, Bacchyl. 1. 12 ξένων φιλόξενον τιμᾶ, 3. 16 βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυαί, Pind. *I.* 2. 39 οὐδέ ποτε ξένον | οὔρος ἐμπνεύσας ὑπέσται' ἱστὶν ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν, *N.* 1. 22 θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν | οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι ἐντί, 9. 2 ἀναπεπταμένοι ξένων νενικανταὶ θύραι &c. With ξένων τε πάντων cf. Ar. *Leinn. fr.* 4 ἀνδρῶν ἐπακτῶν πᾶσα γάργαιρ' ἐστία (where probably we should read πάντα γάργαιρ' εἰστία).—πάντων: no matter whence or why they came. In hospitality (ἐν δαίρι) or in battle (ἐν δαί) 'come one, come all.'

913 αὐτὰ θεμένα: the unusual addition of the reflexive pronoun to the middle verb emphasises the incest. The use is only allowable at all when, without such emphasis, the verb would be naturally used in the middle (as in 'take' a wife or husband; cf. Bacchyl. 5. 169 τὰν κεν λιπαρὰν ἐθέλων θέμην

τούσδ' ἔτεχ', οἱ δ' ὦδ' ἔτελεύ-  
τασαν ὑπ' ἀλλαλοφόνους  
χερσὶν ὁμοσπόροισιν.

915

στρ. δ'. ὁμόσποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι  
διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις  
ἔριδι μαινομένα  
νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ.

920

πέπανται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γαῖα  
ζόα φονορῦτῃ  
μέμικται· κάρτα δ' εἶσ' ὅμαιμοι.  
πικρὸς λυτῆρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος  
ξείνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθεῖς  
θακτὸς σίδарος· πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων  
κακὸς दाτητὰς Ἀρης, ἀραῖα πα-  
τρὸς τιθεῖς ἀλαθῇ.

925

ἀντ. δ'. ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, <ὦ> μέλει,

914 M writes as one line τούσδ'...ἀλ|λαλοφόνους.

917 συνώλεθροι Weil. †.

918 διανομαῖς Weil, διατομαῖς E. A. I. Ahrens. ἀφίλοις H. Voss. †. 920 The second ε of νείκεος has been erased in M.

922 M writes ζῶα φονορῦτῃ μέμικται as

ἀκοῖτιν, Hes. Th. 937 Ἀρμονίην θ', ἣν  
Κάδμος ὑπέρθυμος θέτ' ἀκοῖτιν). For the  
added reflexive cf. Ar. Ecc. 402 ὅς αὐτὸς  
αὐτοῦ βλεφαρίδ' οὐκ ἐσώσατο (q.v.), Eur.  
fr. 256 κέρδος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῶνται ('con-  
siders') μέγα, Soph. Tr. 245 ἐξέλθ' ('chose')  
αὐτῷ κτήμα.

917 sqq. ὁμόσποροι δῆτα: 'ὁμόσποροι  
indeed!' i.e. ὁμόσποροι in a special and  
novel sense, defined or specified by καὶ  
πανώλεθροι. The responding speakers  
play upon the sense by etymologising  
(ὁμοῦ σπαρῆναι). The brothers were  
'sown together' in birth, and they have  
been 'sown together' in death, since their  
blood was shed upon the ground and  
commingled. The notion (carried on by  
ἐν γαῖα 921) recurs in ὅμαιμοι 923 (n.).—  
καὶ πανώλεθροι: 'yes, in utter destruc-  
tion.' παν- denotes that their family  
ends with them.

διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις: 'through a  
division made in hatred,' an improper  
spirit and manner of dividing an estate.  
Since the form of τὸ διαλαχεῖν τὰ κτήματα  
was 'hostile,' viz. σιδήρῃ, and since the  
division in question was performed upon  
their own bodies, διατομαῖς has also the  
physical meaning: i.e. in one sense  
διατομαί is the cleaving of the estate, in

another it is the cleaving of their bodies  
(cf. Eur. Hec. 782 ὦδε διατεμὼν χροῶ).  
It is for this reason that the Chorus  
prefers the word to e.g. διανομαῖς. The  
point of οὐ φίλαις is that an ideal appor-  
tioning would have been carried out μετὰ  
φίλιας; in this case it was done in fight.  
For further definition ἐριδι μαινομένα  
(causal) is added to the instrumental, but  
μαινομένα has its own force. The dispute  
—which might in itself be pardonable—  
went to mad extremes. Cf. Eur. fr. 453.  
11 μαινομένην ἔριν | θακτῷ τερπομένην  
σιδάρῳ.

νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ: with πανώλεθροι  
διατομαῖς; 'when it came to a final  
decision of their quarrel.'

921 sqq. πέπανται δ' ἔχθος takes up  
νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ, while ἐν δὲ γαῖα κ.τ.λ.  
qualifies the present words. 'The enmity  
has ceased (indeed), but in the shape that  
it is their life's blood which has met and  
blended in amity.'—μέμικται: cf. [Eur.]  
Rhes. 431 συμμιγῆς φόνος (of Thracian  
with Scythian enemy).

923 κάρτα δ' εἶσ' ὅμαιμοι: 'and of  
one blood are they in truth,' i.e. their blood  
is now mingled into one upon the ground.  
This meaning was appreciated by a modern  
man of letters (J. R. Lowell in *Shakespeare*



her own spouse, and brought forth these; and they have died like this 'neath one another's hands, hands made with the self-same sowing.

(A) With selfsame sowing! Yes! So have they wholly perished, ending their quarrel by a cleaving made in hate and frenzied jealousy.

(B) Their enmity is done. Their life is mingled in the earth in streams of gore. Of one blood are they, yea indeed! Harsh settler of quarrels is the alien from the sea, sprung from fire—the sharpened steel. And harsh is the cruel apportioner of goods—the Wargod, who makes true the father's malisons.

(A) They have their portion, poor souls! according to their one line (but with *φονορρίτω*, corr. Seidler). 926 *θηκτὸς* M. 927 sq. M writes

and divides *ἀρὰν* | *πατὴρς τυθείς ἀληθῇ* (*ἀρὰ* M<sup>2</sup>). Corr. \*ed. ψ. *ἀρὰν πατρώϊαν* Bothe, *ἀρὰν γε πατρός* Schütz. 929 *ὦ μέλει* recc. The scansion is *μέλει* (cf. *θεοί*, *πόλεως*).

*Once More*). This further defines *ὁμόσπορος* (917). Somewhat similar in picture is Hom. *Il.* 18. 329 *ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοῖν γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι*. [There may also be an allusion to the old custom of two parties to a contract mingling their blood. In this case it is their lifeblood (*ζῶα*) that is shed, not in agreement, but in death (*φονορρίτω*).] For *κάρτα* in such reference cf. 400 (n.), 402.

924 sqq. *πικρὸς λυτήρ κ.τ.λ.*: cf. 714 sqq. The present words indicate more clearly than any elsewhere that the original terms of the cryptic prophecy were *πικρὸς δατητής* (or its equivalent) *ξένος πόντιος πυριγενής*: 'a harsh arbitrator, a stranger, πόντιος, born of fire.' The word *πόντιος* would naturally be interpreted 'of the sea.' The apparent contradiction of this to *πυριγενής* was a mystification. It turns out that the meaning is iron, which is *ξένος*, as a new metal to early Greece; *πόντιος*, as coming (not from the sea but) from *Πόντος* (since pronunciation and ancient script have nothing to do with a difference between capitals and cursives); *πυριγενής* (here *ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς*) as being wrought by fire or even supposed to be produced by fire (see 191 n.). The construction is *πικρὸς* (*γέγονε* or *ἔστι*) *λυτήρ κ.τ.λ.*, the words *θακτὸς σίδαρος* being in explanatory apposition, 'viz. the sharpened steel.' The addition of *θακτὸς* is not idle. It refers to senses of *πικρὸς* and *λυτήρ*; 'the sharp undoer (of knots)' is 'the sharpened steel.'

926 sq. *πικρὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: another presentation of the same thought (cf.

892—894), but here the consideration is of the property (*χρήματα*) rather than the quarrel. The construction is again *πικρὸς δὲ* (*γέγονεν*) *ὁ χρημάτων κακὸς δατητής*, (viz.) *Ἀρης*. For *δατητής* see 697 (n.) and Suid. *δατέσθαι*: *δατηταὶ κυρίως οἱ τὰ κοινὰ διανέμοντες τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις*.

\**δραῖα*: see crit. n. The word is substantial. The *παρήχησις* with *Ἀρης* is of course intentional.

929 sqq. *ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες*. We must not join *ἔχουσι λαχόντες* (as = *ἐλαχον*). For *μέλει* cf. 863 sq. *μοῖραν* is not 'fate,' but 'portion,' and that portion is defined by the next words. Unfortunately *ἀχέων* of MSS is as feeble in sense as it is bad in metre. The thought seems certainly to be 'as their portion of the land they have the share which will suffice to bury them (718—720), but under their bodies there will be abundance in depth.' The *βάθος* is thus opposed to the *μήκος*. If \**πάχων* is right, the corruption may be due in part to the unrecognised α for η. The share of land which they receive is the measure of their own length, 'the cubits given by the gods.' Cf. Shak. *Henry IV.* 5. 4. 91 *But now two paces of the vilest earth | Is room enough*. On Soph. *O. C.* 790 Jebb quotes the offer of Harold of England to Harold of Norway, *Seven foot of the ground of England, or more perchance, seeing he is taller than other men*. The notion of *πῆχυς* in stature (the 'cubit' of the Bible) appears in *ἀνὴρ τετράπηχυς* and the *ἀνὴρ τρισκαίδεκάπηχυς* of Theoc. 15. 17.

διοδότην πάχεων  
 ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς  
 πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.

930

ὡς πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες  
 πόνοισι γενεάν·

τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' ἐπηλάλαξαν

935

Ἀραὶ τὸν ὄξυν νόμον, τετραμμένου

παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους.

ἔστακε δ' Ἄτας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις,

ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο, καὶ δυοῖν κρατή-

σας ἔληξε δαίμων.

940

### ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

παισθεὶς ἔπαισας.

### ΙΣΜΗΝΗ.

σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.

930 διοδότην M, corr. Bothe. θεοδότην C. G. Haupt. ἀχέων M. Corr. \*ed. ↓. ἀχ-  
 θέων Schwenk, ἀλγέων Blomfield. 931 χώματι Blomfield. ↓. 933 ἐπανθήσαντες  
 M, corr. Bothe. ἐπανθήσαντες Hartung. 934 Omitted by recc. After this verse  
 M has the interpolation πόνοισί γε δόμους (δόμοις m'), which Hermann removed. The

933 ἐπανθίσαντες = στεφανώσαντες;  
 an oxymoron. The wreaths of victory  
 or flowers of festal decoration are in  
 this case πόνοι. That is the only wreath  
 with which they have glorified their  
 family.

935 sqq. τελευτᾷ depends on ἐπ-  
 ηλάλαξαν. ἀλαλή may be the war-cry  
 or (as here) the cry of victory (Soph. *Ant.*  
 133 νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάσαι, *Ar. Av.* 1763  
 ἀλαλά, ἢ Παιήων, | τήνελλα καλλίνικος).  
 The fact seems to be that the war-cry is  
 uttered as a presage, or in confidence, of  
 victory, and thus also in the victory itself.  
 —αἰδ': 'in this instance' it was the Arai  
 who sang the song of victory, and the  
 trophy is one to Ate. Ἀραὶ = *Erinyes*:  
 cf. *Eum.* 420 Ἀραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαι  
 κεκλήμεθα.—τὸν ὄξυν νόμον. The art.  
 implies the choice of one νόμος as distinct  
 from another. The Ἀραὶ, in uttering their  
 triumphant cry, have chosen to do so in  
 the style which is ὀξύς, i.e. the note of a  
 dirge (cf. 859 λιγαίνειν n.).—παντρόπῳ:  
 the race is routed beyond recovery, since  
 all the males are dead.—Ἄτας is stressed.  
 The trophy is not that of either brother,  
 dedicated to Zeus (*Eur. Phoen.* 572) or  
 some other god (*Plut. Sull.* 19. 5 τοῖς

τροπαίοις ἐπέγραψεν Ἀρη καὶ Νίκη καὶ  
 Ἀφροδίτην).—ἐθείνοντο: reciprocal mid-  
 dle; the tense as in 796 ἠναίροντο (n.).—  
 δυοῖν: the winner in the end was the evil  
 genius who (αὐτός of 798) overcame both.

941 sqq. Here commences the *thrēnos*  
 proper on the part of the two sisters. It  
 is to be understood as accompanied  
 throughout by weeping and gestures of  
 mourning. Since Antigone is the elder  
 and the more important character, being  
 regularly mentioned first in the story and  
 in this play itself (848), it is natural to  
 assign to her the opening words. Since  
 also it is she who subsequently undertakes  
 the cause of Polyneices, it is natural to  
 imagine her as standing at the head  
 (*Hom. Il.* 23. 136) of the bier of that  
 brother, while Ismene is at the head of  
 Eteocles'. It should not, however, be  
 supposed that each sister addresses her-  
 self always to one corpse at the expense of  
 the other. It is true that the special  
 sympathy of Antigone goes out to  
 Polyneices when burial is refused to him,  
 but this is rather because her sense of  
 right is outraged along with her affection  
 than because her affection belongs in the  
 first instance chiefly to the exile. Their



share of God-given cubits; but under their bodies will be an unplumbed wealth of earth.

(B) Ah, ye who have crowned your race with crown of many sorrows! Lo, 'tis the Curses who here sang triumph o'er the issue with the shrill-voiced strain, now that the house is routed in utter flight. It is to Ruin that the trophy stands at the gates whereat they smote each other, and 'tis the bad Genius who hath mastered both ere he would cease.

[The sisters, one at the head of each corpse, chant the formal dirge.

ANTIGONE. Smiter and smitten!

ISMENE. Slayer, but slain!

two readings seem to have arisen from <sup>δόμους</sup> πόνουσι γενεάν. 935 τελευταί δ' αἰδ' M. ψ. τελευταίαι δ' Hermann. 938 ἔστακεν M<sup>a</sup>, ἔστακε δ' (superscr.) M. τρόπαιον M. 939 sq. κρατήσας' rec. ἔληξ' ὁ δαίμων rec. 941—995 The distribution here adopted was first hinted by the Aldine. In M the paragraphus stands before each line except 949—952, 963 sq., 978 sq., 983, 989. But 941, 953 are marked as belonging to Ismene. 942 κτανών rec. Enger is probably right in transposing and sub-

language is intended to apply impartially, even if one corpse is more directly addressed by each in turn. The equality of the brothers' fate and the equality of their perverse action are realised by both women. While each is in a measure blamed, each is in a measure excused.

The arrangement here adopted is in the main that of Wecklein, but it requires somewhat audacious changes to support his notion of complete syllabic correspondence as between each utterance and its reply and between strophe and antistrophe. His text is therefore not here accepted.

vv. 941—949 consist of brief couplets, in which the second speaker answers the first. vv. 950—979 consist of a system forming a strophe and antistrophe. Within the system the couplet arrangement is maintained, and each portion ends with a joint or choric ephymnium (962—964, repeated 977—979). Then follows another series of independent couplets, the whole ending (992—995) with four lines arranged in the form *abba*, assigned as in the text. The difficulty of metrical correspondence is considerable, but some at least of the discrepancies are explainable as due (1) to the freedom of the anacrustic syllable, (2) to the part played by interjections, which are not always faithfully recorded.

941 παισθεὶς ἔπαισας: synchronous. This and the next line not only state a fact; they also extenuate. 'If thou didst

smite, thou wert smitten too'—'And if thou didst slay, thou wert also slain.' Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 170 ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν | καθ' ἡμέραν ὦλοντο παίσαντες τε καὶ | πληγέντες.

942 The MSS have σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών, a line which is left without metrical relation. At v. 949 M has προκείσεται κατακτάς, which Hermann rightly emended to πρόκεισαι. But the words come somewhat strangely there, whereas at the present place they would be a natural answer to παισθεὶς ἔπαισας, and (except for προ-) would be metrically what is needed. If we transfer them (with Enger) to the present place we may perceive that κατακτάς would readily beget the gloss κατακτανών. Again, while πρόκεισαι is good in itself, even without pressing a reference to the formal sense of the πρόθεσις (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1059 θανόντες ἂν προῦκλειμεθ' αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ), yet it is not so simple an antithesis to κατακτάς as κείσαι alone would be. κείσαι κατακτάς = κατέθανες κατακτάς. In response therefore to παισθεὶς ἔπαισας it is extremely probable that the transposition should be made, and in that form. If the line was glossed by ἔθανες κατακτανών, and then ousted, it might easily be afterwards written in the margin and thence inserted at the wrong place. It should be noticed further that σὺ is better absent. The words should be (like those which follow) applicable to either brother.

- AN. δορὶ δ' ἔκανες  
 ΙΣ. δορὶ δ' ἔθανες  
 AN. μελεόπονος. 945  
 ΙΣ. μελεοπαθής.  
 AN. ἴτω γόος.  
 ΙΣ. ἴτω δάκρυ.  
 AN. πρόκεισαι  
 ΙΣ. κατακτάς. 950  
 στρ. AN. ἡέ.  
 ΙΣ. ἡέ.  
 AN. μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν.  
 ΙΣ. ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει.  
 AN. ἰὼ τὸ πᾶν δάκρυτε σύ,  
 ΙΣ. σὺ δ' αὖτε καὶ πανάθλιε, 955  
 AN. πρὸς φίλον ἔφθισο.  
 ΙΣ. καὶ φίλον ἔκτανες.  
 AN. διπλᾶ λέγειν  
 ΙΣ. διπλᾶ δ' ὀρᾶν  
 AN. ἄχεσι τοῖς τάδ<ε γ'> ἐγγύθεν. 960  
 ΙΣ. πέλας <τᾷδ'> ἀδελφέ' ἀδελφεῶν.  
 XO. ἰὼ Μοῖρα βαρυδότεira μογερά,  
 πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,  
 μέλαιν' Ἑρινύς, ἥ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

stituting here v. 949 in the shape κείσαι κατακτάς. †. 943 ἔκτανες M, corr. Hermann.

948 δάκρυα M, corr. Lachmann. 949 προσκείσεται M<sup>a</sup> (the first σ erased M), corr. Hermann. Lachmann's AN. πρόκεισαι || ΙΣ. κατακτάς is given in the text above, but see 942 (c.n.). 952 <ἡ> μαίνεται Lachmann. <ᾶ> would be equally good, but most probably no added syllable is necessary. 953 ἐν δὲ Burney. ἔσω δὲ Heimsoeth, but the first syllable is indifferent. 954 ἰὼ πανδάκρυτε M. ἰὼ

943 sqq. δορὶ δ' ἔκανες. The sentence is completed with μελεόπονος. The working of mischief by slaying is answered by the suffering of it by dying (μελεοπαθής). Each brother is spoken of from two points of view.

952 μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν. Here φρήν is as physical as καρδία, and μαίνεται possesses the same half-physical sense as in αἰθρῇ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται of 140 (n.). φρήν is stressed. The grief is no mere outward demonstration. So ἐντὸς in the reply.

953 ἐντὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ. The metre agrees with the antistr. (968), and differs from that of the previous line only in the anacrustic syll., which that line omits.

We might doubtless insert an interjection in 952 and 967, e.g. <ᾶ> μαίνεται κ.τ.λ., but there is doubtless no necessity.

958 διπλᾶ λέγειν. This line and the next should not be stopped as if completed in sense.

960 \*ἄχεσι τοῖς κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. The metre is uncertain, but the corresponding δύστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα (975) appears sound, whereas here the τοῖων of M is feeble. The sense (following διπλᾶ) is manifestly that the sufferings, or motives for grief, are equal in the two cases. The text = 'to answer to those griefs (τοῖς=τούτοις) there are these.' The remark is accompanied by explanatory gesture.—\*γ' has an obvious force:



ANT. With the spear thou didst kill—

ISM. With the spear thou didst die—

ANT. Cruel in deed.

ISM. Cruel in doom.

ANT. Spare not the cry.

ISM. Spare not the tear.

ANT. Dead corse—

ISM. That hast slain!

ANT. Ah me! my breast maddens with sighs!

strophe.

ISM. Yea! my heart groans within!

ANT. Ah! thou all-lamented—

ISM. Thou too, and all-wretched—

ANT. By thine own thou didst die.

ISM. And thine own thou didst slay.

ANT. Twofold to tell—

ISM. Twofold to see—

ANT. These griefs hard by those!

ISM. These anigh, twin with them!

CHO. Ah! Fate, who givest with heavy and cruel hand, and thou dread shade of Oedipus, black Vengeful Spirit, of a truth thy strength is mighty!

πολυδάκρυτε recc. Corr. \*ed. πόλει δακρυτέ Lachmann (but note the following καὶ πανάθλιε), πάνδυρτε Ritschl. 955 αὐτὸ recc., Blomfield. 956 φίλου γ' M, corr.

Bothe. 960 ἀχέων τοίων M, γόων recc. Corr. \*ed. ψ. See antistr. 975, which is probably sound. ἄχεσι τοῖς τὰδ' <τὰδ' > ἐγγύθεν is less likely. ἄχεα δοῖα τὰδ' Hermann, ἄχεα τῶνδε τὰδ' Weil, Oberdick, ἄχεα δυοῖν τὰδ' Enger. 961 πέλας δ' αὐτὸ ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφεῶν M, corr. Heimsoeth. ψ. πέλας ἀδελφὰ δ' Hermann.

962—964 M has ἐφύμνιον before these lines. Hermann assigns them to the sisters (AN. 15.), Blomfield to the Chorus. 964 μέλαινα τ' M, corr. Porson.

'if that brother has suffered, so also has *this*.' The construction implies ἔστι to be supplied. In its absence ἄχεσι was drawn to the gen. usual with ἐγγύς.

961 πέλας κ.τ.λ. The πέλας δ' αὐτὸ ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφεῶν of M does not answer to either the previous line or the antistrophe (976). πέλας is upheld by ἐγγύθεν; the rest is emended by Weil. The words, however, mean 'near by are (griefs), sisters of sisters,' i.e. griefs on this side which are the counterpart of those. The reference is not to ἀδελφαί, the sisters themselves, but ἀδελφεῶν is neut. (sc. ἀχέων). Each set of griefs are ἀδελφὰ of the other (cf. μόνος μόνῃ, φίλος φίλου &c.). For ἀδελφὰ=παραπλήσια cf. Soph. Ant. 192 ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω, Plat. Phaedr. 276 D ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ, sup. 481, 563 (n.).

962 sqq. βαρυδότεια: for the formation cf. σεμνοδότεια (Bacchyl. 2. 1).—πότνια: cf. 871. This title of timid respect was frequently applied to the Erinyes (e.g. Eum. 952, Soph. O. C. 84 πότνιαι δεινώπες). Here the 'haunting' (σκιὰ) of Oedipus is identified with the Erinyes (or his Ἄρα: cf. 70, Soph. El. 111 πότνι' Ἄρα). 'The Erinyes is, in fact, an angry ghost' (Harrison *Prolegomena* Gk. Rel. p. 217, comparing the phantom of Argus in P. V.). The dead themselves are σκιάι: Hom. Od. 10. 495, Eur. H. F. 494 ἀρηξον, ἐλθέ, καὶ σκιά φάνηθι μοι (of Heracles, supposed dead), fr. 532 κατθανόντων δὲ πᾶσ' ἀνὴρ | γῇ καὶ σκιᾷ, fr. adesr. 95. For the ghostly influence cf. the ψυχή of Patroclus appearing to Achilles (Il. 23. 65). Hermann rather strangely explains as 'simulacrum Oedipi

ἀντ. ΑΝ. ἦέ.

965

ΙΣ. ἦέ.

ΑΝ. δυσθέατα πῆματα

ΙΣ. ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί.

ΑΝ. οὐδ' ἴκεθ' ὥς κατέκτανεν.

ΙΣ. σωθεῖς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλεσεν.

970

ΑΝ. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄπο.

ΙΣ. καὶ τοῖ ἐνόσφισεν.

ΑΝ. τάλαν γένος.

ΙΣ. τάλαν παθόν.

ΑΝ. δύστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα.

975

ΙΣ. δίνγρα τριπάλτων πημάτων.

ΧΟ. <ἰώ> Μοῖρα βαρυνδότεира μογερά,

πότνια τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,

μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἥ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

ΑΝ. σὺ τοῖνυν οἶσθα διαπερῶν,

980

ΙΣ. σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθών,

965 sqq. M writes ἦέ...πῆματα as one line.

967 <ἰώ> δυσθέατα Lachmann,

but see 952 (c.n.).

968 εδειξας Paley, ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς μολῶν Heimsoeth, τὸνδ' ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς Weil (ἐμοί having been already ejected by Robortello). One might suggest εδειξε τὰκ, but the text is probably sound. ψ.

969 ὁδ' ἴκεθ' ὥς κατακτενῶν

Halm. ψ.

970 συνθεῖς Stanley. ψ.

971 ἀπώλεσεν δῆτα M. Corr.

G. C. W. Schneider. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄγαν Weil, δῆτα καὶ Hermann, δῆτά τοι Halm.

972 καὶ τὸνδ' M. Corr. \*ed. (τὸν G. C. W. Schneider). τόνδε δ' Hermann.

973 μένος Weil.

974 τάλανα καὶ παθόν M. Recc. have τάλανα παθόν or τάλαν

quod Eteocli in somniis apparuit.'—μεγα-σθενής was a recognised epithet of the Erinys (cf. 70). Hence ἦ: 'indeed,' while τις has the accentuating force which it shares with *quidam* after adjectives.

968 ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί. It is not to be supposed that Antigone uttered the words δυσθέατα πῆματα with any notion of their being completed in this fashion. To her exclamation a conclusion is fitted by Ismene. ἐμοί (*patheticum*) belongs to δυσθέατα. If ἐδείξατ' is correct it must be causal mid. (cf. 829 n.) and the subject is Polyneices, to whom alone ἐκ φυγᾶς can refer. For this reason, as well as the following singular, we cannot regard it as ἐδείξατε. The notion is that of acquisitions brought back from abroad to be produced at home. In this case they are but δυσθέατα πῆματα. This accounts for the choice of the verb δεικνυμι. [If the middle is somewhat obscure we may perhaps amend with

the slight transposition εδειξε τὰκ for ἐδείξατ' ἐκ.]

969 οὐδ' ἴκεθ' κ.τ.λ.: i.e. and Polyneices did not 'get home' (*arriver*), i.e. gain his object (τὸ κατιέναι), when he slew. He slew Eteocles, but his own restoration was not achieved thereby.

970 σωθεῖς δὲ κ.τ.λ.: a play upon contradictionaries. The reference is to Eteocles: 'and though he escaped (the threatened deposition), he lost his life.' In other words, the defeat of the Argives and the slaying of Polyneices was so far σωτηρία (τὸ σωθῆναι) that he did not lose his μοναρχία, but meanwhile he lost the breath of life.

971 sq. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἄπο: see crit. n., and cf. 873. There is a play upon the senses 'lose' and 'destroy.'—καὶ τοῦ ἐνόσφισεν: sc. τὸ πνεῦμα. (τὸν is flat.)

973 sq. τάλαν γένος κ.τ.λ. Two senses of τάλαν are blended: (1) 'reckless,' 'perverse,' (2) 'miserable.' τάλαν γένος presents the former, while τάλαν



anti-  
strophe.

ANT. Ah me! Sorrows ill to behold—

ISM. Brought he me from his exile!

ANT. He won not his way when he slew.

ISM. Though upholden, he lost his life's breath.

ANT. Aye, lost it in truth!

ISM. And robbed him of his!

ANT. Unhappy sort!

ISM. Unhappy lot!

ANT. Grief uttering the selfsame lament!

ISM. Raining tears for a threefold blow!

CHO. Ah, Fate, who givest with heavy and cruel hand, and thou dread shade of Oedipus, black Vengeful Spirit, of a truth thy strength is mighty!

ANT. Now thou knowest thy step was wrong—

ISM. And thou learnedst the lesson as soon—

καὶ πάθος. τάλαν πάθος Schütz; but τὰ καὶ παθόν (\*ed.) may be correct (*i.e.* ταῦτα καὶ παθόν, sc. τάλανα, by which τὰ was glossed). ↓. 975 διπῶνα Hermann. Metrical error (which many editors suspect here) more probably lies in the strophe (960). ὁμαιμόνων Sidgwick. ↓. 976 The text may be sound (↓), but the schol. seems to have had *e.g.* \*χλωρά, of which διλυγὰ may be a gloss. ↓. λυγρὰ Dind., διλυγὰ πῆματα παλμάτων Hermann, διερὰ πάλματα πημάτων Heimsoeth. After this verse M has the interpolation ὁλοῦ λέγειν ὁλοῦ δ' ὁρᾶν from 984 (the copyist's eye perhaps wandering from ἰὼ of 977 to ἰὼ of 986). ἰὼ (omitted by M) appears in recs. 979 μέλαινα τ' M, corr. Porson. 980 τοῖ νιν rec. 981 ὕστερον recs.

παθόν presents the latter as a plea in extenuation. γένος is not the whole race of Laius, but describes the brothers, as a kind of men. [The true reading may be τὰ καὶ παθόν, where τὰ=ταῦτα (*viz.* τάλανα which occurs as a gloss). Cf. 1057, Pind. *I.* 7. 15 ἰατὰ δ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖς σὺν γ' ἐλευθερίᾳ | καὶ τὰ, Hom. *Od.* 5. 259 ὁ δ' εὖ τεχνήσατο καὶ τὰ.]

975 κῆδε' ὁμώνυμα: 'sorrows demanding (to be described in) the same words.' The κῆδεα on the two sides are identical in kind. κῆδεα is moreover used of persons (relatives) to be mourned, and in this case they bear the same name, sc. 'brothers.'—δύστονα=δύσ-στονα: cf. Hom. *Il.* 1. 445 Ἀργείοισι πολύστονα κῆδε' ἐφῆκεν and see Cho. 467 (n.). It should be noted for this derivation that δύ(σ)-στονα is answered by δι-νυγὰ as γόος by δάκρυ (947 sq.).

976 δινυγὰ: *i.e.* 'hewep,' with the same notion as in τέγγομαι or δάκρυσαι μυδαλέα (Soph. *El.* 166). The following gen. is causal (cf. 905). For the scansion δινυγὰ see Append. to v. 115.—τριπάλτων: a term of intensification. As διπάλτος, used of that which is wielded in both hands (Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 408), comes to lose its literal sense and to mean

'with double force,' so τριπάλτος, expressive of still more vehemence, is coined for 'with triple force.' διπάλτος may also be used of an attack from two sides at once (Eur. *I. T.* 323), and the same notion in τριπάλτος would once more amount to 'with triple onset.' Though the πῆματα, consisting only of the sad end of the brothers, may in themselves be spoken of in the heightened way usual with τρις (*e.g.* τρις ἄθλιος), there may also be an allusion to the three generations (cf. 730) on which disaster has fallen.

980 σὺ τοῖνυν κ.τ.λ.: 'thou knowest that thou wert trespassing,' *i.e.* crossing the border of right and wrong. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 155 περὶς γάρ, περᾶς ('thou goest too far'), Aesch. *fr.* 22 τό τοι κακὸν ποδώκες ἔρχεται βροτοῖς | καὶ τὰμπλάκημα τῷ περῶντι τὴν θέμιν.—τοῖνυν is resumptive.—διαπερῶν is imperf., as the context explains, *viz.* διεπέρας ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες. [Though δὴ περῶν would be an easy suggestion, δια- is correct and answers to the long syll. of the next line.] The line is addressed to Polynices.

981 σὺ δ' κ.τ.λ.: *i.e.* σὺ δ' οἶσθα διαπερῶν, μαθὼν οὐδὲν ὕστερος. They learned at the same moment, by being slain together.

- AN. ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες ἐς πόλιν,  
 ΙΣ. δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.  
 AN. ὀλοὰ λέγειν.  
 ΙΣ. ὀλοὰ δ' ὀρᾶν. 985  
 AN. ἰὼ πόνος.  
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ κακά.  
 AN. δώμασι καὶ χθονί.  
 ΙΣ. καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.  
 AN. ἰὼ ἰὼ δυστάνων κακῶν ἄνα. 990  
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ πάντων πολυπονώτατοι.  
 AN. ΙΣ. ἰὼ <ἰὼ> δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἅτῃ.  
 AN. ἰὼ ποῦ σφε θήσομεν χθονός;  
 ΙΣ. ἰὼ ὅπου <εφί> τιμιώτατον.  
 AN. ΙΣ. ἰὼ ἰὼ πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον. 995

## ΚΗΡΤΞ.

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῆ  
 δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως.

983 ἀντηρέτας M (with H over the second a by m). 987 sqq. ἰὼ ἰὼ κακά δώμασιν | —καὶ χθονί· προπάντων δ' ἐμοί· | —καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί M. The interpolation (a gloss πρὸ πάντων δ' = τὸ πρόσω δ') was removed by G. C. Haupt. 990 ἄναξ M. Corr. \*ed. ψ. δυστόνων, δυστήνων, δυσπότμων and πημάτων are variants in recc. δύστανε τῶν κακῶν ἄναξ Wecklein. 991 πολυπονώτατοι or πολυπονώτατε recc. Qu. \*παμ-

982 sq. ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες: viz. ἐκ φυγῆς. It was rather the manner than the fact of his κάθοδος which was wrong. This is brought out by γε: 'yes, in coming as spear-opponent to him here (viz. a brother).'

990 δυστάνων κακῶν \*ἄνα. The objections to ἄναξ are (1) the meaning: 'Lord of sorrows' is not similar to e.g. κώπης ἄναξ, since ἄναξ there means the 'handler' or 'controller.' Nor can the notion 'who, as king, hast been but king of sorrows' be regarded as plausible: (2) as the next line shows, both brothers are addressed, and the sing. is scarcely possible. The marginal note ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα should be read Ἐτεόκλεις, ἀρχηγέτα. The two words are two explanations of ἄνα, which was taken for the vocative. Aeschylus meant it for ἀνῆ (700 q.v.), the meaning being 'the end (or consummation) of miseries.'—δυστάνων includes folly (see 804 n.).

992 δαιμονῶντες ἐν ἅτῃ perhaps differs from δ. ἅτῃ as 'acting like madmen in their perversity' from 'possessed by Ate.'

995 πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον: lit. 'as a trouble to the father by whose side they sleep.' The preceding line is seen to

imply burying them in the πατρὸς ἀρχαῖος τάφος (Soph. *El.* 893). But the father has cursed them, and to him, lying in the same grave, they will be a πῆμα. There is a manifest allusion to the proverb πῆμα κακὸς γελῶν (Hes. *Opp.* 346). For πῆμα elsewhere of a person vexatious to another cf. Hom. *Od.* 17. 446 τίς δαίμων τόδε πῆμα προσήγαγε, δαιτὸς ἀνίην; so *pestis, perniciēs* &c. In the conception of Aesch. Oedipus is buried at Thebes. He has no thought of the legend of the *Oed. Col.* of Sophocles. Cf. Paus. 1. 28. 7.

996 sqq. The dramatic situation is made effective by the sudden prohibition just as the procession is moving off.

The part of the κῆρυξ is taken by the previous ἄγγελος, while that of Antigone is taken by 'Eteocles,' the corpse being represented by a lay figure. (See notes to the 'Dramatis Personae'.)

It should be observed that the sympathies of the audience are to be gained for the bold action of Antigone not merely by the moral rightness of her conduct (which some might question) but also by the character and tone of the κῆρυξ. He not only delivers the harsh



ANT. When thou camest back to the land—

ISM. To cope with this other in fight.

ANT. Baleful tale!

ISM. Baleful sight!

ANT. Ah! the grief—

ISM. Ah! the wrong—

ANT. To the house and the land.

ISM. And e'en more to me.

ANT. Ah, the mischief's wretched end!

ISM. All-mournful beyond all men!

ANT. Alas, possessed by mad sin!

ISM. Where lay them in earth?

ANT. Where their honour is most.

ISM. Alas! to sleep beside their father to his grief.

[Enter HERALD (From right). 4th 2p130 ↓

HERALD.

In duty I proclaim the pleasure and decree of the regents for the people of this Cadmean realm.

πονῳάτοι? πολυστονῳάτοι Robertello (-τε Weil). 992 *lō lō* recc. *én om.* recc. ↓. *δαμονῳντ' én* Paley (cf. 868 c.n.). 993 *lō* ποῦ M, with a second *lō* above the line (u). 994 ὅπου τιμῳάτατον M. ὅπου 'στὶ Dindorf. I have preferred \*σφι. ὅπου τι Heimsoeth. *ἐνθα* τιμῳάτατον Sidgwick. 996 The sign for the κῆρυξ comes from m. δόξαντα καὶ δοκοῦντ' Weil. ↓. δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξοντ' Headlam. ἀπαγγέλειν M<sup>a</sup>. ἀπαγγεῖλαι recc. ↓. 997 χθονός for πόλεως rec.

orders of the πρόβουλοι; he is himself—and behaves as—one of a class upon whom the Athenians habitually looked with contempt. There existed toward the Greek κῆρυξ something of the feeling formerly displayed towards the English beadle. Pollux (6. 128), in reckoning the pursuits ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις ὀνειδισθεῖη, includes κήρυκες (cf. Gilbert *Gk. Const. Ant.* p. 230 n., Eng. Trs.). Archestr. *ap.* Ath. 92 e has τοὺς κήρυκας δ' ἐπιτρίψαι | ὁ Ζεὺς τοὺς τε θαλασσογενεῖς (*i.e.* the fish of that name) καὶ τοὺς ἀγοραίους. This character appears in the dramatists in *e.g.* Eur. *Or.* 895 ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτυχή | πηδῳσ' ἀεὶ κήρυκες· ὅδε δ' αὐτοῖς φίλος | ὅς ἂν δύνῃται πόλεος ἐν τ' ἀρχαῖσιν ᾗ. *ibid.* 888 Ταλθύβιος... ὑπὸ τοῖς δυναμένοισιν ὧν ἀεὶ, *Trg.* 425 κήρυκες, ἐν ἀπέχθημα πάγκοινον βροτοῖς; | οἱ περὶ τυράννοισ καὶ πόλεως ὑπηρεταί. Much of this would be conveyed by the manner, the delivery containing an offensive pomposity.

The proclamation here made under the orders of the πρόβουλοι answers to that issued by Creon in Soph. *Ant.* 23 sqq., where the expressions are very similar (*e.g.* 26 τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκοις νέκυν | ἀστοῖσι φασὶν ἐκκεκρηῦχθαι τὸ μὴ | τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκυσαί τινα, | ἐὰν δ'

ἀταφον ἀκλαντον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκύν | θησαυρόν εισορώσι πρὸς χάριν βορῳs, and more fully *ibid.* 192—206).

996 δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' : a perfectly natural part of the language of formality, especially in the mouth of a professional κῆρυξ. Formularies are often marked by a somewhat tautological comprehensiveness. *ἃ δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ* = 'the people's pleasure,' while *ἃ ἐδοξε* = its 'resolve.' The πρόβουλοι 'think fit and have decided,' *hoc sentiunt et censuerunt*. *δοκοῦντα* alone would not necessarily convey the fact that the opinion had been formally adopted as a resolution to be put in force; καὶ δόξαντα adds the expression of finality. Doubtless the pres. *δοκεῖ* is often (cf. *inf.* 1011) used in less precise or technical speech for the resolve itself, but in the strict language of the publicists *ἐδοξε* is the unequivocal term. Less formally therefore Eur. *Hec.* 505 ἀρα κᾶμ' ἐπισφάζαι τάφῳ | δοκοῦν Ἀχαιοὺς ἡλθες; Soph. *Aj.* 1049 TET. τίνος χάριν τοςόνδ' ἀνήλωσας λόγον; | MEN. δοκοῦντ' ἐμοί, δοκοῦντα δ' ὅς κραινεῖ στρατοῦ.

ἀπαγγέλλειν: the pres. signifies 'do my best to announce' or 'proceed to announce.' Gildersleeve *Gk. Synt.* § 192.

997 δήμου προβούλοις κ.τ.λ. Once

Ἔτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοία χθονὸς  
θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς·  
στρυγῶν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἶλετ' εἷ πόλει,  
ἱερῶν πατρώων δ' ὅσιος ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ  
τέθνηκεν οὐπὲρ τοῖς νέοις θνήσκειν καλόν.  
οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν·

1000

998 εὐναίαι M, corr. rec. ἐπ' εὐναίας χθονὸς might be suggested, but †. 999 φίλης Blomfield. †. 1000 στέγων Wakefield, εἰργων Hartung. †. ἐν πόλει M, corr. \*ed. †. (For confusion of ἐν, ἐμ, εὐ in MSS cf. *Pers.* 28 ἐν τλήμονι for εὐτλήμονι, *Suppl.* 970 εὐθυμῆν for ἐνθ' ὑμῖν, *Theogn.* 1211 δ' εὐναζε for δένναζε, *Eubul.* ap. *Ath.*

more there is full ceremony of style, particularly brought out in τῆσδε. We should perceive in (the otherwise unnecessary) δήμου a rather aggressive announcement that, the princes being dead, there is now a δῆμος of 'this Cadmean state,' which has elected πρόβουλοι (see 1017 n.). Doubtless this contains an anachronism, about which Aesch. would not concern himself. The δῆμος is not, indeed, a fully constituted democracy, and therefore it is not a case of δῆμῳ δοκοῦντα καὶ δίδαντα as if in a regular ἐκκλησία. But in the emergency the people have chosen a 'committee of public safety,' somewhat of the kind described in *Thuc.* 8. 1 ἐδόκει...ἀρχὴν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλεύουσι (after the news of the Sicilian disaster B.C. 413). The function of these πρόβουλοι was not like that of the ξυγγραφῆς of B.C. 411 (*Thuc.* 8. 67), viz. to advise the people καθ' ὅ τι ἀριστα ἢ πόλις οἰκήσεται, but to bridge over an interregnum in the administration: cf. *Arist. Ath. Const.* c. 29 § 2 (probouloi) οἵτινες...συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. In *Arist. Pol.* 4. 14 πρόβουλοι are spoken of as ἀρχεῖον, οἷον ἐν ἐνιαῖς πολιτείαις ἐστίν. Such committees must often have existed in Greek states within the knowledge of Aeschylus, but he would also remember the Panhellenic πρόβουλοι during the Persian wars (*Hdt.* 7. 172).

Here the resolution of the πρόβουλοι is treated as final in itself, and it would manifestly become necessary for such committees to be invested with 'power to act' in all cases of urgency. In the present case their action must be taken at once, or it would be too late.

998 τόνδ'. Throughout this speech the varying application of δεῖ is made clear by pointing on the part of the

actor.—ἐπ' εὐνοία χθονός: 'for his loyalty to the land.' ἐπ' expresses the basis or occasion of the resolution: cf. *Theogn.* 29 μὴτ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ | τιμὰς... ἔλκεο, *Thuc.* 1. 138 ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγειν. The εὐνοία is that of Eteocles himself, the public benefactor (cf. *Soph. Ant.* 212 τὸν τῆδε δῶνον καὶ τὸν εὐμενῇ πόλει, *Ath.* 519 D τούτους ἀνακηρύττουσιν... προσκηρύττοντες οὐκ εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς τὰ δαίμνα χορηγίαν), and we should not render 'with goodwill on the part of the land.' Moreover, though ἐπὶ is treated by grammarians (e.g. Kühner-Gerth 1. p. 502) as used with dat. 'of accompanying circumstances,' the statement is not supported by the instances quoted (cf. *Jebb* on *Soph. Ant.* 759). The real sense of the latter rendering would have to be 'with a view to the goodwill of the land,' i.e. so as to receive it. But this is manifestly far-fetched.—χθονός = πόλεως, while the following γῆς is the literal soil.

ἐπ' εὐναίᾳ of M is impossible. The schol. interprets εὐναία as ὁ τόπος τοῦ τάφου (cf. εὐναί of a grave, *Cho.* 317 n.), and in *Eur. Ion* 172 ὑπὸ θριγκοῦς εὐναίας | καρφῆρὰς θήσων τέκνοις the word (if the text is sound) is used as a noun. *Eustath.* (*Il.* p. 474. 45) explains a noun εὐναία as a tragic term for ἀγκυρα (so *Hesych.*). But ἐπ' becomes practically unintelligible, and the repetition of the notion in γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς pointless. One might suggest ἐπ' εὐναίας χθονός, εὐναῖος having the sense indicated in εὐνή (*Cho. l.c.*); but the tautology would remain. Moreover in a formal resolution (which is being quoted as such) the phrase of justification (ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ) would surely occur, while the peculiar εὐναία would be hardly likely.

999 θάπτειν: includes cremation, when that rite is practised. The pres. (as distinguished from βαλεῖν 1005) im-



For this Eteocles, it is resolved that for his loyalty to the land we bury him in a grave dug kindly in its soil, since in hatred of the foe he chose death for the country's good, and, guiltless towards the temples of his fathers, he hath found death without reproach where it beseems the young to die. Thus, as for him, am I charged to give command; but that his brother

663 F ἐμφαινέτω for εὐφραινέτω, and so very frequently.) ψ. ἐν πύλαις Francken, ἐν τέλει Jacobs. ἰλητὸν πόλει Verrall. 1001 πατρώων M<sup>a</sup>, πατρώων δ' M. Paley omits δ' here and reads μομφῆς δ' ἄτερ | τέθνηκεν. 1002 ὥσπερ Blomfield. οἷσπερ ὀρνέοις Verrall ingeniously, but fancifully, from schol. ψ. θνήσκειν m.

plies a series of ceremonies.—κατασκαφαῖς: verbal in sense, and instrumental or modal in case.—φίλαις: such as are given by τὰ φίλα to τὰ φίλα. The thought is of reciprocity for his εὐνοία (i.e. φίλαι κατασκαφαὶ φίλον ἄνδρα δέχονται). Cf. fr. trag. adesr. 281 ἐν γῆς φίλης (al. φίλους) μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν. For φίλαις rather than φίλης cf. 1069. The notions as in Eur. *Hel.* 852 εὐψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο | κούφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί, | κακοῦς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλουσι γῆς.

1000 στρυγῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: 'While showing his hate of (her) enemies he chose death for the good of the realm.' στρυγῶν is unimpeachable for action demonstrating hatred (221 n.), and the εἰργων δηλονότι of schol. (q.v.) in no way proves στέγων. That word may be used, in a nautical metaphor, of a bulwark or rampart (202, 782) which 'keeps water-tight,' but it could scarcely be transferred (and without a nautical context) to a person.—ἐν πόλει (M) is hopelessly feeble, and is generally condemned. Moreover it would rather suggest to the Athenian ear 'on the acropolis.' His service to the country is the salient matter, and \*εὖ πόλει answers to e.g. *Cho.* 820 πόλει τάδ' εὖ | ἄμυν ἄμυν κέρδος αἰσθεται τόδε. For the dat. after the adv. cf. Eur. *Sufl.* 529 ἡμίνασθε πολεμίου καλῶς, | αἰσχροῦς δ' ἐκείνοις. The expression brings out more clearly the two reasons assigned for approving of his burial: (1) he met his death in the service of the state, (2) he died without an ἄγος in respect of the gods.—εἴλετ'. The sense of preference is that he would rather die than weaken in his feeling towards the public enemy. Less well we might regard εἴλετ' as simply 'took' or 'took up': cf. 786 (n.), Hes. *Th.* 833 Ζεὺς...εἴλετο δ' ὄπλα.

1001 ἱερῶν πατρώων δ' κ.τ.λ. The gen. depends upon the combined notion

δοσίου ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ, i.e. with μομφῆς ἄτερ exegetic of δοσίου (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 31 ὁρῶ κενὴν οἴκησιν ἀνθρώπων δίχα, *Ant.* 445 ἔξω βαρείας αἰτίας ἐλεύθερον). δοσίου in itself might take the construction of e.g. ἀμειπτος (*Pers.* 694 τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἀμειπτος ὦ χρόνου), καθαρὸς ('pure of touching...'), as the opposite of ἐναγῆς τινος (*Thuc.* 1. 126, *Aeschin.* 60. 13). μομφή ἱερῶν again is easy Greek: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 180 μομφάν ἔχων ξινοῦ δορός, Hom. *Il.* 1. 93 οὐτ' ἀρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὐθ' ἐκατόμβης, 5. 178 ἱρῶν μνησίας. Here the two constructions coalesce. [Less satisfactorily we may join ἱερῶν δοσίου, and construct μομφῆς ἄτερ with τέθνηκεν.] The conduct of Eteocles is thus contrasted with that of Polyneices (569, 1009): cf. Soph. *Ant.* 285 δοσις ἀμφίκλονας | ναοὺς πυρώσων ἦλθε κἀναθήματα, 198.

1002 τέθνηκεν: rather than ἔθανεν: 'he lies here dead without any ἄγος upon him.' Hence τέθνηκεν οὐπερ κ.τ.λ. = κεῖται, θανὼν οὐπερ κ.τ.λ.—οὐπερ τοῖς νέοις κ.τ.λ.: viz. in the forefront of battle for their country (hence the schol. quotes εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης). The sentiment *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* is frequent in Tyrtaeus; e.g. (*Hiller*) 8. 1 τεθνάναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα | ἀνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον, *ibid.* 27 νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν, | ὅφρ' ἐρατῆς ἡβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἐχῇ | ...καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν, 10. 13 ἧδ' ἀρετῇ, τόδ' ἀεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀριστον | καλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ. See more in Headlam *On Edit. Aesch.* pp. 92 sqq.—νέοις = *iuventutis* (fit for war). The word is emphasised as in Eur. *I. T.* 123 μόχθος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς νέοις σκῆψιν φέρει. The notion is not that young men ought to die in battle, but that, if they are to die young, battle is the most honourable place.

τούτου δ' ἀδελφὸν τόνδε Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν  
 ἔξω βαλεῖν ἄθαπτον, ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν,  
 ὡς οὐτ' ἀναστατῆρα Καδμείων χθονός,  
 εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔσται δορί  
 τῷ τοῦδ'. ἄγος δὲ καὶ θανὼν κεκτῆσεται  
 θεῶν πατρώων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε  
 στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβάλων ἦρει πόλιν.  
 οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ  
 ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοῦπιτίμιον λαβεῖν,  
 καὶ μὴτ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα  
 μήτ' ὄξυμόλποισ προσσέβειν οἰώγμασιν,  
 ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὕπο.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε Καδμείων τέλει.

1011 πετεινῶν recc.

1015 M had apparently first written ἄτιμον δ', but has

1004 τούτου...τόνδε. As the κῆρυξ turns from Eteocles to Polyneices the former becomes οὗτος, the latter ὅδε.—Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν = 'the dead Polyneices,' and hence ἀδελφὸν is still easier to the Greek than if we could only regard the expression strictly as 'his brother corpse' (Soph. *Ant.* 26 τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν). On Soph. *Aj.* 1177 Jebb observes 'under Athenian law a person put to death for treason (προδοσία) or sacrilege was not to be buried in Attica (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 22).' Polyneices had committed both these crimes.

1005 βαλεῖν: perhaps rather follows λέγειν ('I am ordered to bid you cast...') than ἐπέσταλται, but the point is immaterial.—ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν: a commonplace; Hom. *Il.* 1. 4 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν | οἰωνοῖσι τε δαῖτα, 8. 379, *Od.* 14. 133, Soph. *Aj.* 830 μὴ...ρυφθῶ κυσὶν πρόβλητος οἰωνοῖς θ' ἔλωρ, *Suppl.* 800, Eur. *Ion* 503, *Hec.* 1076.

1006 ὡς οὐτ' ἀναστατῆρα. Since ἦν ἀναστατῆρ, εἰ μὴ...(*erat...nisi*) is lively idiom, it is natural to find the same absence of ἀν with the participle. Rutherford's ὡς οὐτ' ἂν ἀναστατῆρα only weakens the passage.

1007 εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις κ.τ.λ.: 'if some god had not stood in the way with (by means of) the spear of *this* man (his brother).' In pronouncing τοῦδ' the speaker addresses himself with a gesture towards the body of Eteocles. He then turns back and in the next line speaks

again of Polyneices as ὅδε. As written, the words are somewhat perplexing, but there is no ambiguity in them as delivered. They show how naturally Aesch. performed the dramatist's part of visualising the action (πρὸ ὁμμάτων τιθέμενος *Ar. Poet.* 16 (17). 1). Precisely similar is Soph. *O.T.* 947 τοῦτον Οἰδίπους πάλαι τρέμων | τὸν ἀνδρ' ἐφειγε μὴ κτάνοι, καὶ νῦν ὅδε | πρὸς τῆς τύχης δλωλεν οὐδὲ τοῦδ' ὕπο. [To render as 'if some god had not stood in the way of this man's (Polyneices') spear' is to make τῷ τοῦδ' a useless tag.]

1008 ἄγος δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.: 'and even though dead, he will keep a pollution.' If alive, Polyneices would be under an ἄγος or taboo, which ἤδη κέκτηται, for his sacrilege, and it does not disappear with his death. *Therefore* he is not to be buried in the country. For the thought cf. *Suppl.* 234 οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν 'Αἶδον θανῶν | φύγη ματαίων αἰτίας πράξας ταδε, *Eum.* 175 ὑπὸ τε γὰρ φινγῶν | οὐ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται, *ibid.* 340.

1009 sq. ὅδε: stressed and with contempt, in contrast to the other (τοῦδ'): 'this (reckless) being.'—ἀτιμάσας: synchronous with ἐμβάλων; 'in contempt of whom he...'.—ἐπακτὸν: 570 n.—ἦρει: conative.

1011 sq. οὕτω: 'and so,' i.e. in accordance with his guilt (1006 sqq.). We can hardly interpret by 'in the same way (as he acted),' thus connecting ἀτίμως with ἀτιμάσας (1009). This would require a nearer position of οὕτω to ἀτίμως.



here, dead Polyneices, be cast outside unburied, a prey to dogs, in that he was the o'erthrower of the land of the Cadmeans, had not some God stood in his path with this other's spear. Even in death he shall keep the ban of his sin against his fathers' Gods, whom he—behold him!—flouted, when he hurled an alien host upon the land to overcome it. So 'tis resolved that he find for recompense a burial of shame by winged fowl, with neither following of slaves to build his tomb nor honours of shrill tunes of lamentation; but that his own deny him obsequies. This, touching him, is the resolve of the Cadmean powers that be.

erased δ'. εἶναι δ' ἄτιμον Brunck. †. 1016 τῷ γε rec. ἔδοξ' ἐν τῷδε Lachmann, ἐς τόνδε Halm. †. τέλλει M (probably a dittography τέλλει had occurred).

—**πτηνῶν**. The point of the epithet is that the tomb of Polyneices will be nowhere. His body will be dispersed, carried this way and that by creatures 'on wings' and therefore vagabond. In Soph. *Ant.* 1082 πτηνὸς οἰωνὸς φέρων | ἀνόσιον ὅσμῃν ἐστιοῦχον ἐς πόλιν there is a manifest point of another kind in the adjective; but in [Eur.] *Rhes.* 515 στήσω πετεινοῖς γυνὴ θοινατήριον the epithet is otiose.—**ὕπ' οἰωνῶν ταφέντ'** suggests the γῆρας ἐμψυχὸι τάφοι of Gorgias, so much disapproved by Longinus (3. 2) and Hermogenes (*de Id.* 3. p. 226), though adopted by Lucretius (5. 993 *vino sepeliri viscera busto*) after Ennius (*Ann.* 142). But here it is *ταφή* and not *τάφος* which is in point, and **ταφέντ'** = 'buried, in so far as he can be said to be buried.' His only *ταφή* will be performed by birds (cf. Soph. *El.* 1487 where they are the *ταφῆς*)—a *ταφή ἀταφος*.—**τούπιτιμον**: the payment for his offences. The sing. is rare in words of this class, yet cf. *μήνυτρον* (*Hymn. Herm.* 264), *νικητήριον* (Eubul. *ap. Ath.* 668 D), *λύτρον*, *τὸ καλλιστείον* (Eur. *I. T.* 23). There is an intentional play upon the sound and sense in *ἀτίμως ἐπιτίμιον*.

1013 sq. **καὶ μὴθ' ὀμαρτεῖν κ.τ.λ.** These two lines express the usual double deprivation: Hom. *Il.* 22. 386 ἀκλαντος ἄθραπτος, *Od.* 11. 72, Soph. *Ant.* 29 εἴαν ἀταφον ἀκλαντον, *ibid.* 203 μήτε κτερίζει μήτε κωκύσαι τινα. Cf. also the request of Orestes Eur. *I. T.* 701 πρὸς δεξιᾶς σε τῆσδ' ἐπισκῆπτω τάδε | τύμβον τε χῶσον κάπιθες μνημεῖά μου, | καὶ δάκρυ' ἀδελφῇ καὶ κόμας δότω τάφῳ.

**ὀμαρτεῖν**: i.e. go in procession.—**χρωμάματα** is quite sound in the sense of 'slaves' (*σώματα κεχειρωμένα*). There is practically no limit to the coinage of

passive neuters in -μα to express persons. Cf. *παιδεύματα* (Eur. *Hipp.* 11), *συγκομήματα* (*Andr.* 1273), *παραγκάλισμα* (Soph. *Ant.* 650), *κῆδευμα* (*O. T.* 85), *μελιγμα* (*Cho.* 15 n.). In Soph. *O. C.* 923 ἄγοντα φωτῶν ἀθλίων ἱκτήρια (= φῶτας ἱκτηρίους) the defining gen. corresponds to the adj. **τυμβοχῶδα** (= *τύμβον χῶσσοντα*) here. For the heaped *τύμβος* cf. Soph. *Ant.* 80 ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τάφον | χῶσσουσ' ἀδελφῷ φιλτάτῳ πορεύσομαι with *ibid.* 1203 *τύμβον...χῶσαντες*, Eur. *Suppl.* 54 *τάφων χῶματα γαλας*, *Rhes.* 414 ἐν χωστοῖς τάφοις. The original process is described in Hom. *Il.* 23. 255 *τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμελιά τε προβάλλοντο | ἀμφὶ πυρὴν*. εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν. Aeschylus is expressing epic, not contemporary, notions.

In the building of the *τύμβος* the work was done either by the soldiers of a leader (*Od.* 24. 80) or by captives (Eur. *Suppl.* 939 οὗτος μὲν ἦδ' ὁμοσὶν ἂν μέλοι πόνος, viz. the *μνήμα* of Capaneus). The more conspicuous the mound and the more persons employed upon it, the greater the distinction: see *Cho.* 350 *πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς* and note. So, with the mourners, the number counted for honour (Pind. *I.* 7. 64 ἐπὶ θρήνον ... πολύφαμον ἔχευαν).—**ἔξυμόλοις**: 859 *λιγαίνειν* (n.).

1015 **ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' κ.τ.λ.** *ἐκφορᾶς* follows *ἄτιμον* (861 n.).—**φίλων ὑπο** belongs not simply to the verbal noun *ἐκφορᾶς* but to the whole notion *ἄτιμον εἶναι ἐκφορᾶς*. The sense is thus οἱ φίλοι ἔασουσιν αὐτὸν ἄτιμον ἐκφορᾶς.

1016 **τοιαυτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε κ.τ.λ.**: *τῷδε* cannot be joined to *τέλει* with any satisfactory result. The body of *πρόβουλοι* is not present. The sense is that sought by Lachmann's *ἔδοξ' ἐν τῷδε* ('in the

AN. ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε προστάταις λέγω·  
 ἦν μὴ τις ἄλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλῃ,  
 ἐγὼ σφε θάψω, κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ  
 θάψας· ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν· οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι 1020  
 ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει·  
 δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον, οὐ πεφύκαμεν  
 μητρὸς ταλαίνης κατὰ δυστήνου πατρός.  
 τοιγὰρ θέλουσ' ἄκοντι κοινῶναι κακῶν,  
 ψυχῇ, θανόντι ζῶσα, συγγόνῳ φρενί. 1025  
 τούτῳ δὲ σάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες

1017 γε om. rec. προστάταισι Καδμείων (missing the tone) Blomfield. ↓. 1018 θέ-  
 λοι M, corr. rec. 1020 τιμῶσ' for θάψας Heimsoeth. ↓. 1024 ἐκόντι rec. ↓.  
 κοινῶναι κακῶ. (or κακῶ.) M, κακῶι m (and a schol.), κακῶν rec. If κοινῶναι is right

case of Polyneices'), but the dat. of reference (or incommodi) may bear precisely the same meaning. Though it may seem awkward to a reader to separate τῷδε from τέλει, it is evident from other places that such ambiguity of the written words did not strike the poet, who mentally heard his own lines spoken with the proper dramatic intonation. See 407, where φίλων does not belong to δλομένων, and 424, where τῷδε is to be separated from κέρδει. Cf. Jebb on Soph. Tr. 815. —τέλει. The πρόβουλοι now form 'the authority' in Thebes. Had there been various bodies to consider, we should have had τέλεσι or τοῖς ἐν τέλει. The κῆρυξ chooses the word with the sense 'the order comes from those whose bidding is final.'

1017 ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε κ.τ.λ.: 'and I tell the προστάταις of your Cadmeans.' The suggestion of γε is that of contemptuous sarcasm. The princess of the royal house adopts the natural tone towards these new authorities of the δῆμος (997). It is scarcely possible that in προστάτης Aesch. has in mind any notion akin to that of the later προστάτης τοῦ δήμου. The term is indefinite and non-committal. In Eur. Heracl. (ad fin.) τοῖς τῆσδε χώρας προστάταισιν οὐ δοκεῖ the reference is to Demophon. The κῆρυξ may call them, with all respect to an accepted position, πρόβουλοι, but Antigone recognises only that there are leaders of some sort.

1019 sq. κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ. From the literal ἀναβάλλειν, ἀναρρίπτειν κύβους comes this metaphorical extension, in which, strictly speaking, κίνδυνον is con-

tained accus., the 'risk' consisting in the nature of the cast. Cf. Hdt. 7. 50, Thuc. 4. 85, and the simple verb ῥίπτειν κίνδυνον Eur. Heracl. 148, Rhes. 154. The tense of θάψας should be noted. The burying is antecedent to the 'chance.' 'I will bury him, and I will stand my chance (of what may happen) for having—buried my own brother.' This rendering will show that θάψας is anything but redundant, and will explain the articular τὸν ἐμόν: 'my own brother (who is more to me than all the orders of the Cadmeans).' So Soph. Ant. 44 12. ἡ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει; | AN. τὸν γοῦν ἐμόν, καὶ τὸν σόν, ἦν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς, | ἀδελφόν.

1021 ἔχουσ'...ἀναρχίαν: not 'labouring under the charge of ἀναρχία' (as if αἰτίαν ἔχουσ' ἀναρχίας: cf. μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν), but 'showing disobedience' (=οὐ πειθαρχοῦσα). Cf. Soph. Aj. 540 παρουσίαν ἔχειν, 564 δυσμενῶν θήραν ἔχων, Ant. 300 πανουργίας...ἔχειν, Hom. Il. 18. 495 βοὴν ἔχε, 16. 105 πῆλῃς καναχὴν ἔχε, Od. 1. 368 μνηστῆρες...ὑβριῶν ἔχοντες, [Eur.] Rhes. 255 τετράποιον | μῖμον ἔχων... | θηρός, the familiar φυλακὴν ἔχειν, and e.g. Shak. Ham. 1. 5. 65 hold enmity, K. L. 3. 2. 45 keep this dreadful pother. —ἄπιστον=οὐ πειθομένην: μερ. 827 (n.). Hesych. quotes from Soph. ἀπιστος· ἀπειθής; so ἀπιστεῖν=ἀπειθεῖν.—πόλει is stressed in antithesis to ἀδελφόν. If she perceives a divided duty she decides wholly for her brother. The dat. depends on the whole line.

1022 sq. δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον: 'a powerful tie—the common loins from which we are sprung.' Cf. P. V. 39 τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινὸν ἢ θ' ὀμάλια, Eur.



ANT. And I say to them who take lead of your Cadmeans; if none other will help in burying him, I will bury him, and if to bury mine own brother be danger, I will take my risk. Nor have I any shame to shew this stubborn disobedience to the state. Mighty the bond of the common loins whence we are sprung—from unhappy mother and from ill-starred sire. Therefore, my soul, gladly—though no voice hath he—make common cause in misery with him, the living with the dead, as loyal sister should. The flesh of him—no! no hollow-

the reading of M is difficult to account for. Probably the true reading is \*κοῖν' αἰνεῖ κακά. †. 1026 τοῦτω M, τοῦτον recc. My previous suggestion τόργος is scarcely needed. ‡. οὔτι Blomf., for οὐδέ.

*Phoen.* 355. The σπλάγχνον is that of the father as well as the mother (*Soph. Ant.* 1066).—μητρός ταλαίνης κ.τ.λ. Though it is possible (1) to run on τὸ κοινὸν σπλ. μητρός ταλαίνης and to take κάπὸ δυστήνου πατρός as 'an afterthought' (Sidgwick), or (2) to construe οὐ πεφύκαμεν μητρός τ. κάπὸ δ. π. in the sense 'from which we are sprung of a common mother and from an ill-starred sire,' it is far simpler (3) to supply ἀπὸ with the earlier noun, i.e. ἀπὸ μητρός τ. κάπὸ κ.τ.λ. This construction is extremely common: cf. *Soph. O.T.* 733 σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς | ἐς ταῦτ' Δελφῶν κάπὸ Δαυλλας ἄγει, *Ant.* 1176 πότερα πατρώας ἢ πρὸς οἰκίας χερὸς; *Trach.* 765, *Eur. Hel.* 863 Τροίης δὲ σωθεὶς κάπὸ βαρβάρου χθονός, *Pind. N.* 10. 37 ἐφέπει... | ...τιμὰ Χαρίτρεσσι τε καὶ σὺν Τυνδαρίδαϊ, 9. 13, *I.* 1. 29 πρέθροισι τε Δίρκας ἔφανεν καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτα, *Alcman fr.* 22, *Archestr. ap. Ath.* 302 A; cf. *Verg. Aen.* 5. 512 illa notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.

1024 θέλουσ' ἄκοντι: explained by θανόντι ζῶσα. The sense of ἄκοντι is not that of unwillingness, but of absence of wish or will at all. He has no say in the matter. θέλουσ' = 'zealously' (449 n.).—κοινώνει κακά. of M is hard to account for if κακῶν is right. Probably Aesch. wrote \*κοῖν' αἰνεῖ κακά: 'make common cause in trouble.' He uses αἰνεῖν and ἐπαινέειν of 'accepting a view' (*censere*, cf. *Cho.* 191, *Ag.* 1369, *inf.* 1063) and of 'acquiescing in' or adopting a situation (*Cho.* 79, *Suppl.* 914, 1081).

1025 ψυχή. Such apostrophe to the heart or courage is frequent. Cf. *Hom. Od.* 20. 17 στήθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠρίπαπε μῦθῳ, | τέτλαθι δὴ, *κραδίη*, *Il.* 21. 552, *Archil. fr.* 62. 1 θυμέ, θύμ', ἀμη-

χάνουσι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, | <ἀντέχευ>, *Theogn.* 1029 τόλμα, θυμέ, *Sopater ap. Ath.* 160 C θάρσει, θυμέ, *Soph. Tr.* 1259, *Eur. Med.* 1242 ἀλλ' εἴ' ὀπλίζου, καρδία, *Pind. N.* 3. 26, *O.* 1. 4, *P.* 3. 61, and the burlesque in *Ar. Vespr.* 756 σπεῦδ', ὦ ψυχή! ποῦ μοι ψυχή; So *Shak. Haml.* 1. 2. 257 Sit still, my soul.—συγγόνῳ φρενί: with κοινώνει.—φρενί is stressed. She is σύγγονος and would have her heart prove that the kinship goes thus deep.

1026 sq. τοῦτω δὲ κ.τ.λ. See crit. n. If πάσσονται is read, τοῦτον is preferable, while with σπάσσονται the dat. incomm. is somewhat better than the genitive. The appearance of τοῦτον in recc. is probably due to the alteration to πάσσονται, while τοῦτω of M indicates the original reading. Also on the whole the notion of the birds tearing the flesh appears somewhat stronger as a tragic picture than that of eating. Either expression or thought is found: e.g. (1) *Hom. Il.* 15. 351 ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ ἄστεος ἡμετέροιο, 22. 335 κύνες ἡδ' οἰωνοὶ | ἐλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς, *Soph. Ant.* 1198 κυνοσπάρακτον σῶμα Πολυνεικούς, *Chaucer Clerkes Tale* 570 Burieth this litel bodie in som place | That bestes ne no briddes it to-race; (2) *Il.* 18. 271 πολλοὺς δὲ κύνες καὶ γῶπες ἔδονται, 4. 237 τῶν ἢ τοι αὐτῶν τέρενα χροά γῶπες ἔδονται: or both are combined, e.g. *Il.* 22. 66 κύνες... ὠμῆστοι ἐρύουσιν.—οὐδέ is used idiomatically: 'and, as for his flesh, wolves shall not tear it, either.' Cf. *Plat. Rep.* 328 C καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ θαμίξει ἡμῖν καταβαλῶν. The full thought is (οὐκ ἔσται ἀταφος) οὐδέ κ.τ.λ.—κοιλογάστρος: not strictly 'empty-bellied,' but 'hollow-bellied' (the 'belly-pinchd wolf' of *King Lear* 3. 1. 12 is somewhat different). The concavity is that of the outside aspect

λύκοι σπάσονται· μὴ δοκησάτω τινί.  
τάφον γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγώ,  
γυνή περ οὔσα, τῷδε μηχανήσομαι  
κόλπῳ φέρονσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,  
καὺτὴ καλύψω· μηδέ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν.  
θάρσει· παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος.

1030

ΚΗ. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

ΑΝ. αὐδῶ σέ μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

ΚΗ. τραχὺς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγὼν κακά.

1035

ΑΝ. τράχυν'· ἄθαρτος δ' οὔτος οὐ γενήσεται.

ΚΗ. ἀλλ' ὃν πόλιν στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῳ;

ΑΝ. ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς;

1027 σπάσονται M<sup>a</sup>, \* πᾶσονται M. ↓.

1028 αὐτῷ M, αὐτὴ Pierson (but τῷδε belongs to κόλπῳ). ↓. The true reading may, however, be \*αὐτοῦ ('on the spot').

1031 καὶ γῇ Dobree.

1032 θάρσει· παρέσται M. θάρσει παρέσται Porson. ↓.

1033 τῷδε rec., but τάδε is more characteristically impatient ('in ways like this').

(cf. τὰ κοῖλα τῶν ποδῶν, τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, and Soph. *O.T.* 1261 ἐκ δὲ πυθμένων | ἐκλινε κοῖλα κλῆθρα, where the sense is of bending them inward). The shape of a wolf suggests the starving, and the word here implies that sense, but it is not primary.

μὴ δοκησάτω τινί: 'let none resolve it,' is much more pointed than 'let none think it.' Antigone is alluding sarcastically to the Herald's repeated phrase, δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντα (996), ἔδοξε (999), δοκεῖ (1011), ἔδοξεν (1016). She means 'I care nothing for your δοκεῖ and ἔδοξε.' —τινί is allusive, the πρόβουλοι being meant: cf. 389 (n.). There is no difference between δόξαι and δοκῆσαι in this meaning: cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 186 ψήφῳ δοκῆσαν, *Syrph.* 129 ἰδίᾳ δοκῆσαν σοὶ τὰδ' ἢ πᾶσιν πόλει; see 1031.

1028 sqq. κατασκαφὰς: not in the full sense. The κῆρυξ has spoken of κατασκαφαί for Eteocles (999). She will 'contrive' for Polyneices a tomb and some equivalent of κατασκαφαί. She will scrape up the dust and earth and lay him in such hollow as she can make, and then carry earth in her robe to cover him.—τῷδε..κόλπῳ κ.τ.λ. Despite the fine work of her costly garment she will thus use it. The precise nature of βύσσοις is uncertain, but it appears to have been linen from a fine species of flax (*Dict. Ant.* 1. 319).—πεπλώματος is more expressive than πέπλου, as drawing atten-

tion to the cost or labour in making it.—κόλπῳ = 'fold' or 'lap' (*sinu*). With φέρονσα we must supply some word naturally suggested by the context, e.g. γῆν or κόνον (Soph. *Ant.* 429), or perhaps more strictly a vague τὸ δέον.

1031 καὺτῇ: 'and by myself.'—δόξῃ: 1027.—πάλιν: 'otherwise'; see 244 (n.).

1032 θάρσει: apostrophising herself. The word has, however, become an interjection: 'Courage!' θάρσει is similarly followed in Soph. *Ph.* 667, *O.C.* 726.—παρέσται κ.τ.λ. = 'where there's a will there's a way.' [Others make θάρσει dat. and read θάρσει παρέσται κ.τ.λ.]

1033 sq. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε κ.τ.λ. σε is more formal, because less direct, than σοι.—πόλιν is stressed: an individual cannot flout a whole state.—βιάζεσθαι, like κηρύσσειν, is conative (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 663 νόμους βιάζεται). The retort, which repeats αὐδῶ, requires σέ rather than σε, both in reply to his own σε and also in antithesis to ἐμοί. For repetition in retort cf. Soph. *O.T.* 547 ΚΡ. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν μου πρῶτ' ἀκουσον ὡς ἐρῶ. | ΟΙΔ. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μὴ μοι φράξ', ὅπως οὐκ εἰ κακός, *P.V.* 53 sq., *ibid.* 69 ΗΦ. ὁρᾷς θέαμα δυσθέατον ὁμμασιν. | ΚΡ. ὁρῶ κυροῦντα τόνδε τῶν ἐπαξίων, Eur. *H.F.* 713 ΑΜ. δοκῶ μὲν αὐτήν.... ΔΤ. τί χρήμα δόξης τῆσδ' ἔχεις τεκμήριον;—κηρύσσειν: 'play the κῆρυξ.'

1035 τραχὺς. In Soph. *Ant.* 35 sq.



bellied wolves shall rend it; let no man 'resolve' it. For, woman as I am, 'tis I will compass him burying and a grave, carrying it in this lap of finest drapery, and alone I will cover him; and let none 'resolve' otherwise. Courage! I shall find means to do!

HER. I warn thee, pursue not this flouting of the state.

ANT. I warn thee, deliver no useless commands to me.

HER. Harsh, mind thee, is a people escaped from evil case.

ANT. Harsh as thou wilt! He shalt not lack his grave.

HER. Wilt thou honour with burial one whom the state abhors?

ANT. Honour? Have not the Gods already fixed his share?

1034 σε M. Corr. \*ed. ↓.

paragraphus.

1036 γενήσεται M<sup>a</sup>.

alone proves τιμήσεις.)

1035—1044 Each line is marked with the

1037 κοσμήσεις rec. (The next line

1038 The line requires no emendation beyond the mark of interrogation. ↓. Casaubon wrote ἡ δὴ τὰ τοῦδ' κ.τ.λ. (as question). δυοτετιμῆται Hermann, δίχα τετιμῆται Wieseler. In his τοῦδε for τοῦδ' οὐ Weckl. is mistaken in thinking that he has the support of the schol.

the consequence is to be stoning (the people's punishment, 181 n.). The statement is here general and δῆμος is emphasised ('a δῆμος'). For the sentiment (with a difference) cf. *P. V.* 35 ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ. The implication is that it has escaped troubles brought upon it by others, its former rulers. The conduct of the French after the Revolution is an extreme illustration of the γνώμη.

1036 τράχυν': lit. 'make it harsh' = 'make it out as harsh as you will.' This peculiar application of a word in retort, by which a man is represented as actually doing or causing that which he names as being done, appears also in Alexis *ap.* Ath. 516 E A. τὸ τοιοῦτον γὰρ αἰεί πως μέρος | ἐπιπαίχεται... | B. ἀνθρώπῃ, ἐπίπαιξε (already cited by Headlam). Cf. *sup.* 467 κόμπας' ἐπ' ἄλλω (for τοὺς κόμπους ἄλλου τινὸς λέγε).

1037 ἄλλ' ὃν κ.τ.λ. The rhythm throws upon both πόλις and σὺ their effective emphasis. 'Are you to set yourself against a (whole) country?' For στυγεί cf. 1000 (n.).

1038 ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ κ.τ.λ. The addition of the interrogation-sign gives to this line an entirely simple and appropriate sense (which is that of schol.).—διατετιμῆται takes up τιμήσεις. 'Have not the questions of his honour or dishonour been already settled by a higher

power—the Gods?' οὐ is put rather late in the question in order to allow the emphatic ἤδη to come first. The force of δια- may be (1) that of discrimination, whether as between the two sides of the question or between Polyn. and his brother. They are both dead, and both in the same way. Such has been the pleasure of the Gods, who have thereby shown their judgment upon the rights of the question. The sense of τιμῶν here includes that of 703 (n.), but further recalls the law-courts, in which the dicast τιμᾷ τὴν δίκην (βλάβην &c.) τινί or τιμᾷ τινί τινος in the way of assessment. The Gods have decided the award (in distinction from that of Eteocles, or as between two alternatives, δια-). Otherwise (2) δια- denotes not discrimination but finality (= 'thoroughly'): cf. *fr.* 265 διαπεφρούρηται βίος, explained by Hesych. as ἡ διὰ τοῦ βίου φρουρά συντετέλεσται ('its watching is over and done with'). Similarly Eur. *Suppl.* 528 εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ πεπόνθατ' Ἀργείων ὕπο, | τεθνάσιν, ἡμίνασθε πολέμους καλῶς, | αἰσχρῶς δ' ἐκείνοισ, χῆ δίκη διοίχεται, and (with the simple verb) Eur. *Hēr.* 1456 ΘΗ. μὴ νυν προδῶς με, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ καρτέρει. | III. κεκαρτέρηται τὰμ' ὀλωλα γάρ, πάτερ. If we have absolutely to choose between one sense of δια- and the other, the latter is preferable; but it is doubtful whether the two meanings were kept distinct in the Greek consciousness.

ΚΗ. οὐ πρίν γε χώραν τήνδε κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν.

ΑΝ. παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο.

1040

ΚΗ. ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τόδ' ἔργον ἦν.

ΑΝ. Ἔρις περαίνει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν.

ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε· μὴ μακρηγόρει.

ΚΗ. ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.

ΧΟ. φεῦ φεῦ.

1045

ὦ μέγалаυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς

Κῆρες Ἐρινύες, αἵτ' Οἰδιπόδα

γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὕτως,

τί πάθω; τί δὲ φῶ; τί δὲ μήσωμαι;

πῶς τολμήσω μήτε σε κλαίειν

1050

μήτε προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τύμβῳ;

1042 sq. Some (for the sake of the *στιχομυθία*) suspect either a lacuna or an interpolation. But ↓. 1045—1064 M indicates *ἡμιχόρια* at 1045 and 1064, and marks

1039 οὐ πρίν γε κ.τ.λ.: 'yes, but) not before...', i.e. there is a further question to be considered. Had this (equal) *διατίμησις* occurred in other circumstances, before Polyneices had invaded us, the matter would doubtless have been regarded as settled. So far as concerns the quarrel between the brothers, or the curse of Oedipus, we have nothing to say. They were, in this respect, on the same footing. But the πόλις has its own say in the further matter of the invasion. Hence τήνδε: 'there is this state's point of view.'—κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν. The dat. is not that of the instrument or missile which smites the πόλις, but the dat. of that into or upon which the country is cast (whether recipient or locative). Cf. *P. V.* 732 θυμῷ βάλλ', *Soph. Ph.* 67 λύπην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς, Lat. *demittere ponto* &c. In *Hom. Od.* 13. 142 πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἄριστον ἀτιμίσιν ἰάλλειν there appears some ambiguity, but ἰάλλειν with accus. is apparently only used of the thing thrown.

1041 ἀνθ' ἑνός: a brachylogy, either for (1) ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς ἕνα: 'instead of being aimed against one (viz. Eteocles)'; or for (2) ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑφ' ἑνός πεπραγμένου, i.e. 'in return for one man'='for the action of one man.' The latter is the easier. Brachylogy is frequent with ἀντί: cf. *Plut. Mor.* 645 D ἀντὶ τοῦ δαφνίνου τοῖς ῥοδίνοις ἀναδήσασθαι (=ἀντὶ τοῦ δαφνίνου ἀναδήσασθαι), *Pericl.* 7. 2 τῷ δῆμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλου-

σίων...τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐλθόμενος, *Xen. Hell.* 1. 7. 33.

1042 sq. Ἔρις περαίνει κ.τ.λ. As the speech of Antigone, though not the absolutely last words of the conversation, does end the discussion, we may quite naturally assign both these lines to her. *στιχομυθία* was made for the poet and not the poet for *στιχομυθία*. The thrust and parry are marked as concluded by a departure from the one-line retort.—Ἔρις is personified, as in Homer, and ranked among the minor divinities. The line is a *γνώμη*, whether original or a paraphrase. The dispute is an *ἔρις*, and Ἔρις is the last of the deities to say her last word. 'We can quarrel for ever; for Quarrel &c.' Cf. the sense of ἡ ἐριστική and ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι. For περαίνει, of speech, cf. *Pers.* 700 ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων | εἰπέ καὶ πέραине πάντα, *Ar. Plut.* 648 πέραине τοῖνυν ὃ τι λέγεις ἀνύσας ποτέ, *Ran.* 1170. From this came the use of *συμπέρασμα* for a logical conclusion. The line ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ. is delivered with slow emphasis.

1045 sqq. The division of the concluding anapaests is best as given or indicated in M and in the text. The parts assigned to various portions of the Chorus are not equal, and this fact does away with the necessity (even if it were otherwise assumed, though the treatment of choric anapaests does not warrant the assumption) of exact metrical equivalence.

1046 sqq. μέγалаυχοι: in conse-



- HER. Nay, not before he imperilled this land of ours.  
 ANT. He suffered ill, and was answering it with ill.  
 HER. But his deed was aimed at all because of one.  
 ANT. Quarrel is the last of Gods to have done with talk.  
 I will bury this body. Waste no more words.  
 HER. Well, follow thine own devices: I give my warning.  
 [Exit HERALD (to right).]

## CHORUS.

Alas! Alas! Ye Vengeful Powers of Harm, loudly triumphant in the undoing of a race, who have thus demolished, root and branch, the stock of Oedipus! What must be my case? What must I say? Or what devise?

How can I find the heart neither to weep for thee nor to lead thee forth to burial?

1049, 1054, 1058 with paragraphus. 1048 ὠλέσσετε Elmsley, but ↓. πρέμνοθεν I. Voss (see 71 n.). 1049 δ' ἐρώ M, δὲ δρῶ recc. Corr. \*ed. ↓. 1051 τύμβον

quence of their victory (cf. 936 sqq.).—καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς explains wherein their victory consists. φθερσ. is a generic epithet, and hence αἶτ'...γένος ὠλέσσετε is no idle tautology. The function of the Erinyes is to be 'destroyers of a race,' and in this case they have won their boast by destroying the race of Oedipus. For this function cf. 707 ὠλεσίοικον (n.) and Eur. 355 δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν | ἀνατροπὰς, όταν "Ἀρης | τιθασὸς ὦν φίλον ἔλη, Hom. Od. 15. 234 θεὰ δασπλήτης Ἐρινύς (where δασπλήτης is etymologically 'smiter of houses').

In Κῆρες Ἐρινύες the Erinyes, while by implication distinguished from other classes of Kêres (Harrison *Prolegomena* Gk. Rel. 165 sqq., 186, 213 sqq.), receive their full title of dread and mischief. Κῆρες is the wider term for spirits of bale. In Hes. Th. 217 Night Μοῖρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοποιούνους... | αἶτ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραβασίας ἐφέπουσαι | οὐδέποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο, | πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δῶσι κακὴν ὄπιν κ.τ.λ.—ὠλέσατε: cf. Soph. Aj. 1220 ὑπὸ πλάκα, O. C. 180 ἔτι; προβίβαζε, Ant. 612 τὸ πρὶν. We are prevented from reading ὠλέσσετε (Elmsl.) by the rule that an anapaest is not followed by a dactyl in the same dipodia.—πρυμνόθεν: 71 (n.).—οὕτως: 'in this way' (i.e. 'as ye have done'). We cannot join the word with πρυμνόθεν after the pattern of e.g. ἀπλῶς οὕτως, since this use is confined to combination with words expressive of carelessness or rough-and-ready. The sense of πρυμνόθεν is the exact contrary.

1049 τί δὲ \*φῶ; M has τί δ' ἐρώ; and later MSS τί δὲ δρῶ; The appearance of the fut. itself is by no means objectionable. Cf. Cho. 87 πῶς εὐφρον' εἶπω; πῶς κατεύξομαι πατρί; Soph. Tr. 973 τί πάθω; τί δὲ μήσομαι; οἰμοί, Eur. I. A. 442 οἰμοί τί φῶ δύστηνος; ἀρξομαι πόθεν; El. 967 τί δῆτα δρῶμεν μητέρ'; ἢ φονεύσομεν; Ion 758 εἰπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν; The primary notions of subjunct. and fut. were so near that their interchange is sufficiently natural. Perhaps between two aorists subjunct. another might be expected, but uniformity of the kind is not sought by poetry. It is certainly less exceptionable to read the future, which so often appears beside the aor. subjunct., than to interpose the pres. δρῶ. The objection is rather to the sense of ἐρώ. The question is not what the Chorus is about to 'say,' in the sense of 'utter' (λέγειν), but what it is to 'agree to' or 'decide for' (φάναι). By reading τί δὲ φῶ; we get the three questions 'What is to become of me? What am I to consent to? What course am I to devise?' The meaning of these questions is explained by the more definite one which follows.

1050 sq. σε: turning to Polyneices.—μήτε...κλαίειν κ.τ.λ.: repeating the notions of ἀκλαυτος ἀταφος (1013 sqq.). Cf. further Cho. 8 οὐ γὰρ παρὼν ὤμωξά σόν, πάτερ, μόρον, | οὐδ' ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν νεκροῦ (n.), Sol. fr. 21 μηδὲ μοι ἀκλαυτος θάνατος μολοί, ἀλλὰ φίλοισιν | ποιῆσαιμι θανῶν ἀλγέα καὶ στοναχάς.—ἐπὶ τύμβῳ: with a view to a τύμβος.

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι  
δεῖμα πολιτῶν.

σύ γε μὴν πολλῶν πενθητήρων  
τεύξη· κείνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγοος  
μονόκλαυτον ἔχων θρήνον ἀδελφῆς  
εἰσιν; τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο;

1055

HMIX. δράτῳ <τε> πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτῳ·  
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἵμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν  
αἶδε προπομποί. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾶ  
κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ πόλις ἄλλως  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεί τὰ δίκαια.

1058

1060

HMIX. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις  
καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεί.  
μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχύν  
ὅδε Καδμείων ἤρυξε πόλιν  
μὴ ἀνατραπήναι  
μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῷ κύματι φωτῶν  
κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.

1065

1070

recc. ψ. 1052 κάποστρέφομαι Paley. ψ. 1053 δόγμα L. Schmidt, λῆμα Meineke. δῆγμα is an obvious suggestion, but the text is better. ψ. 1057 I have added the question mark at εἰσιν; ψ. πείθοιτο M, corr. recc. Recc. have εἰσι with τίς ἂν οὖν (τίς οὖν or τίς ἂν) ταῦτα, whence εἰσιν· τίς ἂν οὖν ταῦτα πίθοιτο; Brunck. But ταῦτα is plainly a gloss. A possible source of the variants is ἀδελφῆς | \* <ῆς> εἰσι; τίς οὖν τὰ πίθοιτ' ἂν; (or πίθοιτο alone: see note to *Cho.* 593, where add Herondas 5. 76 τίς

1052 sq. ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κ.τ.λ. καὶ is explanatory; 'But I am afraid; yes, I shrink from...'.—δεῖμα πολιτῶν=τοὺς δεινοὺς πολίτας; cf. Eur. *H. F.* 700 πέρσας δείματα θηρῶν, Pind. *N.* 1. 50 ἄμυνεν ὕβριν κνωδάων ('the wicked brutes'), *Cho.* 766 δεσπότην στύγει (n.), *sup.* 475. δεῖμα πολιτῶν is the citizens who inspire our fear, just as Πειθοῦς σέβας (*Eum.* 886) is the Πειθῷ who inspires our awe.—ἀποτρέπομαι treats this dread thing almost as if it were a demonic power. With ἀποτρέπομαι cf. *Pers.* 220 ἀποτροπήν, *P. V.* 24 ἀποκρύψει, 686 θεῶπρόπους. There is the more inducement to the lengthening in this particular word through its connection with ritual. So Eur. *Phoen.* 586 ὦ θεοί, γένοισθε τῶνδ' ἀπότηροισι κακῶν.

1055 sqq. κείνος...εἰσιν; To be read as a question. See crit. n.—ἄγοος: without the ceremonial γόος, which, with the ταφή and the ἔπαινος, was the due of the dead. Cf. Simonid. *fr.* 9. 3 βωμός δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκος

ἔπαινος.—τὰ=ταῦτα: 974 (n.). [The readings of recc. perhaps point to <ῆς> εἰσι; τίς οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο; The insertion of ἂν would cause the reading of M. For absence of ἂν with interrog. opt. see *Cho.* 593 τίς λέγοι; and examples there. Add Herond. 5. 76 τίς οὐκ ἐμπτύει; Mosch. 3. 114 πῶς δ' ἐγὼ οὐ φθορέοιμι;]

1058 δράτῳ <τε> πόλις κ.τ.λ. Whether τε or τι is to be inserted depends on whether the next line in M is genuine or a gloss of the kind which appears after v. 987. The words of 1059 are flat and unnecessary, while the present line is more effective without them. The metrical value of 1058—1063 does not in any case answer precisely to that of 1064—1070, nor, in processional anapaests, should the correspondence be demanded. The usual idiom contains τε, i.e. δράτῳ τε καὶ μὴ δράτῳ (cf. 414 sq.) or δράτῳ τε μὴ δράτῳ τε (*Suppl.* 385 δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ τύχην ελεῖν, Eur. *I. A.* 56 δοῦναι τε μὴ δοῦναι τε). But if v. 1059 is retained we cannot choose τε. With δράτῳ



But I am afeared. The citizens affright me, and I shrink.

Thou indeed wilt find many to mourn for thee; and shall he, poor soul! go without lament, with but a sister's solitary dirge? Who could consent thereto?

#### FIRST HALF-CHORUS.

Let the state do or not do, as it will. We will go, and, in train like this, will share in burying him. For all the race hath part in this affliction, and what a state deems right changes with change of time.

#### SECOND HALF-CHORUS.

We with this other, e'en as the state and the right take side together. For next to the blessed Gods and the might of Zeus, 'twas he who most of all saved the Cadmean realm from overturning, to founder beneath an alien wave of men.

[*Exeunt all (to left).*]

οὐκ ἐμπύτοι;). 1058 δράτω M, δράτω τε Canter, δράτω τι anon. ap. Elms. Eur. *Med.* 1224. The idiom commonly includes τε, and the words which follow in M (1059), viz. τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη, are almost certainly an interpolation (see schol.). ψ. 1060 μὲν γὰρ recc. μὲν Victorius. 1061 Ritschl adds τῇ Καδμογενεῖ (τῇ Καδμείῳ Hermann), to produce metrical correspondence with 1068. But see comment. to 1058. ψ. 1064 ὡς ἡ τε πόλις Blomfield. ψ. 1069 ἄλλοδαπῶν recc. ψ. 1070 ταμάλιστα G. Qu. κατακλυσθῆναι \*πανάστον? αἰσχέλου ᾧ ἐπιθήβας τέλος.

πόλις τοὺς κλαίοντας there must be joined either another accus. e.g. τι or an adverb e.g. κακῶς. The point of πόλις is the same as in 1021.

1061 sq. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ κ.τ.λ.: i.e. the grief is common to us by the laws of kindred.—γενεᾷ as in Hom. *Od.* 1. 387 ὁ τοι γενεῇ πατρώϊον ἔσται. Less well we might render 'to the nation' (Pind. *I.* 6. 29, *O.* 11. 15). The Cadmeans are represented as literally Καδμογενεῖς (127 n., 290), and the Chorus claims to share with the sisters in the ἄχος. The connection is more intimate than in Eur. *Hipp.* 1462 κοινοὶ τὸ δ' ἄχος πᾶσι πολίταις ἦλθεν. Hence γενεᾷ is stressed.

1062 sq. πόλις: generic, 'a state.'—ἄλλως ἄλλοτ' κ.τ.λ.: 'at different times takes different views of what is right.' For the sense of ἐπαινεῖ ('votes,' *censet*) see 1024 (n.).—τὰ is practically a possessive, 'its decisions as to right.'

1064 sq. ὥσπερ τε πόλις κ.τ.λ. τε is not trajected, but is exegetic: 'Aye, as country and justice agree in (ἔν-) deciding.' Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 7. 16 ἃ τε οἱ θεοὶ ἐφυσάν σε δύνασθαι καὶ ὁ νόμος συνεπαίνει. The second ἡμιχόριον takes up the words πόλις and ἐπαινεῖ. 'In this case the πόλις is right in its view, for τὸ δίκαιον

(right in the abstract) agrees.' The one justice, as philosophy would say, is contrasted with the many.

1066 μετὰ...μάκαρας: the usual reservation; cf. Hdt. 7. 139, Xen. *An.* 7. 7. 22, Ov. *Trist.* 5. 9. 12 (quoted by Blomf. and Paley).—καὶ Διὸς ἰσχύϊν: 'and (in particular) the might of Zeus.'

1067 sqq. ὅδε...ἦρυξε...τὰ μάλιστα. Though so far separated, τὰ μάλιστα, to have any appropriate sense, must belong to ἦρυξε. See crit. n.—ἀνατραπήναι: cf. Alex. ap. Ath. 226 F ἂν ἀνατραπῇ τὸ πλοῖον. The play ends, as it began, with a nautical metaphor.—ἄλλοδαπῶν. It is a mistake to alter to ἄλλοδαπῶν, (1) because φωτῶν is simply added to define the metaphor (64 n.), (2) because the attachment of the epithet to the governing rather than the governed noun is favoured by the tragedians. Cf. 591, Cho. 1068 ἀνδρὸς βασιλεία πάθη, Ag. 509 δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους, Eur. 292 χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς, Eur. *Cycl.* 11 γένος Τυρσηρικὸν ληστῶν. The point of Καδμείων is that of 1061, viz. that all Cadmeans are interested. It is uttered with affection: 'this time-honoured city which is so dear to all Cadmeans': cf. 114.





## APPENDIX A.

### CONSONANTIZING OF *v* AND *z*

v. 115 γενίων. The disyllabic scansion of this word occurs also in Pind. *P.* 4. 225. Similarly Ἐρινίων Eur. *I. T.* 931, 970, 1456, *Tro.* 457. The fact itself is beyond question, but no modern philologist is likely to write γενῖν, Ἐρινῖν with Dindorf. In Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* 1. p. 228 these examples are classed under the head of synizesis, and it is not surprising if, taking this view of the pronunciation, the writers should declare that in certain other instances, which happen to stand alone, the phenomenon is 'unglaublich.' In [Hes.] *Scut.* 3 (so 16) for Ἡλεκτρώωνος they offer Ἡλέκτρωνος on the strength of a Rhodian inscrip. Ἀλέκτρωνα. Meanwhile they overlook Ἀμφιτρώωνος in Hom. *Od.* 11. 266. In *Il.* 7. 166 they are satisfied to query with Ἐνθαλίῳ ἀργειφόντῃ. The query is justified, since (as will be indicated immediately) the proper scansion there is Ἐνθαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ. In Soph. *O. T.* 640 MSS have δρᾶσαι δικαιοῖ δνοῖν ἀποκρίνας κακοῖν, which editors agree in discarding.

The first step to be assumed in all such instances is the consonantizing of the *v*, and, if we are to attach a sign, it will rather be γενίων, Ἐρινίων, δνοῖν, Ἀμφιτρώωνος than γενῖων, δνοῖν &c. The phenomenon is familiar in the Latin *tenuia*, *genua* as adapted to the requirements of verse. To this there exists a *prima facie* objection in respect of the quantity. If Latin says *tenuia*, *gēnua*, it would seem that Greek should require a similar lengthening. That argument, however, is fallacious. Though the other examples prove nothing either way, the iambic γενίων is not doubted for Pindar. The fact seems to be that the consonant was so weakly pronounced as to leave no effect upon the previous syllable. Practically, as a second step, it became inaudible. That there is nothing incredible in the process may be gathered from the fate of ξένος, γόνφατα, μόνος, which in Attic became ξένος, γόνατα, μόνος, although 'compensation' is to be seen in other dialects. There is nothing against assuming the steps γενίων > γενῖων > γεν(ι)ων.

This hypothesis is borne out by the parallel case of *z*. The consonantizing of that letter is very frequent. Thus Hom. *Il.* 2. 537 Ἰστίαιν, *Od.* 4. 83 Αἰγυπτίους (so 9. 382, *Il.* 17. 432, Hipparch. *ap.* Ath. 393 c), *Hymn. Apoll.* 217 (39) Αἰνεῖνας, Eur. *I. A.* 277 Αἰνιάνων (lyr.), *H. F.* 1304 Ὀλυμπίῳ (senar.), *Ion* 285 τιμᾷ σφε Πύθλος ἀστραπαί

τε Πύθαι, Bacchyl. 17. 39 Κνωσσίων, Archestr. *ap.* Ath. 311 c ἰχθυδίων. In Aeschylus ἀργίας is apparently correct in *Ag.* 117 and αἰφνίδιος is the reading of M in *P. V.* 707. καρδία is frequent as a disyllable (*Suppl.* 74, 807, *S. c. T.* 275). In *S. c. T.* 976 δίνυρα appears to be the scansion, and in 225 ποταίνιον does away with all metrical difficulty. In v. 365, where πόρον... Ἰσμηνόν is a remarkable expression (see note), it is quite possible that Aesch. actually wrote Ἰσμήνιον. Considering the comparative rigidity of the Aeschylean senarius, we should probably pronounce Ἀμφιάρεω in v. 556. In Latin verse *stellio, conubialia, Lavinia, omnia* are well-known examples. In these instances, again, it is true that the previous syllable is naturally long, while it is made so by position in *fluviatorum, arxite, abiete* &c. But here again analogy with Latin is no safe guide.

In Hom. *Il.* 21. 567 εἰ δέ κεν οἱ προπάροιθε πόλιος κατεναντίον ἔλθω (so 2. 811) the εἰ does not make position. The substitution of πόλεος is of course easy, if we adopt the principle of ejecting the unusual as impossible. In *Il.* 7. 166 Ἐνυῶλ' ἄργειφόντῃ there is the same ignoring of εἰ. In *S. c. T.* 160 the lyric φιλοπόλεις is given by MSS, and it is not easy to understand why any copyist should have substituted this strange form if φιλοπόλεος had been correct. Of λογίων in the 2nd foot of Eur. *Ion* 602 I should now speak with more diffidence than in the note on *Cho.* 333.

It is usual to speak only of synizesis in the case of ε in -έως, -έα, θεός, ἐκπνέων (*Ag.* 1493), Κρέων (*Soph. Ant.* 155), Αἰνέας (*Rhes.* 85) &c.; but here again it is no less probable that the ε (which in some dialects so readily turned to ι) is consonantized, just as ο (which is equally close to υ) is treated in φοινκίεσσον (*Il.* 10. 133).

When we consider the number of examples, and also the fact that such pronunciations as Τειρεσίας, Ἀμφιάρεως would often assist in normalizing metre, it seems highly probable that more account should be taken of such consonantizing when we are considering correspondence in lyrics.

The trochaic tetrameter from Cratinus *ap.* Ath. 68 c ἐν Πάρῳ σίκνον μέγιστον σπερματίαν ὠνούμενον apparently contains an abnormal dactyl in the 2nd and also in the 5th foot. In the one case the word contains υ, in the other ι. If these are consonantized (σίκνον, σπερματίαν) the abnormality disappears. Similarly the apparent tribachs serving as the sixth foot in a number of comic iambic trimeters may be treated as iambs, viz. Ar. *Ran.* 1203 θυλάκιον, Antiph. Ἀρχ. 3 φειδίτια, Eubul. Ἀμάλθ. 9 δελφάκια, Diph. Ἀπλ. 2 σαρκίδια, Ar. *Ach.* 777 χοιρίδιον.



## APPENDIX B.

### ADDENDA TO NOTES.

- 7 ὕμνοισ' : cf. Milton's *I am sung and proverb'd for a fool | In every street* (Sams. Agon.).
- 53 "Ἀρῇ δεδοκότων : *How reverend is the face of this old pile, | Looking tranquillity!* (Congreve *Mourn. Br.* 11. 3).
- 64 κῦμα...στρατοῦ : Sil. It. 4. 158 *undae Boiorum*. Cf. Hor. *O.* 2. 7. 15.
- 89 sq. λεύκασπις : Sil. It. 4. 545 *niveis Varenus in armis* (=splendidis).
- 91 sq. τίς ἄρα...θεῶν : Hor. *O.* 1. 2. 25 *quem vocet divum populus ruentis | imperi rebus?*
- 100 κτύπον δέδορκα : Lucr. 4. 581 *aut septem loca vidi reddere voces* ; Byron *C. H.* iv. 49 *we inhale | The ambrosial aspect*.
- 140 αἰθήρ...ἐπιμαίνεται : Sil. It. 17. 410 *contremuere aurae rapido vibrantibus hastis | turbine*.
- 161 μέλεσθε...μελόμενοι δ' κ.τ.λ. : 1 Kings 8. 30 *Hear thou in Heaven thy dwelling-place, and when thou hearest, forgive*.
- 213 sq. παναμάχανον...ὁδοί : Pind. *N.* 7. 141 *δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκὰν ἀμαχανίαν δυσβάτων θάμα διδόμεν*.
- 232 μὴ νυν...ἄκου' ἄγαν : Plaut. *M. G.* 2. 6. 88 *etiam illud quod scies ne sciveris* (Blomf.).
- 278 sq. δράκοντας...πελειάς : Claud. *R. P.* 3. 141 *sic aestuat ales | ... | ne furtum pateant homini ne praeda colubris*.
- 320 ὠμοδρόπων : Theoc. 11. 21 *σφριγανώτερα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς*.
- 369 θείνει...ὀνειδεῖ : Shak. *K. John* ii. 1 *He gives the bastinado with his tongue*.
- 376 sq. πανσέληνος...πρέσβιστον ἄστρων : Ecclesiasticus 43. 9 *The moon, the glory of the stars*.
- 381 ὅστις βοῇν σάλπιγγος κ.τ.λ. : Scott *Marm.* canto 5 *Marmion, like charger in the stall, | That hears without the trumpet call, | Began to chafe and swear*.
- 386 δάκνουσ' : Spenser *F. Q.* 1. 7. 48 *His biting sword and his devouring spear*.
- 401 ἐν κύβοις : Schiller *Die Schlacht* 5 *zum wilden eisernen Würfelspiel*.
- 415 sq. οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς κ.τ.λ. : Ov. *Met.* 8. 394 *hunc tamen invita peremet mea dextra Diana*.
- 579 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ. Philem. *fr. inc.* 10. 7 *ἀλλ' ὅστις ἄδολον γνησίαν τ' ἔχων φύσιν | εἶναι δίκαιος κοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι θέλει*.
- 580 βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα...καρπούμενος : cf. Wordsworth's *The harvest of a quiet eye*.
- 702 τεθηγμένον : Hor. *A. P.* 402 *Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella | versibus exacuit*.
- 719 ὅποσαν...φθιμένοισιν κατέχιν : Juv. 10. 173 *mors sola fatetur | quantula sint hominum corpuscula*. Cf. *sarcophago contentus erit*.
- 721 sq. αὐτοκτόνως αὐτοδαίκτοι : Shak. *Rich.* III. ii. 4 *Blood to blood, self 'gainst self*.
- 776 καμψίπους : Plaut. *Menaech.* 5. 2. 115 *facile inflexa sit pedum pernecitas*.
- 819 περιπίτνει κρύος : Shak. *R. and J.* iv. 3 *I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins*.
- 846 ἀφανῇ...χέρσον : cf. Byron's *The dim shore*.
- 1026 κολογαστορες : Dryden (*Hind and Panther*) *The wolfish race | Appear with belly gaunt and famished face*.
- 1066 μετὰ...μάκαρας : Shak. *Hen.* VI. Pt. III. iv. 6 *But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free*.

## THE SCHOLIA OF THE MEDICEAN.

The scholia of the Medicean MS are mainly written by *m*, comparatively few by *m*<sup>1</sup>. Of those from the hand of *m* we may distinguish:

(1) a running commentary in the exterior margin, not written in line with the text concerned, but more or less continuously, the notes to a page of the text being found upon that page, but written at the top, down the margin, and along the bottom, as space and convenience determined. For this reason the lemma is frequently included in the scholion. These notes are here registered as *a*.

(2) other notes closer to the text on either side and opposite the passage concerned. These are recorded as *b*.

(3) interlinear notes or glosses, recorded as *gl*.

Of these *a* are the most numerous; they also have the appearance of coming from a first stock of scholia, while *b* are perhaps additions from a second stock. All are written in small uncials.

From *m*<sup>1</sup> (in a much abbreviated and often almost microscopic script) we have

(1) notes close to the text (here called *m*<sup>1</sup>*b*),

(2) notes in the extreme margins, outside of those by *m* (= *m*<sup>1</sup>*extr.*),

(3) interlinear glosses (= *m*<sup>1</sup>*gl*).

The arrangement of the scholia by Wecklein is very inadequate and often misleading.

[In the following recension the lemma, when actually included in the scholion, is printed in the same type; when it is not quoted, but is that passage of text to which an editor must assign the note, it is printed in lighter type before a bracket. When the note is written to an erroneous text the lemma has an obelisk.]

- a.* 1 *χρή*] *λείπει τὸ ἐκείνον· καίρια δὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· παρακαίρια γὰρ τὰ*  
*†**ἄδικα.*  
*rec.gl.* 2 *δοτις*] *ἐκείνον.*  
*gl.* *ἐν πρόμῳ π.] ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ.*  
*a.* *δοτις φυλάσσει κ.τ.λ.] τὸν τῆς πόλεως κυβερνήτην.*  
*a.* 4 *εἰ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] τῆς εὐπραγίας ἢ αἰτία ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, τῆς δὲ*  
*δυσπραγίας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας.*  
*b.* 6 *εἰς] ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνος.*  
*gl.* 7 *πολυτρόβοις] λοιδοροῖς.*  
*b.* *ὑμνοῖθ'] τὸ ὑμνεῖσθαι μέσον.*

<sup>1</sup> Either two notes are written as one or τὰ ἄδικα must be an error for *e.g.* τὰ ἄλλα or τὰ μακρά. The former is quite possible, since ἄδικα is an admissible interpretation of τὰ μὴ καίρια: cf. Theogn. 199 εἰ δ' ἄδικως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ...κτῆσεται, *ibid.* 341 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺ τέλεσόν μοι Ὀλύμπιε καιρὶον εὐχῆρ. Wecklein reads δίκαια for ἀναγκαῖα, but this is away from the sense.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* *λείπει ἐκείνον.*

<sup>4</sup> Schol. rec. adds ἀναφέρεται after θεούς, but the expression may be brachylogic. If the word was lost, it was probably after αἰτία.



- a. 8 Ζεὺς ἀλεξ.] ἀλεξητήριος Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις τιμᾶται· φησὶν οὖν, συμφώνως ἑαυτῷ τιμᾶτο.
- a. 10 καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' κ.τ.λ.] καὶ τὸν νέον καὶ τὸν αὐξοντα τὴν βλάστησιν.
- a. 12 ἀλδαίνοντα] τοῦ ἰδίου.
- gl. τὸν ἐλλείποντ'] τὸν νέον.
- b. 11 τὸν ἐξηβον] τὸν ἔξω ἡλικίας, τὸν γέροντα.
- a. 12 ἀλδαίνοντα] αὐξάνοντα † ἀνδρῶν νῦν.
- a. 13 ὥς τι συμπρεπές] οἷον καθὼς ἕκαστος δύναται βοηθεῖν.
- a. ὦραν ἔχονθ' κ.τ.λ.] ὦραν φροντίδα, <ἢ ὦραν> ἡλικίαν, ἔν' ἣ ὁ νοῦς οὕτως, ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἔχοντα φροντίδα τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ἕκαστον πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν, βοηθεῖν τῇ πόλει ὡς πρόπον ἐστί.
- gl. συμπρεπές] ἀρμόδιον.
- a. 16 τέκνοις τε...] κοινὸν τὸ ἀρῆγειν.
- b. 17 ἢ] αὐτῇ.
- a. ἔρποντας] κυρίως ἐπὶ παίδων τὸ ἔρποντας.
- gl. 18 πανδοκοῦσα] ἐπιδεχομένη.
- a. ἀπαντα κ.τ.λ.] πάντα πόνον τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑποδεχομένη.
- b. 20 ὅπως γένοισθε] πιστοὶ δηλονότι.
- a. ὅπως κ.τ.λ.] πρὸς κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρόθυμοι.
- b. 21 ῥέπει] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ζυγῷ.
- gl. 22 πυργηρουμένοις] φυλασσομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
- b. 24 [βοτήρ] σκοπός, ὁ Τειρεσίας.
- b. 25 πυρὸς δίχα] οὐκ ἐμπύροις χρώμενος.
- a. ἐν ὥσιν κ.τ.λ.] ἐξ ἀκοῆς γὰρ τὰς πτήσεις διέκρινεν· οὐχ ὁρῶν ὁ Τειρεσίας ἐπέβαλλε τῇ τέχνῃ ἑτέρου ὑπαγορευόντος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ὡς αὐτόπτης τῶν ὀρνέων.
- gl. 26 χρηστηρίους] μαντευτικούς.
- gl. 27 οὗτος] ὁ Τειρεσίας.
- a. 29 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι] ἐν νυκτὶ ἀγορεύεσθαι καὶ βουλευέσθαι.
- a. 31 σοῦσθε: ἐπίρρημα παρακελεύσεως.
- b. σὺν παντευχίᾳ] ὀπλισμένοι.
- gl. 32 θωρακείᾳ] τὰς ἐπάλξεις τῶν τευχῶν.
- b. σέλμασιν] τοῖς ἐπιβήμασι· κατεχρήσατο δέ.
- b. 34 ἐπηλύδων] τῶν πολεμίων.
- b. 35 εὖ τελεῖ θεός] καλὰ θεὸς παρέχει.
- a. 37 μὴ ματᾶν] μὴ μάτην ὀρμήσαι.
- a. 43 ἐς μελάνδετον] τὸ μελανισθὲν τῷ αἵματι· ἢ τὸ ἐκ μελαινῶν βυρσῶν περιβεβλημένον. οὕτως δὲ θύοντες ἐπάνω τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐμαντεύοντο. τὸ μελάνδετον δὲ καλῶς ἂν ἐπὶ ξίφους ῥηθείη, ἐπὶ δὲ σάκους παρέλκει τὸ δετον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κελαινεφὲς τὸ νέφος.

10 The two notes (a) are written as one and with an error, viz. τὴν βλάστησιν τοῦ Διός, which I emend. Enger's σώματος for Διός has no probability. For \*τοῦ ἰδίου see schol. 937 (b) and 1066.

12 The text is corrupt. ἀνδρῶν conceals either ἀδρὸν (= πολὺν) or ἀδρουῖνα (a second interpretation of ἀλδαίνοντα). For the corruption (which is naturally very frequent) cf. MSS at Ar. *Ran.* 1099, Ath. 473 D, 496 A etc. and *inf.* 580. νῦν may either express time (i.e. *chrḗ nūn*), or may be the regular scholiastic word in the sense "ἀλδαίνοντα here means αὐξάνοντα, ἀδρουῖνα." Cf. 108, 241.

13 Dindorf added <ἢ>, but in that case we must omit the breathing-sign upon ὦραν and leave the form non-committal. I prefer to insert <ἢ ὦραν>. The *gl.* was subsequently obliterated.

17 (a) πῆδων m. The note is, of course, inaccurate for classical Greek.

18 (*gl.*) The gloss perhaps rather represents the corrupt προσδοκοῦσα (recc.).

20 (a) πρόθυμον m, corr. rec.

22 (*gl.*) An ignorant note, unless *e.g.* παρατηρουμένοις stood in his text.

25 (b) οὐκ ἐμπύρ συρόμενος m: ἐμπύροις is due to m<sup>1</sup> and χρώμενος to schol. rec. Headlam suggests ἐμπυρευόμενος. (a) ἐπέβαλεν m, corr. rec.

43 Apparently two different notes are combined, the second beginning at τὸ μελάνδετον. m has τῷ δετον, corr. rec.

- b. 47 λαπάξειν] ἐκκενώσειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ λαπάθου.  
 a. 49 μνημεία: περόνας ἢ τρίχας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον.  
 a. μνημεία κ.τ.λ.] ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις πέμπειν σημεῖα, ἢ περόνας ἢ ταινίας ἢ βοστρύχους ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἔστεφον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπλήρουν. πρὸς ἄρμα δὲ Ἀδράστου, ἐπεὶ Ἀμφιάραος αὐτοῖς ἐμαντεύσατο μόνον Ἀδραστον σωθήσεσθαι.  
 a. 50 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου] τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔλαβεν, ὅτι ἐσώθη Ἀδραστος· ἐπεὶ πόθεν ᾔδεσαν ὅτι διαφεύξεται;  
 b. Ἀδράστου] τοῦτον γὰρ ἔφασκεν ὁ μάντις σωθήσεσθαι μόνον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου.  
 gl. ἔστεφον] ἐπλήρουν.  
 b. 51 οἶκτος δ'...] οὐκ ἦν ἔλεος διὰ τῆς γλώττης αὐτῶν προῶν ἀποθελύνων τὴν ὀρμὴν.  
 a. 54 καὶ τῶνδε πίστις: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ταῦτα γνώσῃ τῇ πείρᾳ. <ῆ> ἢ περὶ τούτων ἀκοή οὐ βραδέως γέγονεν. ταχὺ γὰρ ἤγγειλα.  
 b. τῶνδε πίστις...] ἢ γνώσις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πλησιάζεται.  
 a. 55 κληρουμένους δ' ἔλ(ειπον): κλήρους γὰρ ποιησάμενοι πρὸς μίαν πύλην ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐπὶ λοχαγέται.  
 gl. 58 τάγεσθαι] τάξον.  
 b. 60 ἀργηστής] λευκός.  
 a. 62 ὥστε ναὺς] ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν πλοίων.  
 b. κεδνός] ἀσφαλής, βέβαιος.  
 b. 63 καταιγίσαι] καταπνεύσαι σφοδρῶς.  
 a. 64 κύμα] πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπήγαγεν τὸ κύμα· παρακεκινδυνευμένως δὲ εἶπεν κύμα χερσαίων.  
 b. 65 καιρὸν ὅστις κ.τ.λ.] τούτεστι μὴ ἐκπέσης τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ.  
 gl. 66 ἡμεροσκόπον] φύλακα ἀπλῶς.  
 gl. 66 sq. πιστὸν κ.τ.λ.] ἀσφαλῶς φυλάξω.  
 b. 70 Ἀρὰ τ'] ὅτι τὰ νῦν δι' αὐτῆς τελειοῦται.  
 gl. 72 ἐκθαμνίσῃτε] ἐκριζώσῃτε.  
 b. 72 sq. Ἑλλάδος φθόγγον κ.τ.λ.] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> οὐ βάρβαρον οὔσαν ἀλλ' Ἑλληνίδα καὶ αὐτήν.  
 b. 73 φθόγγον χέουσιν...] γρ. καὶ ὄλβον ρέοντα καὶ δόμους.  
 b. 75 ζυγοῖσι κ.τ.λ.] μὴ ὑπέλθειν ζυγὸν δουλείας.  
 b. 76 ξυνὰ δ'...] κοινωφελὴ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν νομίζω λέγειν.  
 a. 78 θρέομαι φοβερὰ: θρηνώ, βοῶ. εὐπτότητον δὲ ἢ τῶν παρθένων ἡλικία πρὸς φόβον, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς πολιορκίαν.  
 a. 79 μεβείται στρατός: οἷον ἀφείται ὁ ὄχλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. οἷον ἦδη τὴν ὀρμὴν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι. ταῦτα δὲ φανταζόμεναι λέγουσιν ὡς ἀληθῆ. τὸ δὲ χ πρὸς τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. στρατοπέδον γὰρ καλεῖται τὸ ἐνδιαίτημα τοῦ στρατοῦ.  
 m<sup>1</sup>b. 80 ρεῖ] ὀρμῇ, χεῖται.  
 a. 80 sq. πρόδρομος ἵππότης: πολλὺς ἐμπροσθεν λαὸς ἵππότης· φαντάζονται δὲ ταῦτα πάντα. αἰθερία δὲ κόνις ἢ ἡλύγη ἢ αἰρομένη εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα.  
 b. 81 αἰθερία] ἢ μέχρι τοῦ αἰθέρος ἤκουσα.  
 a. 81 sq. πείθει φανείσ'...] καίτοι ἀφωνος οὔσα ἐναργής ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἄγγελος καὶ ἀληθής.  
 b. 82 ἀναυδος κ.τ.λ.] ἀφωνος μὲν οὔσα, σαφῶς δὲ ἀγγέλλουσα.

49—50. The first three notes are written as one, but should evidently be divided.

54 I have added <ῆ>: otherwise we must write as two distinct scholia.

55 ἕκαστος Weckl. for πρὸς. There may be a brachylogy 'with an eye to...'

66 An error: see comment.

73 i.e. (apparently) punctuating (with comma) at Ἑλλάδος and reading κῶλβον ρέοντα...

75 ὑπέλθειν Weil. The sense is rather ὑπέσέλκειν.

79 A χ is written before the line in M.

80 sq. ἡ αὐγὴ m, ἢ ἡλύγη Wecklein.

81 sq. In the MS this follows as one sentence after εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα (80 sq.). But at least <ῆ> καίτοι would be required.



- a. 83 †ελεδεμας κ.τ.λ.] καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία κατακτυπούμενα τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ποιεῖ μου προσπελάζειν τὸν ἦχον τοῖς ὤσιν.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. †ελεδεμὰς] ἐλεδεμὰς ἢ τὸ δέμας ἡμῶν τῷ φόβῳ λαμβάνουσα καὶ ταραττούσα. ἢ ἐλεδεμὰς ἢ ἐλοῦσα ἀπὸ τῶν δεμνίων.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. †τί χρίμπεται βοᾷ] τινὲς ὥτι χρίμπεται βοᾷ.
- a. 84 βρέμει δ'] ἡχεί δέ, φησί, τρόπον ποταμῶν τὰ πεδία τῆς γῆς μου.
- gl. 85 ὀροτύπου] τοῦ καὶ ὄρη ῥηγνύντος.
- gl. 87 ἀλεύσατε] ἀποστήσατε.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. ἀλεύσατε] φυγεῖν ποιήσατε.
- b. 88 βοᾷ] μετὰ βοῆς.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. ὑπέρ] ὑπεράνω.
- a. 93 πότερα δὴτ' ἐγώ: πότερον πρόσφυγες τῶν πατρῶν ξοάνων γενώμεθα ἢ ἄλλο τι πράξομεν;
- a. 94 εὐδριοι: ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν ἰδρυμένοι. ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων, φησί, καθεδρῶν καθεζόμενοι.
- a. 95 ἀκμάζει: καιρὸς ἦκει. οἷον ἀκμῆς καὶ ὀξυλαβίας χρῆζει τὰ πράγματα. πρὸς ἀλλήλας δέ ταῦτά φασι.
- b. 96 τί μέλλομεν κ.τ.λ.] τί ἐστῶτες στενάζομεν καὶ οὐχ ἰκετεύομεν;
- a. 97 ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ': ἐπὶ ἀγνώτες εἰσι, τοῦτό φασιν· ἀρα φανταζόμεθα ἢ ἀληθῶς ἀκούομεν;
- a. 98 (1) πέπλων καὶ στε(φένων): πότε στέφῃ ῥίψομεν ἢ πέπλους ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ νῦν, τραπέσαι ἐπὶ λιτανείαν τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως;
- a. (2) πέπλων] παρτίθεσαν γάρ καὶ πέπλους.
- a. (3) πέπλων] ἐνέδυσον γάρ καὶ πέπλους τὰ ἀγάλματα. "Ομηρος· "πέπλον ὅστις τοι χαριέστατος."
- b. 99 †ἀμφιλιταν] τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν λιτανείαν. ἢ πολυπαράκλητον.
- a. 100 (1) κτύπον δέδορκα: μετήγαγε τὰς αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τὸ ἐναργέστερον, ὥς τὸ "ἤκουσας ὁ κόραξ οἷος ἦλθ' ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ;"
- a. (2) δέδορκα] ἐναργέστερον.
- a. (3) ὁ μέντοι ὀκτάσημος ῥυθμὸς οὗτος πολὺς ἐστίν ἐν θρηνηδίᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ πρὸς θρήνους καὶ στεναγμούς· ἐστὶ δέ δογμακὰ. ὁμοῖον τὸ "πόλεμος αἰρεταὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ θεούς" παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ὀρνισιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ "ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις."
- a. 102 (1) παλαίχθων Ἄρης: ἐκ πολλοῦ κληρωσάμενος τήνδε τὴν γῆν· τιμᾶται γὰρ παρὰ Θηβαίους ὁ Ἄρης, καὶ Ἄρειον τεῖχος καὶ Ἀρητιάς κρήνη παρὰ αὐτοῖς· Ἀττικῶς δὲ τῇ κλητικῇ ὦ Ἄρης.
- (2) οἱ δὲ γρ. ὦ Ἄρη. ἱερὰ δὲ ἡ Θήβη τοῦ Ἄρεως ἄνωθεν. ἐστὶν οὖν παλαίχθων ὁ πάλαι τὴν γῆν κατέχων.

83 (a) The schol. may have supplied γὰς from the adj. ἐμὰς, or he may have read *e.g.* ἐξ ἐ γὰς δ' ἐμὰς. For καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν Weil suggests καὶ ταῖς ὀπλαῖς, but there may here be a different interpretation of ὀπλόκτυπα, viz. ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν, and this should perhaps be read.

84 ἔχει m, ἡχεί m<sup>1</sup>.

93 γενόμεθα m, γενησόμεθα Weckl., but γενώμεθα is nearer and the union of delib. subj. and fut. ind. is frequent enough.

94 ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ Victorius.

96 ἐστῶτες disregards the gender. Such laxity is not rare in scholl.: cf. schol. Cho. 1022 and *inf.* 665, 679, 741.

98 (1) The schol. read πόντ' ἢ νῦν. See comment. (2) παρτίθεσαν, i.e. 'they used to...' (in antiquity). (3) viz. II. 6. 271. The MS has all these three notes as one.

100 a (1) ὀρεοῦ m; see Ar. Pac. 1125. a (2) In the MS this is inserted in the text of the last note, viz. ὥς τὸ ἐναργέστερον "ἤκουσας κ.τ.λ." a (3) Though written in continuation of a (1), this note plainly belongs to v. 98. δογμακὰ m<sup>1</sup>. The reference in Aristoph. is to Av. 1189 and in Eurip. to Phoen. 344.

102 It should be manifest that separate notes have been written as one. οὖν in scholia is often not inferential, but summary (in exposition). Cf. 109 (2). For Ἀττικῶς cf. *inf.* 858.

- b. 104 ἐπιθ' ἐπιδε] ἠθικὸν τὸ δις ἀναφωνῆσαι· δαίλιαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνουσι διὰ τοῦτου.
- b. 105 ἂν ποτ'...] ἦν ποτε ἔθου εὖ πεφιλημένην.
- b. 107 παρθένων] σαφὲς ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐκ παρθένων ἐστὶν ὁ χορός. ἴδετε...] ἐπίδετε, φησὶν, ἡμᾶς ἰκετευούσας τρόπον δούλων· ἰκετεύομεν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἰς δουλείαν ἀχθῆναι.
- gl. 108 λόχον] νῦν τὸ πλῆθος.
- b. 109 (1) δοχμολόφων· τῶν ἐπινευόντων τοὺς λόφους· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κινήσει συμβαίνει πλαγιάζεσθαι τοὺς λόφους. ἢ τῶν κορυθαίολων· Ὁμηρος· “κορυθαίολος” Ἐκτωρ.” τὸ γὰρ κινούμενον κράνος δόχμιον τῇδε κάκείσε γίνεται. ἢ δὲ κινήσεις κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἐμπράκτου.
- a. 110 (2) δοχμολόφων οὖν τῶν ἐπινευόντων τοῖς λόφοις.
- a. 110 (1) καχλάζει· ταῖς πνοαῖς.
- (2) καχλάζει κ.τ.λ.] τῶν ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει ὥσπερ κύμα. καχλάζει δὲ οὐ βορέου ἢ νότου πνοῇ ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Ἄρεως.
- gl. 111 παντελές] πάντων ἔχων τέλος.
- b. 112 πάντως ἀρῆξον] πάντως †καὶ ἡμῖν βοήθησον, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλωσιν γενέσθαι.
- a. 114 φόβος δ' Ἀρηίων· λείπει ἡ ὑπό. ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρηίων ὅπλων φόβος ταράσσει.
- a. 115 διαδέτοι γενύων· οἷον προφωνοῦσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς γένυσι τῶν ἵππων χαλινοί.
- a. 116 κινύρονται φόνον] θρηνοῦσιν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 117 πρέποντες] ὑπέρχοντες.
- a. 118 δορυσόοις· ταῖς διὰ τῶν δοράτων σωζούσαις πανοπλίαις.
- b. 118 δορ. σαγαῖς] πολεμικαῖς πανοπλίαις.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 119 ἐβδόμαις] ἑπτὰ.
- gl. 119 πάλῳ κ.τ.λ.] λαχμῶ λαχόντες τὰς πύλας.
- a. 120 σύ τ', ὦ Διογενέες· σύ τε, ὦ κράτος ἐν πολέμοις Ἀθηναῖ. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγωνίας οὐχ ἓνα θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὥς παρθένοι.
- a. 122 καὶ ταῦτα δὲ δοχμικά ἐστιν καὶ ἴσα, εἴαν τις αὐτὰ ὀκτάσημῳ βαίνει. κυρίως δὲ εἶπον βαίνει· ῥυθμοὶ γάρ εἰσι· βαίνονται δὲ οἱ ῥυθμοί, διαιρείται δὲ τὰ μέτρα, οὐχὶ βαίνεται.
- a. 122 ὁ θ' ἵππιος· καὶ σύ, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὃς ἀνάσσεις ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἰχθύων.
- b. 123 Ποσειδᾶν] τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίοις ὁ Ποσειδῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 123 ἰχθυόλῳ μ.] τῇ τοῖς ἰχθύσι τιτρωσκούσῃ τριαίνῃ.
- a. 124 ἐπὶ λυσιν φ· πάλιν δις εἶπεν τὸ ἐπὶ λυσιν· τεταραγμένης δὲ ψυχῆς ταῦτα ἦθη καὶ ἐμφάσεως ἕνεκεν λεγόμενα.
- a. 126 κήδεσθαι τ' ἐναργῶς· κηδεστής ἐναργῶς γενοῦ. Ἀρμονίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως εἶχεν Κάδμος. φρόντισον ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐναργῶς.

105 The note seems peculiarly needless unless the schol. read τάν and thought necessary to explain it as relative.

107 These scholl. are written as one. The remark concerning the Chorus shows that the point was in dispute.

108 (gl.) For νῦν cf. schol. to 12.

110 In the MS the words run καχλάζει· ταῖς πνοαῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καχλάζει ὥσπερ κύμα; but we should divide as above. (1) explains the construction of πνοαῖς, (2) gives another view of the sequence.

112 Since καὶ has no discoverable point, it is probable that we should read πάντως <ἀρῆξον> καί..., καί being a regular scholastic way of saying 'id est...' (cf. 202, 856, 890).

114 See *inf.* 131.

115, 116 The order in the MS is confused, viz. διαδέτοι γενύων· θρηνοῦσιν... ἀναίρεσιν, οἷον προφ. κ.τ.λ.

120 ὀκτάσημῳ m and (in the second occurrence) βαίνει. The latter portion of the note is a choice example of pedantry.

124 φ = φόβου.



- gl. 129 θεοκλύτοις] μεγάλαις, ἃς καὶ θεὸς ἀκούσειεν.
- a. 131 Δύκειος γενοῦ: πολέμιος· οἷον ὥσπερ λύκος αὐτοῖς ἐφόρμησεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνοῦμεν. οὕτω τινὲς τὸ Δύκειος. ἡ ἐπιβλαβὴς τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν στόνων γενοῦ, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 133 †εὐ πυκάξου] εὐ πυκάξου ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκά τὸ ἐπιστημόνως.
- b. 134 εἰ ἐ] ἐπίρρημα θαυμαστικόν.
- a. 137 (1) ἔλακον ἀξόνων: ἀκούω, φησί, στεναγμὸν τῶν χνοῶν. λέγουσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ι οἱ ποιεῖται τὸ χνοαί. (2) ἔλακον ἀξόνων] παρὰ τὸ "μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων." χνοαί δὲ τὰ ἀκραξόνια, περὶ ἃ αἱ χοινικίδες οἱ παραξονῖται λεγόμενοι.
- b. 144 ἀκροβόλων] ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ συμβολῆς προκατάρχεσθαι.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. λιθᾶς] σύρροια λίθων.
- a. 145 ὦ φίλ' "Ἀπο(λλο)ν: ὦ φίλε "Ἀπολλον καὶ "Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Διόθεν πολεμόκραντον....
- a. 148 πολεμόκραντ(ον): ἐπεὶ οὐ μιὰρὸς ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ φόνος, ἀγνὸν τέλος ἔφη. ἐπεὶ οἱ πολεμίοις ἀποκτείναντες καθαροὶ εἰσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ φίλους ἀνελόντες.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. Διόθεν τέλος] ὡς εἰ ἔλεγεν ἡ ἀπόβασις τοῦ πολέμου Διόθεν.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. τέλος] φόνος.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 149 "Οὔκα] παρὰ Φοῖνιξιν ἡ "Ἀθηνᾶ· καὶ ὁ Κάδμος γὰρ Φοῖνιξ.
- a. "Οὔκα] "Οὔκα ἡ "Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Θηβαίους. ἐπεύχεται δὲ τὴν ἐπιχώριον "Ἀθηνᾶν, ὡς ὁ Θετταλὸς "Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε," καὶ ὁ Δύκειος "Κλυθὶ ἀναξ, ὅς που Λυκίης," καὶ ὁ "Ἰλιος "Ζεῦ "Ἰδθεν μεδέων." "Οὔκαία "Ἀθηνᾶ τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίους, "Οὔκα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Φοῖνιξιν. καὶ "Οὔκαίαι πύλαι. μέμνηται καὶ "Ἀντίμαχος καὶ "Ριανός. Φοῖνιξ δὲ ἀνῶθεν ὁ Κάδμος.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. πρὸ πόλεως] ἡ ἐστῆκυῖα.
- gl. 151 παναρκείς] κατὰ πάντα βοηθοί· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον θεῶν.
- a. 155 †ἑτεροφώνῳ: τῷ μὴ βοιωτιάζοντι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ "Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ "Ἀργεῖοι, οὐκ εἶπεν βαρβαροφώνῳ. ἄλλως· τῷ ἔχοντι ἄνδρας ἐκ πολλῶν ἔθνων· "Ομηρος· "ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλώσσα."
- a. 156 κλύετε πανδ(ικως): κλύετε ἡμῶν δικαίως εἰς σῴσαν ἀνεχουσῶν τὰς χεῖρας. τοῦτο δὲ τὴν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἱκετείαν δηλοῖ. "Ομηρος· "χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες."
- b. 159 ἀμφιβάντες] παρὰ τὸ "ὅς Χρῦσσην ἀμφιβέβηκας."
- a. 161 μέλειθε δ' ἱερῶν δη(μίων): μελέτην ἔχετε τῶν ἱερῶν δημοσίων.
- gl. 163 φιλοθύτων κ.τ.λ.] τῶν ἐκ τῶν πανηγύρεων τελετῶν μνημονεύσατε.
- a. 165 ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ θρέμμα (τ'): εἰώθασιν οἱ ποιεῖται δόγματά τινα εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων εἰσφέρειν. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐνταῦθα εἰσάγει τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἀπαγορεύοντα μετὰ ἀπειλῆς μὴ ἀπάγειν τὸν ὄχλον εἰς δειλίαν, ὥστε διὰ φόβον αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν. ἀλόγοις δὲ ζῷοις παρέβαλεν τὰς παρθένους, ὅτι ἐν φαντασίᾳ γεγόνασιν πρῶτον μὲν γυναικεῖα καὶ δειλῆ, δεύτερον δὲ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ. εἰσὶ γὰρ φαντασθαῖα ἀληθεῖς.

129 Scholiastic grammar requires no *ἀν* with potential opt. Cf. *Cho.* schol. 50, 503, and *inf.* 169, 221.

131 m has *οὐ* (*i.e.* the compendium) for *οὐτω*. The meaning is 'so some explain Δύκειος.' The subsequent ἐπὶ will not surprise anyone accustomed to scholl. with their indiscriminate *λείπει ἢ διὰ, κατὰ, σύν*, etc. Cf. 1001, 114.

137 m writes the two notes as one. The reference to Homer is *Il.* 5. 838. ἀκροξόνια m.

148 *οὐν* m, *οὐ* Dind. (but *οὐν οὐ* may be correct; cf. schol. to 102). Probably here again two notes have been written continuously.

149 (a). The Homeric references are to *Il.* 16. 233, 514, and 24. 308.

155 viz. *Il.* 2. 804.

156 viz. *Il.* 7. 347.

159 *Il.* 1. 37.

161 Qu. <τῶν> δημοσίων?

165 ἀγαθῇ m, ἀληθεῖ Robortello.

- b. 166 ἡ ταῦτ'...] καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀναγνωστέον· ἡ ὡς ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ μετ' ἐπιτιμήσεως.  
 gl. 167 πυργηρομένῳ] ἔσω τειχῶν ὄντι.  
 b. 169 λακάζειν· ἤχειν. ληκῶ, λακάζω κατὰ τροπὴν καὶ παραγωγὴν.  
 a. σωφρόνων μισήμ(ατα): ταῦτα, τὸ προσπίπτειν τοῖς ξοάνοις καὶ βοᾶν. ταῦτα οὖν ἃ πράττετε μισήσειςιν οἱ εὖ φρονούντες ἄνδρες.  
 a. 170 γνώμη.  
 gl. εὐεστοί] εὐδαιμονία, εὐετηρία.  
 b. 172 οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν] οὐ καθεκτὴ.  
 b. 173 δέισασα] ἐν θορύβοις.  
 gl. 175 κάκην] δειλίαν.  
 b. διερορθήσατ'] διὰ τοῦ θορύβου ἐμβεβλήκατε.  
 a. 179 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε: νέος ἢ γέρον. ἀκαίρως δ' ἡ λέξις τὸ μεταίχμιον. καὶ δηλοῖ τὸν ἀληθῶς ὀργιζόμενον.—ἄλλως. κεινδύνειναι τῷ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐνταῦθα τὸ μεταίχμιον. γένους γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ τῆς γυναικός, μέσον ἄλλο εἶπεν. εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις λέγοι ὅτι ὀργιζόμενος οὕτως εἴρηκεν. ὡς καὶ παρὰ Δράκοντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν φησί, κἂν ὄστρακον ἢ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναν, κἂν ξύλον, κἂν σίδηρος, κἂν χαλκός, συνεκβάλλεσθαι.  
 b. 181 λευστήρα κ.τ.λ.] τὸν ἐκ δήμου λευστήρα μόνον.  
 b. 183 μὴ βλάβην τίθει] τοὺς πολίτας δηλονότι θορυβοῦσα.  
 b. 185 ἔδεισ'...] ἀπολογοῦνται διότι ἐθορύβησαν.  
 m<sup>1</sup>b. 187 sq. σύριγγες] σύριγγες τὰ ξύλα τὰ μέσον τοῦ περιφεροῦς ξύλου τοῦ τροχοῦ διαπεραιούμενα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον μικρότερον, ἄλλο δ' αὖ τοῦ δευτέρου μικρότερον, λόγον τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων ἐπέχοντα.  
 a. ἐλίτροχοι: περὶ αἷς ἐλίσσονται οἱ τροχοί.  
 gl. 189 ἰάπυρων] τῶν μὴ ἐόντων με ἡρεμῖν.  
 a. 193 μηχανὴν σωτη(ρί)ας: οὐκ οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας περιιοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐρήσετε.  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 195 πρόδρομος] προτρέχουσα τῶν ἄλλων.  
 b. ἀρχαῖα] βασιλικά, παρὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 197 ἱνιφάδα] τὴν λίθων \*  
 b. ἱνιφάδα] νιφάδα τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔθνος.  
 b. 201 ἱν' ὑπερέχειεν ἀλκάν] ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀλκὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔχοιεν οἱ θεοί.  
 a. 202 πύργον στέγειν εὐχ(εσθε): τοῦτο εὐχεσθε, διαμένειν ἡμῶν τὰ τεῖχη ἁπλῶς, ὥστε τὸ δόρυ στέγειν καὶ ἀπείργειν τοὺς πολεμίους.  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 203 ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς κ.τ.λ.] εἰς τὴν Τροίαν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐφαίνετο.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. 204 λόγος] ἐστὶ.  
 a. 205 μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶ(να): μηδέποτε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν οἱ θεοί· εὐρών δὲ ὁ Αἰσχύλος παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ τὸ "θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα"—παρὰ γοῦν τὸ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγείρεσθαι ἀγῶνα εἴρηκεν—τὴν οὖν τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συναγωγὴν πανήγυριν τραγικώτερον εἶπεν.

166 καθ' ὑπόκρισιν = 'sarcastically.' Cf. schol. to 567.

169 (a) ταῦτα τοῖς προσπίπτειν m, which I emend as above. For absence of ἀν with μισήσειςιν cf. 129 (schol.), 221; and for οὖν 109 (schol.).

172, 173. In the MS these scholia run ἐν θορύβοις οὐ καθεκτὴ. Corr. \*ed.

179 Several notes have been joined into one. For ἀκαίρως Weil reads ἀκύρως, but the sense is met by 'it is (in reality) out of place,' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν = 'to cover all the ground'; but there is no real similarity in the case, unless something has been omitted, e.g. <κἂν τι τούτων μέσον>. At the beginning of the note νέος ἢ γέρον is an attempt to explain τι τῶν μεταίχμιον.

187 τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων = 'the several pipes of the syrinx.'

193 παριοῦσαι m, corr. m<sup>1</sup>.

197 (m<sup>1</sup>) Weckl. thinks σύρροισιν is the word: cf. 144. (b) πλήθος for ἔθνος schol. rec. Qu. νέφος? It should be noted that both scholl. had the accus. νιφάδα before them, or else we must suppose φη (φησὶ) to have fallen out of each.

202 ἀπλῶς m, ἀσφαλῶς schol. rec. Qu. ἀπώτως?

205 I adopt Headlam's treatment of παρὰ γοῦν...εἴρηκεν as a parenthesis.

For παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ m has παρὸ τὸ Ὀ. The reference is to *Il.* 8. 298.



- δ. 208 ἀπτόμενον] γρ. τυφόμενον.  
ἀπτόμενον] οἷον καιόμενον πολεμῶ πυρί.
- α. 210 πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπραξίας: πάνυ λαμπρῶς ὁ Αἰσχύλος τὴν πειθαρχίαν μῆτέρα τῆς εὐπραξίας ὠνόμασεν, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν. πειθόμεναι γὰρ καὶ αἱ πόλεις τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐστᾶσιν. τινὲς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὖ πράσσειν. σωματοποιεῖ δὲ τὰ πράγματα.  
πειθαρχία κ.τ.λ.] γνώμη.
- δ. 211 σωτήρος] λείπει Διός, γυνὴ Διὸς σωτήρος.  
m'extr. σωτήρος] σωστικῆς.
- δ. γυνὴ σωτήρος] οἰκείως ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι.
- α. 215 κριναμεναν νεφέ(λαν): τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἑαυτῷ μηχανήσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι ὁ θεὸς ὀρθοῖ.
- δ. 216 σφάγια καὶ χ.] τὰ εἰς χρήσιν καὶ θυσίαν θύματα.
- δ. 218 σὺν δ' αὖ] τῇ γυναικί.
- δ. 219 διὰ θεῶν] λείπει δὲ ἐπικουρίαν.
- m'extr. 221 νέμεσις] ἡ ἀπὸ σοῦ μέμψις.
- δ. 222 τίς τὰδε κ.τ.λ.] οὐδεὶς τὰτα ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ποιοῦσας μισήσειεν.
- δ. 222 τιμᾶν κ.τ.λ.] τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς σώζοντας θεούς.
- m'extr. 225 ποταίνιον] πρόσφατον.
- δ. 226 sq. ἀκρόπολιν κ.τ.λ.] τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τίμιον ἔδος.
- δ. 228 sq. μὴ...ἀρπαλίζετε] μὴ ἀρπάσσετε τὸ θρηνεῖν.
- δ. 230 τούτῳ γάρ...] ταῦτα νόμιμα Ἄρεως.
- δ. 232 μὴ νυν ἀκούουσ'...] κἂν ἀκούσης, προσποιού μὴ ἀκούειν.
- δ. 233 στένει κ.τ.λ.] ὡς κυκλούντων τὴν πόλιν τῶν πολεμίων σείεται, φησὶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ.
- α. 237 ὦ ξυntέλεια: τὸ κοινὸν ἄθροισμα τῶν θεῶν, μεταφορικῶς. κυρίως γὰρ ἡ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄθροισις. τέλος γὰρ τὸ τάγμα. "Ὅμηρος·" ἔλθειν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος."
- α. 239 θεοὶ πολῖται: τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ πατρώους ἐπικαλοῦνται θεούς, μὴ εἰς δουλείαν ἐμπεσεῖν.
- δ. 240 αὐτῇ σὺ δουλοῖς] θρηνοῦσα δῆλον ὅτι καὶ κρᾶζουσα σὺ ἡμᾶς δούλους ποιεῖς.
- δ. 241 βέλος] βέλος νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. βέλος δὲ πᾶν τὸ βαλλόμενον.
- δ. 244 παλιστομεῖς] δυσφημεῖς καίτοι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐχομένη.
- δ. 245 ἀψυχία κ.τ.λ.] ὑπὸ φόβου συναρπαζομαι.
- δ. 246 τέλος] γρ. λόγον.
- α. 247 (1) λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχ(ιστα): λέγε, φησί, ταχέως, καὶ ἐὰν δυνατόν ᾦ, γνῶσομαι σιγᾶν, ἢ ὑπακούειν.  
(2) γνῶσομαι, φησὶν, εἰ δυνατόν μοι ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ὁ κελεύεις.
- δ. 249 σὺν ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ.] οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐσίγησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φόβου.
- α. σιγῶ, σὺν ἄλλοις: ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, φησί, σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις γὰρ τὸ εἰμαρμένον πείσομαι.

208 The two notes are written as one in the MS.

210 <ὑπακούουσαι> may have fallen out from καὶ <ὑπακούουσαι> αἱ πόλεις. Otherwise καὶ may possibly mean 'as a case in point.' I do not perceive the point of τινὲς...εὖ πράσσειν, placed here, as no other interpretation of εὐπραξίας would suggest itself. Perhaps σωτήρος was so explained and the note thus belongs to the next line. See the second schol. (δ) to 211.

215 The lemma sic.

218 i.e. τῇ γυναικί λέγει (φησί).

219 δι' ἐπικουρίαν m. Corr. \*ed. This scholiastic δὲ is well-known.

221 (δ) The note is misplaced in the MS, being written after that to v. 222. For omission of ἂν cf. 129, 169. [Otherwise the note to 222 should not have been written to τιμᾶν, but as explanatory of τὰδε (221). In this case the order would be correct.]

226 i.e. there is apposition.

228 τῷ Verrall, but schol. is supplying an object.

237 viz. II. 10. 56.

247 (1) and (2) The two notes are written as one.

- α. 238 τοῖς ἀν' ἑαίνων] ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ προσηρμένα ἑταίρω.  
 α. 239 τοῖς ἀν' ἑαίνων: ἀν' ἄν' ἄλλων δυσφύμων ἀρχῆας ταῦτα μᾶλλον  
 παρὰ τοῦ εἰρηῶνα.  
 α. 239 ἀδολυγρὸν ἱερὸν: διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀδολυγρὸν τὸν ταῖωνος. ὥστε γὰρ  
 μὴ τῇ Ἀθῆνῃ θεῖται οὕτω πολέμῳ, ἀδολύουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις  
 θεοῖς ταυνοῦνται. ὁ γὰρ ποιητὴς φησὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωϊδῶν "αἱ δ'  
 ἀδολύῃ ταῦτα Ἀθῆνῃ χεῖρας ἀνίσταν," καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων  
 "αἱ δ' ἀδολύσαν θυγατέρες τε καὶ τε," ἡ δὲ διάνοια ἀπλή. φησὶν  
 οὕτως: "αἱμαὶ" φησὶν "ἐγκυμένον ἀκούσασα," πῶς δὲ ἐπιφέρε-  
 ται φησὶ τροπαία ἀναθήσκειν ταῖς τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ θεοῖς  
 ταῖσιν: "οὐ γὰρ ματαίως οὕτω γυναικείας εὐχὰς ἐπιτελέστω. ἀλλὰ  
 παρὰ ταῖς θεοῖς δεῖ σὲ ἀδολύσαν ὡς θεὸς Ἑλληνικῶν."  
 α. 239 θεοταῖες] ἐθεοποιεῖται.  
 α. θεοταῖες: τῆς παρὰ ταῖς θεοῖς γινόμενης. ἀφ' ἧς ἐνίοτε καὶ ἡ  
 βία καὶ σημαίνει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν καθαρὰν ἐσθῆτα, ὡς παρ  
 Εὐριπίδῃ, ἡ ἢ κοσμεῖται τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐν μάχαις. ἡ ὡς νεο-  
 μυμένην Ἑλλήσιν παρὰ τὰς θεοῖς ἀδολύσαν.  
 α. 240 θάρσος φίλος: τὸ γὰρ εἶχεται τοῖς θεοῖς θάρσος ἑμποῖ τοῖς φίλοις.  
 πολέμιον δὲ φόβον <λῶσα> τὴν ἀδολυγρὴν ἐξηγήσατο ἐν τῷ  
 "λῶσασα πολέμιον φόβον."  
 β. λῶσασα [πολέμιον φόβον] διὰ τὴν ποιήσαν εἰχῶν λῶσασα τὸν  
 πολέμιον φόβον.  
 α. 249 οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω: ἀπὸ τοῦ σὺν τῷ Ἰσμηνοῦ κατὰ σχῆμα  
 δὲ ἡ φωνὴ οἷον λέγω ἐπὶ σὺν τῷ Ἰσμηνοῦ. ἄλλως καὶ οὕτως εἶπεν,  
 οὐκ ἀρῶμαι τὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ, ὡς δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ τιμᾶται καὶ ἐγγρά-  
 φεται τοῖς τιμωμένοις.  
 α. 249 εἰ βουτοχόνηται κ.τ.λ.] θῶ οἷον αὐτοῖς πᾶσι, τῶν πραγμάτων εὐτυχῶς  
 ἀποβάντων.  
 β. 249 π. αἰδέσονται] λείπει ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἐπινοοῦμαι.  
 α. 249 θῆσαν τροπαία: παρατηρήσειν ὅτι οὐδέτω ἦν ἡ τῶν τροπαίων  
 ὀνομασία κατὰ τὸν Ἑσίοκλην. ὥστε ἀνεβίβασε τὰ κατὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον ὁ Αἰσχύλος.  
 γ. ἐσθήμασιν: <γρ.> ἐσθήματα.  
 στέρψω πρὸ τοῦ ἀνυψῆσαι πρὸ τῶν ταῖων τὰ λάφυρα.  
 β. 249 ἀγροῖς ταφύμασιν] αἷον ἐκφοβήμασι τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκπληξαι τοῖς  
 ἀκούοντας.  
 α. 249 ἐπ' ἢ ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐχθροῖς.  
 α. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρας: ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἄλλους γ', ὥστε ἔστιν αὐτὸς

250 (α) δυσφύμων rec.

254 There has apparently been some confusion of order in compiling the scholion. The text itself is scarcely sound. For ὥστε Victorius writes καὶ, but the word may perhaps mean 'as it were,' 'almost' (ὡς εἰπεῖν). For αὐτοῖς Weckl. suggests αὐτὸς. I have thought of δόσις or δόσις for αὐτοῖς τοῖς, but have not much confidence in the particular word.

ποιήσαν is due to Vict. (ποιεῖν m). In πῶς δὲ the reference is to the manner of his prayer, as set forth in what follows. The passages of Homer are *Il.* 6. 301, *Od.* 3. 450.

255 (α) ἐν μάχαις explains βοῆς as the war-cry.

256 (α) The text of the schol. runs...τοῖς φίλοις. πολέμιον δὲ φόβον τὴν ἀδολυγρὴν ἐξηγήσατο κ.τ.λ. If this is correct it is clear that the writer of the first part did not read λῶσασα πολέμιον φόβον, but e.g. θάρσος φίλος κλύουσι, πολέμιον φόβον. In that case the latter part of the schol. comes from another hand. But I prefer to emend as above.

259 The second explanation, though absurd = 'the honour of Ismenus is so much presupposed that it need not be mentioned.' The writer seems to have read Ἰσμηνοῦ and to have misrendered ἀπὸ...λέγω.

260 This is written in the MS continuously with the preceding note.

263 (β) So I read for the unintelligible ἐσθήμασιν ἐσθήματα ἀναθήσω κ.τ.λ. [The notes are not certainly written as one in the MS.]

269 (α) The compendium for εἶναι (or perhaps γενέσθαι) was apparently misread as ἐστίν. Nevertheless the clause may be parenthetical.



- ἔβδομος, ἀντιστάτας τοῖς πολεμίοις ποιήσομαι ταῖς ἑπτὰ πύλαις. σπεύσω ἐγὼ τάξει λοχαγούς πρὶν ἢ τὰ πράγματα κατεπέλξῃ, ὥστε δι' ἀγγέλων συχνῶν ἐξάγειν τὸ στράτευμα.
- b. 272 σπερχνούς τε καὶ...] τοὺς συνεχεῖς <καὶ> κατεπεύγοντας τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐξοδον.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 273 φλέγειν] ἀνάπτεισθαι.
- b. 274 μέλει κ.τ.λ.] ὁ νοῦς· μέλει μοι, φησὶν, ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ φόβος οὐκ ἡρεμῖν με ποιεῖ καὶ ἡσυχάζειν.
- a. 275 γείτονες δὲ καρδ(ιας): αἱ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέμναι ἀνάπτουσι τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ φόβον. ἡ καρδία μου, φησί, δέδοικε τὸν πολιορκοῦντα στρατὸν ὡς δράκοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοσσῶν πελειᾶς.
- a. 279 (1) †λεχέων: τούτέστι, νεμομένων ἐπὶ τῆς καλιᾶς. ταύτην γὰρ λέχος εἶπεν. οἷον τῶν ἐν ὠρισμένῳ τόπῳ μενόντων καὶ μήτῳ δυναμένων ἵπτασθαι.
- δυσευνήτορας δὲ δυσευνήτους. πάντροφον δὲ τὴν πελειάδα φησὶν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ὄρνεα ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους τίκτει, ἡ δὲ περιστέρα αἰεὶ διὸ ἀνάκειται τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. περιστέρα δὲ εἴρηται ἢ περισσὰ ἐρώσα, πλεονάζοντος τοῦ τ κατὰ τὸ μέσον.
- (2) πάντρομος] διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ δράκοντος.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 282 τοὶ μὲν] οἱ πολῖται.
- gl. 285 ἀμφιβόλοισιν] τῆς τύχης δηλονότι.
- a. ἀμφιβόλοισιν: πάντοθεν βαλλομένοις· ἡ ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
- a. 286 ἰάππουσιν: μετὰ βλάβης βάλλουσιν ἐπιπέμποντες τοῖς πολίταις μου τὴν ὀκρίεσσαν χερμάδα.
- b. 290 Καδμογενῇ] ἀπὸ Κάδμου γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι.
- a. 291 ποῖον δ' ἀμείψασθε γαῖας πέδ(ον): ἀντὶ τοῦ ποῖον οἰκήσετε δάπεδον ἐντεῦθεν μεταστάντες; εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ξοανηφόροις Σοφοκλέους ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ξόανα, εἰδότες ὅτι ἀλίσκεται. ἐὰν ταύτην, φησί, τὴν γῆν προδῶτε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ποῖαν βελτίονα αὐτῆς εὐρήσετε;
- b. 292 †ἄρειον πεδῖον προεῖρηται.
- a. 293 τὰν βαθύχθο(ν'): οἷον τὴν εὐγειον ταύτην καταλείψαντες εἰς τίνα χωρήσετε;
- a. 296 Ποσειδῶν ὁ γαιήοχ(ος): ἡ ὅτι τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας δεσπότης Ποσειδῶν, ἡ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ὄμβροι, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ χεῖμαρροι.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 298 Τηθύος τε παῖδες] ποταμοί, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ.
- a. 299 πρὸς τὰδ', ὧ πολλοῦχ(οι): ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ ταῦτα. πρὸς ταῦτα γάρ, ὧ πολῖται θεοί, τοῖς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους Ἀχαιοὺς ἄτην ἐμποιήσατε, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα ρῖψαι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου πρὸς ὑμῶν πάννυ ἂν ὕμνοισθε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 305 πόλεως ῥύτορες] φύλακες τῆς πόλεως.
- a. 306 εὐεδροὶ τε: εὐεδροὶ στάθητε συναπτέον τῷ ποῖον ἀμείψασθε γαῖας πέδον.
- a. 307 ὀξυγόους λιτ(αῖσιν): διὰ τὰς ὀξυθρηνήτους λιτὰς ἡμῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 308 πόλιν] τήνδ'.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. ὠγυγίαν] ἀπ' Ὠγύγου βασιλεύοντος ἐκεῖ.
- gl. 309 δορὸς ἄγραν] διὰ δόρατος ἀγρευθεῖσαν.
- gl. 310 ψαφαρῶ] ἀσθενεῖ, ἐλαφρῶ.
- b. 314 ἐ ε] διέκοψεν τὸν λόγον τῷ θρήνῳ.

272 I have added <καὶ>.

279 οἷον τὸν ἐν... m. In the MS (1) and (2) are utterly confounded by the compiler, who writes *δυσευνήτορας* δὲ *δυσευνήτους*, διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ δράκοντος· πάντροφον δὲ κ.τ.λ. I have made the rearrangement above.

285 (gl.) Written in the MS to τί γένωμαι; (284).

291 ἀμείψασθε m, but corrected.

292 Headlam suggests that the notion had been commented upon in a lost note (c.g. at v. 102). I am inclined to suggest the reading *ἄρειον πεδῖον: προαιρετόν* (i.e. *προαιρετέ*). Even *ἄρειον: πλέον προαιρετόν* would be tolerable in a scholion.

306 τὸ m, τῷ Wecklein.

- α. 315 ὑποθέτω πλεονάζων· ὑποθέτω ἀγαθόν, ἢ ὑπὸ ἱππέων σφραγίσθαι τὸν πλεονάζων.  
 [ὑποθέτω] μετὰ ἀνάγκης· καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἱπποὶ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἔκονται.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. [ὑποθέτω] ἵππων ἱπποῦ.  
 α. 316 καὶ δὲ] λείπει.  
 α. [ἀλλοιούται] τορδουμένους.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. [αἰσθημένοι] ἐκ τούτου συμμιγνόντες ἡλικίας.  
 α. 320 (1) κλαυτὸν δ' ἀντιτρέψ(αι): εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ τ' ἀντιτρέψαι, ταῖς κακῇ τραπέσει τῆς παιδείας ἡλικίας καὶ ἡβηστίαις· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ δ' ἀντιτρέψαι, ταῖς ἀντι δρεπομέναις.  
 α. (2) ταῖς δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀκμήν, φησί, διακορονομένους ἔσται κλαυθμός· ἢ ταῖς δὲ διαμειβόμεναι τὴν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ὁδὸν ἔσται δάκρυα.  
 α. (3) ἀποδράσαντες· ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμῶς αὐτῶν δρεπομένων τὴν ἡβην πρὸ τῶν νοσίωνων γέμων.  
 α. 321 διαμειβόμεναι κ.τ.λ.] διαδίζεσθαι τὴν στήθεσιν τῶν οἰκημάτων.  
 α. 322 (1) τί τὸν φάμε(ν);· τί γὰρ δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν; ὁ προτεθηκὸς εὐτυχὸς πρᾶτται πλέον τοῦ ὕμνος.  
 α. (2) αἱ τελευτήσαντες, φησί, καὶ μὴ τοιαύτης τιμαρτέρας συμφορὰς ἀμεινον ἡμῶν πρᾶτταισιν.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. [πρ.] περισσεύει.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. 323 παρακαλεῖ καλεῖται.  
 α. 329 κατὰ τὴν χρᾶσιν] χαλεπώτερος γὰρ ὁ κατὰς ἐν ταῖς τορδίεσιν.  
 α. 330 λαοδάμας· κυρίως τὸ ἐπίθετον Ἄρως εἰρηται.  
 α. 332 κοκκαρομαί] παρακαλῶ, κοκκαρομαίηται δὲ ἡ λέξις.  
 gl. 333 ἀκρίνα] φυλακῇ.  
 α. ὀρκιστὴν τὸ θηρευτικὸν δίδωσαν, ὃ καὶ σαργάνην καλεῖται.  
 α. 334 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ'...] παρὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν "ἄνθρω δ' ἄνδρ' ἐνυπαλίζεν."  
 α. 335 βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματ(ίσκουσι): ἐπὶ τῶν αἵματι φθεγγόμενων νέων τὴν βλαχὴν ἔθικον. ὥσπερ, φησί, τὰ νεογνὰ οὐδέπω τὴν φωνὴν ἐναρθρὸν ἔχοντα ἀπαγόμενα πρὸς τὸν πολεμίων αἰμάσσεται, ὥστε αὐτὰ ἀναρθρὸν φωνῇ καὶ ὥσπερ προβατῶδη προῖσθαι· τὸ δ' ἔξης βλαχαὶ βρομόνται.  
 α. 338 (1) ὁμαίμονες· συγγενεῖς Ἕλληνες γὰρ πάντες.  
 α. (2) ὁμαίμονες] οἷον μετὰ αἵματος γινόμεναι ἢ τῶν ὁμαϊμόνων καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς γένους.  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 339 ἐμβολαί] συναντᾷ.  
 gl. 341 ἐξονομον] κοινωνόν.  
 gl. 341 sq. ἔχειν...† λελεμένοι] λαβεῖν βουλόμενοι.  
 α. 342 οὔτε μέλον οὐτ' ἴσον λ': διὰ τούτου τοὺς πλεονέκτας ἐμφαίνει. ὁ γὰρ μῆτε ἔλασσον αἰρούμενος μῆτε τὸ ἴσον φαίνεται πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος.  
 α. 343 τί ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκά(σαι): τί δεῖ ὑπονοῆσαι ἐκ τούτων ἢ πένθη καὶ συμφορὰς;  
 b. 345 ἀλγόνει] τὸν τυγχάνοντα.  
 m<sup>1</sup>gl. αἰσθ<sup>α</sup>.

315 I follow Paley in dividing the scholion into two parts. ὑπὸ ἱππέων should probably be either <ὥσπερ> ὑπὸ ἱππέων or else τρόπον ἱππων. See m<sup>1</sup>gl.

320 α (2), i.e. κλαυτὸν may belong to the former notion, or may look to διαμειψαι. In α (3) the addition of ὑπὸ is quite in keeping with scholastic notions of possible construction. Cf. 1001.

323 The notes are written as one. In (2) there is no need to write φασί. The subject is ὁ χορός. In m<sup>1</sup>gl. I read περισσεύει for περισσά.

332 c.g. Ar. Lys. 491.

334 viz. II. 4. 472.

335 I should suggest ὥστε φησί ('so that he means...').

338 (1) and (2) appear as one schol. in the MS. Pauw keeps them as one by reading <ἢ> οἷον, but this leaves a repetition of the first part of the note by the third.

345 (m<sup>1</sup>gl.) The abbreviation, written over κυρήσας, is taken by Vitelli as αἰσθη-τῶς. It might be the barbarous passive αἰσθανθείς (or αἰσθηθείς), explaining κυρήσας ('meeting the eye').



- a. 346 πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα θαλα(μηπόλων): πικρά θέα τῶν παρθένων ἀποσπασμένων ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων.
- gl. 347 ἀκριτόφυρτος] ἀναμειγμένη.
- gl. 348 γὰρ δόσις] ὁ καρπός.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. οὐτιδανοῖς] ἀνευφράντοις: τὸ γὰρ γάνος δάνος οἱ Δωριεῖς.
- gl. 349 ἐν ῥοθίοις] ὡς ἐπὶ ναυαγίοις.
- a. (1) ἐν ῥοθίοις φο(ρεῖται): ἐπειδὴ τὰ κύματα ἔσθ' ὅτε ὠφέλειαν παρέχεται ταῖς πόλεσιν, διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγεται—τροπικῶς δὲ ῥόθια εἶπεν τὰ συνεχῆ κινήματα τῶν πολεμίων—προσέθηκεν ἐπιτήδεις τὸ οὐτιδανοῖς, οἷον ἀχρεοῖς.
- a. (2) ῥοθίοσιν: ταῖς ὑβριστικαῖς κινήσεσι τῶν πολεμίων· τούτους γὰρ ῥόθια φησίν†, ἐπειδὴ πολεμοῦσιν. τὰ γὰρ κύματα ἐπωφελῆ εἰσιν· δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν κομίζων ταῖς πόλεσιν.
- b. 351 sq. δηϊώδες δὲ κ.τ.λ.] μεταστᾶσαι εἰς δουλείαν οἴσουσι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων εὐνήν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. εὐνάν] ἐξουσιν.
- b. 352 sq. ὡς...ὑπερτέρου] ὡς τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσαντος.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 354 ἐλπ[ις] φόβος.
- gl. νύκτερον τέλος] ἀντὶ τοῦ νύκτα, περιφραστικῶς.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 355 ἐπίρροθον] αὐξητικόν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 357 πευθῶ] ἀγγεῖλαι.
- a. 358 χνόας ποδ(ῶν): μεταφορικῶς εἶπεν τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ποδῶν. ἄλλως· τὸ συνεχὲς κίνημα τῶν ποδῶν παραβόλως χνόας εἶπεν· τοῦ μέντοι ἄξονος τὸ ἄκρον τὸ ἐντιθέμενον τῇ χοινικίδι χνόῃ καλεῖται.
- a. 359 καὶ μὴ ἀναξ: καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς ἐπείγεται, ἀκουσόμενος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου λεγόμενα.
- a. 360 εἰς ἀρτίκολλον] ὡς ταῦτα ἀρτίως ἀκουσόμενος, <ῆ> ὥστε κολλῆσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῖς ὥσιν ἀκούσαντα.
- b. ἀρτίκολλον] ἐν συναφῇ ἀρμόδιον· ἡ τὸν ἀρτίως κολλώμενον.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. ἀρτ. ἀγγέλου] ὡς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὁμοῦ ἀγγέλλοντος νῦν.
- a. 361 σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ': ἡ τούτου δι' σπουδῇ οὕτω τέλος ἔχει ἄλλ' ἐπείγεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀπρητισμένον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἄλλο πρακτέον.
- b. 362 λέγοιμ' ἂν...] εἰδῶς εὖ λέγοιμ' σοι ἂν.
- a. 364 Τυδεὺς μὲν ἦδ(ῆ): αἰδεσθεῖς τὰ Ὀμηρικὰ ἐγκώμια πρῶτον αὐτὸν καταλέγει ὁ Διοχύλος.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. α'.
- b. Προιτίσιν] Προιτίς ὀξυτόνως.
- b. 367 λελιμμένος] ἐπιθυμῶν, παρὰ τὸ λίπτω.
- b. 368 μεσημβριναῖς] τότε γὰρ μάλιστα μέμνηεν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 369 θείναι] τύπτει.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. Οἰκλειδῆν] τὸν Ἀμφιάρεων.
- gl. 370 σαίνειν] ἐκκλίνειν.
- b. 371 τρεῖς...λόφους] νεωτερικὸν τοῦτο, τοῦ κράνους ἡ τριλοφία.
- a. 372 κράνους χαίτωμα: οἷον τῆς περικεφαλαίας τὸ χαίτωμα.
- gl. 374 ὑπέρφρον] ὑπερήφανον.
- b. 376 ἐν μέσῳ σάκει] ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ σάκου.
- b. 377 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον] καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄστρον τὸν ἡλιὸν φησι.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 378 ἀλύων] χαίρων.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 378 σάγαις] πανοπλῖαις....

349 a (1) By marking τροπικῶς...πολεμίων as parenthesis the difficulty of this schol. is removed.

a (2) Qu. φησὶ <ποιεῖν> ?

352 Qu. τῷ πολέμῳ? (τοῦ πολεμίου Heimsoeth).

359, 360 (a) These notes are written continuously as one. I have separated them, accepting Paley's emendation of the second (for ὥστε κολλῆσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ ἡ τοῖς...).

360 (b) τὸν... sc. λόγον.

362 Apparently meaning that εὖ is to be joined to λέγοιμ'.

364 (m<sup>1</sup>b) i.e. πρῶτος. See schol. to 410.

- a. 380 ἵππος χαλινῶν: οὕτως ἀσθμαίνει καὶ σπείδει ὡς καὶ ἵππος πολεμιστῆς σάλπιγγος ἀκούων καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν πολέμου εἰργεται πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιβάτου.
- a. 382 τίν' ἀντιτάξεις: τίν' οὖν ἀντιτάξεις τῷ Τυδεΐ; τίς ἀξίος ἐστὶν προιστασθαι τῆς ἐγγύτητος ταύτης;
- b. 383 φερέγγυος] ἀξιόπιστος ἐγγυητής.
- a. 385 οὐδ' ἔλκοποιά γίνε(ται): ταῦτα παρὰ Ἀλκαίου· οὐ τιτρώσκει τὰ ἐπίσημα ὅπλα οὐδὲ αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ δύναμιν ἔχει, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ φέρων αὐτὰ γένοιτο γενναῖος.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. οὐδ' ἔλκ.] ἤγουν οὐ τιτρώσκει...
- a. 387 καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέ(γεις): ὁ νοῦς, ταύτην δὲ ἣν λέγεις εἶναι νύκτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, τάχα προμαντεύεται τῷ φοροῦντι ὅτι χωρήσει ὑπὸ νύκτα. ἐπιφέρει δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξηγούμενος "εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀμμασιν πέσοι."
- m<sup>1</sup>b. τάχ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.] "τάχ' ἂν αὕτη ἡ νύξ" εἰπὺν ὥφειλεν· καὶνῶς δὲ εἶπεν "ἡ ἀνοία."
- a. 389 ἡ ἀνοία: παροξυνόντως Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνοία· διὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἐξέτινεν· ὁ δὲ νοῦς· τὰ ἐξ ἀνοίας τινῶν γεγόμενα τάχα τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσται σύμβολα.
- a. 393 καὶ τὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ] ὅτι φέρει ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος νύκτα καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον.
- a. 396 μάλ' εὐγενῆ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύ(νης): καλῶς ἀντέταξεν τὸν μὴ τοῖς ἡθεσιν αὐτοῦ συμφωνοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἀλλότριον.
- a. 397 ὑπερφύροντας λόγους: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπερηφάνους· οἷον οὔτε ὑπερήφανα λέγει ὡς ὁ Τυδεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 398 αἰσχροῶν] ἔργων.
- a. αἰσχροῶν γὰρ ἀργός: ἀργός ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν λόγων, ἢ τῶν ἔργων· φιλεῖ δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κακός, ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ ἢ, ὡς Ὀμηρος, ἀντὶ τοῦ δειλός.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. κακός] δειλός.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 400 βλῆζωμ'] τὸ γένος.
- a. ἐχχῶριος: γνήσιος πολίτης ἐκ τῶν σπαρτῶν, οὐ τῶν μετὰ Κρόνου ἐπηλύδων.
- a. 401 ἔργον δ' ἐν κύ(βοις): ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἄρεως κύβοις κρινεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ πόλεμος.
- a. 402 Δίκη δ' ὀμαίμων: τὸ τῆς συγγενείας δίκαιον στέλλει αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν μάχην.
- b. 405 ὡς δικαίως...] ὅτι δικαίως προμάχεται τῆς πόλεως.
- b. 407 (1) μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων] οὓς ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων πολιτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι.
- (2) ὑπὲρ] ἢ ὑπὲρ δὲ περισσῇ.
- gl. 409 τοῦτ' αὖ] τῷ Μελανίππῳ.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 410 β.

380 Qu. ἀκουσέων?

382 ἐγγύτητος may = 'neighbourhood' (*vicinitatis*), but Weckl. suspects it to have arisen from some confusion of *πύλης* and *ἐγγυητής*.

385 ἐὰν ἢ ὁ (*i.e.* εανημο) m, γένοιτο Wecklein. Dind. simply omits ὁ, Paley reads ἀνὴρ ἢ.

387 (a) ὀμμασιν for ὀφθαλμοῖς proves the caution with which scholiastic evidence must be received.

(m<sup>1</sup>b) καὶνῶς \*ed. The word is not legible. Either this or *ιδίως* suits the sense. Weckl. gives *καλῶς*.

398 (a) λόγων ἢ τῶν ἔργων m, corr. \*ed. (ἢ Weckl.).

401 *i.e.* he plainly reads Ἄρεως and explains ἔργων as ὁ πόλεμος.

407 It should be obvious that these two scholl. (written as one in the MS) are inconsistent with each other. The latter offers a good specimen of the scholiastic notion of classical style.

410 *i.e.* δευτερος. The writer of this keeps marginal count of the seven. Cf. 364.



- a. 411 γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος: πάνυ ῥητορικὸς ὁ Αἰσχύλος· ῥητορικὸν δὲ λέγω, ὅταν τοῖς ῥήτορσι λόγος ἦτοι ἐπαινετικὸς ἢ ψεκτικὸς περὶ τινων δύο τοῦ μὲν α εἶπη ἐπαινον ἢ ψόγον, † παραλείπεται τοῦ ἐπαινοῦ. πανηγυρικὸν δὲ καὶ δριμύ περὶ τοῦ Τυδέως λέγων, οὐκ εἰπὼν ὅτι γίγας ἐστίν (ἢ) γίγασιν ὅμοιος, Καπανέα δὲ ἐγκωμιάζων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ, φησὶ "γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος." φαίνεται οὖν ὅτι ἐνέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τυδέως εἰπεῖν ὅτι γίγας ἐστίν ἢ γίγασιν ὅμοιος.
- gl. τοῦ πάρος] τοῦ Τυδέως.
- b. 412 μείζων] "Τυδεὺς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς."
- a. 415 οὐδὲ τὴν Διός: οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς σκηπτὸν εἰς γῆν κατενεχθέντα— ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς φιλονεικήσαντος—ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ λέγει.
- a. 419 ἔχει δὲ σῆμα: ἢ δὲ ἀσπίς αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἔχει ἄνδρα γυμνὸν λαμπάδα βαστάζοντα διὰ χερῶν.
- a. 424 λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν...] ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτοῦ ἀνθ' ὅπλου οὖσα ἢ λαμπάς. καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδ(ος): πρὸς τῷ μέναι τὸ νικῆσαι· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κέρδει κέρδος.
- a. 434 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντιτέτακται· καὶ εἰ ἄγαν ἐστὶ μαρινώδης τὸν λόγον ὁ Καπανεύς, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκίνητος τῷ παραστήματι ἢ δύναμις τοῦ Πολυφόντου ἀνθέστηκεν μηδὲν δεδοικυῖα.
- gl. στόμαργος] ταχὺς εἰς τὸ λαλεῖν.
- a. 436 φερέγγυον φρουρή(μα): ἱκανὸς φρουρεῖν τὴν πατρίδα.
- gl. φερ. φρουρ.] ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς φυλακὴν.
- a. 437 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι: ὡς τοῦ Πολυφόντου ἱερέως ὄντος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. ἀφίερωται δὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἢ τῶν Θηβαίων· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν οὕτως λέγει. εὐνοίαις οὖν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιούχων θεῶν.
- b. 440 κερανοῦ κ.τ.λ.] τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κερανοῦ βέλους.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 441 πωλικῶν ἐδωλίων] παρθενικῶν καθεδρῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 443 ἐκλαπάξαι] ἐκβαλεῖν.
- a. 444 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λα(χόντα): τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου κληρωθέντα· τρίτω γὰρ τῷ Ἑτεόλῳ <ἐξῆλθεν> ὁ κληρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κράνους, ἐν ᾧ περιστρέψαντες ἐκλήρουν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 445 ὦ.
- b. 447 Νηϊστῆρσι] οὕτω καλουμέναις.
- gl. 448 ἀμπυκτῆρσιν] τοῖς χαλινοῖς.
- a. ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν: <ἀμπυκτῆρες> οἱ κορυφιστῆρες, τὰ προμετωπίδια κυρίως. νῦν δὲ λέγει τοῖς χαλινοῖς, ἢ τὸν ἵππου θυμὸν πλήρεις περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς ἀνακάμπτειν καὶ περιάγειν, ἥδη βουλομένους εἶναι πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις.
- b. 450 βάρβαρον τρόπον] ἀπηγνῇ ἤχον. † ἢ ἐπεὶ ἢ σῦριγξ βοᾷ†.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 452 σεσημάτισται] \* \* \* ἔχει σημεῖα.

411 παρά τινων δύο m, corr. Dind. Later m has πᾶς ἐστίν γίγασιν ὅμοιος, corr. Heimsoeth. The portion still corrupt evidently contained παραλείπη δέ, and ἐπαινον (without ἢ ψόγον) can hardly be correct. Either παραλείπη δέ τι τῷ ἐτέρῳ (or ἐπομένῳ) or παραλείπη δέ τι αὐτοῦ ἕως ἐπὶ τοῦ β would give the sense.

412 Il. 5. 801.

419 I have divided two notes which had become joined.

437 The writer may have had access to the epic. οὕτως = 'in the way above.' The second οὖν is like that in schol. to 102. The second part (as printed above) is probably an independent note. The writer evidently read σὺν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν (of rec.).

444 ἐξῆλθεν add schol. rec. \*ἐξῆλαθ' would be nearer to ἐπήδησεν.

448 (a) I have added <ἀμπυκτῆρες>, which was easily lost (although see 665, 679, 741). Later m has πλήρης, corr. schol. rec.

450 The text is corrupt. Schol. rec. has ὥσει for ἐπεὶ, and this might suggest εἴωθε, but the error may be deeper. Perhaps the schol. considered the σῦριγξ a rude or barbarous instrument, and the true reading may be ἀπηγνῇ ἤχον, ἢ εἴωθεν ἢ σῦριγξ βοᾷν. I had once thought of ἢ Περσικῇ σῦριγξ βοᾷ.

452 Probably an adj. has been obliterated answering to οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον (e.g. μεγαλοπρεπῇ).

- a. 454 στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον: οὐκ εἶπεν πρὸς ποῖον πύργον· μεγάλως οὖν φησι πρὸς πάντα πύργον.
- a. 465 <καὶ δὲ ἄνδρε> καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδ(ος): τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν ἐγγεγραμμένον τῇ ἀσπίδι, καὶ τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος πόλισμα γραφέν.
- a. 467 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω: λέγε ἄλλον κομπῶδη, μηδὲ ἀποκρύψῃ με <τι> τῶν ἀλαζονειῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 471 νιν] αὐτοῦς.
- b. 472 νεμέτωρ] ὁ πᾶν διανεμῶν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 473 δ.
- a. γείτονας πύλας ἔχων: ὧν εἶπεν. γείτονας οὖν πύλας <ἔχων>, ἐγγὺς ταύταις ἴσταιται ἅμα βοῇ.
- Ἔσταιται τὰς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ὀγκαίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αἱ πύλαι Ὀγκαίαι. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία αὕτη. Ἀγνήνωρ ὁ Τύριος παῖδας ἔσχεν τρεῖς, Εὐρώπην, Κάδμον καὶ Κίλικα. τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπασθείσης ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ταύτης τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ εἰ μὴ εὗροιεν, προσέταξε μὴ ἐπανήκειν. ὁ οὖν Κάδμος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ μὴ εὗρων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἦλθεν ἐρωτήσων ποῦ κατασταίῃ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξελθεῖν τῷ εὐρεθέντι ἀκολουθεῖν. εὐρέθη βοῦς· ἠκολούθει. ἦλθεν εἰς Θήβας, ὤλισθεν ἡ βοῦς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάδμος ἐκεῖ ὤκησεν, ἔθυσε δὲ τὴν βοῦν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ τῇ Ἀλγυπτία φωνῇ ταύτην ἐτίμησεν ἐκεῖ Ὀγκαν. ὅθεν οὕτως καὶ αἱ πύλαι ὠνομάσθησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ Κίλικος Κιλικία.
- b. 475 Ἰππομέδοντος σχῆμα] περιφραστικῶς ὁ Ἰππομέδων, μέγας ὢν καὶ κάλλιστον ἔχων σχῆμα.
- a. 476 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν: ἄλως ἐστὶ κυρίως, ὅταν νέφῃ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκκαυθέντα λευκὰ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ἡλίου γίνηται. νῦν δὲ λέγει τὸν ῥοῖζον καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν συνεχὴ τῆς ἀσπίδος· ἐφριξα οὖν, φησί, κινήσαντος καὶ οὐ ψευδῇ λέγω. ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς οὐκ ἦν, ὥς ἔοικεν, εὐτελής.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 478 ὁ σηματουργός] ὁ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγγράψας τῇ ἀσπίδι.
- a. 480 sq. Τυφὼν ἰέντα: ὥπασε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν Τυφῶνα ἀφιέντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πῦρ πνέοντος καπνὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ πυρός. αἰόλην δὲ τὴν εὐκίνητον καὶ ταχείαν. κάσιν δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ σύνεστι τῷ πυρὶ ὁ καπνός.
- b. 481 μέλαιναν] τῶν παραδόξων ἐν χαλκῷ λαμπρῷ δεῖξαι μέλαν.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 482 κύτος] ἡ ἀσπίς.
- περίδρομον] κυκλωθέν.
- δφειων...προσηδᾶφισται] ἔχει ἐξωγραφημένους ὀφεις περιπεπλεγμένους.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 482 sq. περίδρομον κύτος κύκλου] τὸ στρογγύλον τοῦ κύκλου.
- a. 482 sq. (1) περίδρομον κύτος: τὸ χώρημα τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια τῆς ἀσπίδος κύκλῳ ὀφίων εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρυς ὀρώντων καὶ ἐμπεπλεγμένων τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα.
- 454 μεγάλως refers to οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον. Any fort which he attacked would fall.
- 465 It is evident that the scribe meant his lemma to include the words supplied, but after writing the first καὶ he proceeded from the second.
- 467 Either <τι> must be supplied or we must make two sentences, viz. λέγε ἄλλον κομπῶδη· μηδὲ <ν> ἀποκρύψῃ. Schol. rec. has καὶ μηδὲν. m writes ἀλαζονειῶν.
- 473 m has γείτονας οὖν πύλας ἐγγὺς ταύτας. The writer thought it necessary to explain παρίσταιται and the construction.
- 476 ἐκκαυθέντα m. ἐκταθέντα schol. rec. The right word may be still to seek. (Perhaps e.g. ἐξαφθέντα.)
- 480 τὸ πῦρ πνέοντος m.
- 481 Probably the compendium for ἐστὶν has fallen out after παραδόξων.
- 482 (m<sup>1</sup>extr.). I have divided and ascribed the three notes, which in the MS are meaninglessly written as one.
- 482 sq. The three scholl. are written in the MS as one. The jumble is remarkable (...τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα πρὸς τὰ τέλη. ἡ ἀσπίς κ.τ.λ.). I have distributed them according to the sense. ἐγγεγραμμένον m, corr. rec.



- a. 482 sq. (2) *περίδρομον*] πρὸς τὰ τέλη.  
 a. (3) *κύτος...κύκλου*] ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ κοίλη πρὸς τῇ γαστρὶ τοῦ κατέχοντος αὐτὴν οὖσα.  
 b. *ῥφειω*] τοὺς γηγενεῖς δρακοντόποδας ἔγραψεν.  
*m<sup>1</sup>extr.* 483 (1) *κοιλογάστορος κύκλου*] ὅλη γὰρ ἡ ἀσπίς περιφερὴς καὶ κοίλη.  
 (2) *προσθῆται*] †*προσυπεμφαίνεται*.  
*gl.* 484 *ἐνθεος*] ἐμμανής.  
*m<sup>1</sup>extr.* 490 *δύσχιμον*] δυσχείμερον.  
 b. 491 Ὑπέρβιος ὄνομα κύριον.  
*m<sup>1</sup>extr.* 492 *ἡρέθη*] προεκρίθη.  
*m<sup>1</sup>extr.* 492 sq. *θέλων ἐξιστορήσαι...*] θέλων γινῶναι τὰ τῆς οἰκέας τύχης.  
 a. 495 Ἑρμῆς δ'...] τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης Ἑρμῇ ἀναφέρουσιν.  
 a. 497 sq. *πολεμίου...θεοῦ*] τοὺς θεοὺς <οὓς> ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φοροῦσιν.  
 a. 500 *σταδαῖος*] ἐνιδρυμένος.  
*gl.* 502 *προσφίλεια*] οἰκείωσις.  
 a. 503 πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων] τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐσμέν Διός, οὐ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον.  
*m<sup>1</sup>gl.* 508 ἀντίτυπον] ἐναντίον.  
 a. *ἐπποιθα κ.τ.λ.*] πιστεύω ἀπολείσθαι τὸν ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ σάκει τὸν ἔχθρὸν τοῦ Διὸς δαίμονα.  
*m<sup>1</sup>gl.* 512 *ἰάψεν*] ῥίψεν.  
*m<sup>1</sup>b.* 513 εἰ Παρθενοπαῖος.  
*gl.* 520 *καλλίπρωρον*] καλλιπρόσωπον.  
 a. *ἀνδρόπαις ἀνῆρ*] ὁ νεωστὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελῶν, ἡ ὁ ἐν παιδικῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀνδρείος. *καλλίπρωρος* δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐειδῆς, ἐπεὶ ἡ πῶρα ὡς ὅψις ἐστὶ νεῶς.  
 a. 522 (1) ὥρας] τῆς παιδικῆς.  
 (2) †*ταρφύσεως πεπυκνωμένη*.  
 a. 523 ὁ δ' ὥμων κ.τ.λ.] οὐ σύμφωνον τῇ κλήσει τῆς παρθένου τὸ φρόνημα ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὥμων.  
 a. 526 *δυειδός*] ἐπειδὴ Οἰδίπους ἐμίγη τῇ μητρὶ λύσας τὸ αἰνίγμα τῆς Σφίγγος.  
 a. 534 Ἀρκάς] Ἀντίμαχος φησὶν Ἀργεῖον αὐτόν, οὐκ Ἀρκάδα.  
 b. ὁ δὲ τοῖσδ'...] τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷον ἐγὼ εἶπον.  
 a. 535 *μέτοικος*] ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσας ὁ Παρθενοπαῖος εἰς Ἄργος ἔφυγεν.  
 a. 537 *εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν*] εἴθε γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν τύχοιεν ἐπαξίως ὧν φρονοῦσιν ἀνοσίων καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων κομπάσματα ἔχοντες.  
 a. 541 *ἀκομπος κ.τ.λ.*] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ σιωπᾶν μὲν οἶδεν, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ πολεμεῖν· *περιφραστικῶς*, *πολεμικώτατός* ἐστίν.  
 a. 543 *ὅς οὐκ ἑάσει...*] ὅς τούτου τὸν κόμπον ἐφέξει τῶν πράξεων ἀποδέοντα μὴ ἔσω πυλῶν γενέσθαι.  
 a. 545 *θηρὸς κ.τ.λ.*] τὸν φέροντα τὴν Σφίγγα.  
 b. 546 *μέμψεται κ.τ.λ.*] ἡ ἀσπίς, ἡ ἡ Σφίγξ, βαλλομένη τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν δοράτων κρουσμῷ.  
 b. 550 *λόγος*] ὁ λόγος ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὁ ἀλαζονικός.  
 b. 551 *τριχὸς...πλόκαμος*] κατὰ περίφρασιν ἡ θρίξ.  
 b. 552 *μεγάλα...κλύων*] μεγάλα πράγματα ἀκούων.  
 b. 554 *τούσδ'*] τοὺς πολεμίους.  
*m<sup>1</sup>b.* 555.  
 a. 556 Ἀμφιάρειω βίαν] Ἀμφιάραιος Ὀϊκλέους τοῦ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμφιθάνου τοῦ Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνου τοῦ Διός, μητρός δὲ Ὑπερμήστρας.  
 b. 557 Ὀμολώσιω] ἀπὸ Ὀμολώιδος τῆς θυγατρὸς Νιόβης.

482 sq. (b) sc. ὁ σηματουργός.

483 Again the two notes are written continuously. For *προσυπεμφαίνεται* I would suggest *προσενύφανται*.

497 <οὓς> add. Schol. rec.

508 (a) Since the note seems only to explain the construction, it is possible that the original schol. had ...τὸ ἔχθρὸν τοῦ Διὸς δέμας.

522 (2) Perhaps (1) *ταρφύς*: *ταρφέως*: (2) *πεπυκνωμένη*.

534 (b) i.e. making an independent clause of ὁ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀνῆρ.

- a. 559 ἀνδροφόντην] ἐπεὶ τοὺς Μέλανος ἀπέκτεινεν παῖδας Ἀλκάθουν καὶ Λυκαυγέα.
- a. 561 Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα] ἐπειδὴ ἐπηράσατο Οἰδίπους μεθ' αἵματος διανείμεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν. ταύτην οὖν τὴν Ἐρινύν † ἐπιστάνει.
- gl. κλητῆρα] ὑπέρτερον.
- b. πρόσπολον] ἱερέα.
- b. πρόσπολον φόνου] τὸν ἀξιοθάνατον· ἢ τὸν συμπράκτορα αὐτοῦ.
- gl. 564 ἐξυπνιάζων † ἔνομα] ἀναπτύσσων, ἐτυμολογῶν.
- a. 565 τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος] εἰς δύο διαιρῶν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πολυνείκου, τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ νεῖκος.
- b. 567 ἢ τοῖον ἔργον] καθ' ὑπόκρισιν.
- a. 568 (1) λέγειν μεθυτέροις] τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ὕστερον λέγειν ταῦτα καλὸν ἔστιν.
- (2) λέγειν] ὥστε περὶ σοῦ λέγεσθαι.
- a. 571 μητρός τε πηγὴν κ.τ.λ.] τὰ δάκρυα τῆς πατρίδος ποῖα παύσει τιμωρία;
- a. 574 τῆρδε πτανῶ χθόνα] κεραυνῶ γὰρ σχισθεῖσα ἔλαβεν αὐτόν.
- a. 576 οὐκ ἀτιμον] οὐκ ἀγεννή. οὗτος γὰρ ἐκεῖ καταποθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ὕστερον μετὰ θάνατον ἐμάντευεν.
- b. 577 γρ. εὐκυκλον νέμων.
- a. 580 βαθείαν ἄλοκα... ] βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν ἄλοκα τῆς φρενός, ἐξ ἧς ἀδρός φύεται λόγος. τοῦτο ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἀπεδείξατο.
- b. 582 ἀντηρέτας] τροπικῶς ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίας.
- a. 583 δεινὸς δς...] δυσκατέργαστος γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾷ.
- a. 584 ξιναλλάσσοντας] συνάγοντος· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τὰς συναλλαγὰς καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιουμένων.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. ὀρνιθος] τῆς τύχης ἢ τῆς μαντείας.
- a. 587 καρπὸς οὐ κομστέος] οὐκ ἄξιος κομίζεσθαι ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς.
- a. 588 ἀτης ἄρουρα] λήμης χωρίον· ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν φίλια.
- a. γνώμη.
- a. 594 ταυτοῦ κυρήσας...] οἷον σὺν αὐτοῖς θηραθεῖς.
- b. 599 sqq. βία...τείνουσι] τοῖς ὀρμῶσι τῇ βίᾳ.
- a. 600 sqq. πομπὴν τὴν μακράν...] ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Ἀἰδὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλκυσθήσεται μολεῖν τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ εἰς Ἄργος.
- gl. 602 σφε] αὐτόν.
- a. 604 μηδὲ προσβαλεῖν] ἀλλ' ὡς μάντις τὸ τέλος εἰδὼς οὐκ εἰς κίνδυνον ἑαυτὸν καθήσει.
- a. 605 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται... ] εἰ φύει ἀλήθειαν τὸ μάντευμα <καὶ> παρέπεται καρπός. εἰ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μαντείαις τέλος ἔνι.
- b. 606 ἢ λέγειν] παραδιαλεκτικὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ καί, καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.
- a. 607 Λασθένους βίαν] περιφραστικῶς τὸν Λασθένη τὸν ἰσχυρόν.
- a. 614 τελεῖθ', ὡς...] ἐπιτελεῖτε ὅπως εὐτυχῇ, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τρέποντες.
- a. 616 πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν...] ἀποβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ζεὺς ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν διαφθερεῖεν κεραυνῶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. 618 ἔ ὁ Πολυνείκης.
- gl. 622 ἐπεξιακχάσας] ἐκβοήσας.
- a. ἀλώσμον παιᾶν'...] ἐπινίκιον παιᾶνα ἐπεξαλαλάξας μετὰ λαχῆς. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος λέγεται παρὰ τὰς λαχὰς τῶν μνουμένων.

559 Λυκαυγία Butler.

561 (a) ἐπιστέλλει Paley.

(gl.) Though written over κλητῆρα, is better suited to πρόσπολον.

(b) The second note b is written to v. 563, where it has no meaning.

568 The text is sound, and only a proper division into two notes is required (so also Headlam).

580 I have written ἀδρός for ἀνδρός (m). Cf. schol. 12. The passage in Plato is 362 A.

600 sq. Construing τὴν μακράν πάλιν μολεῖν συγκαταελκυσθήσεται.

605 I have added <καὶ>.

616 διαφθερεῖ ἐν m.

622 (a) τὰς is added by m<sup>1</sup>.



- b. 623 σοὶ ξυμφέρεισθαι] συστήναί σοι καὶ φονεῦσαι, ἀποθανὼν ἐγγύς.  
a. 626 sqq. τοιαῦτ' αὐτεῖ...] ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτῶν βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἐπεύχεται παντελῶς τῇ βίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πολυνείκης.  
a. 629 εὐκυκλον] γρ. εὐθετον, ἐν' ἣ εὐβάστακτον· θεῖναι γὰρ τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν  
λέγουσιν Ἀττικοί· καὶ ὅπλα ἔθεντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνάλαβον.  
a extr. σημειῶσαι.  
b. 631 τευχιστὴν] ὀπλίτην.  
b. 638 ἀνδρὶ τῷδε] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> ἐμοί.  
κηρυκευμάτων] ὧν ἀπήγγεila.  
a. 639 ναυκληρεῖν] περιέπειν, πεφροντικέnai.  
a. 640 ὦ θεομανέες] ὦ θεοῖς ἐπιμαίνόμενε· ἐπιστρατεύῃ γὰρ πατρίδι καὶ  
πατρώois θεοῖς.  
gl. 644 τεκνωθῇ] αὐξηθῇ.  
645 ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα] πᾶν γὰρ τὸ <ὄνομα> ἐπώνυμον τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ.  
a. 647 χρυσότεκτα γράμματα] οὐκ εἶπεν θεὸς ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ τὰ χρυσᾶ  
γράμματα.  
b. 648 φλύοντα] φλυαροῦντα.  
m<sup>1</sup>gl. 651 φοίτῳ] μανίᾳ.  
b. 651 φυνδόντα μητρώθεν σκότον] ἀντὶ τοῦ γεννηθέντα.  
a. 653 ξυλλογῇ] οὐ γὰρ ἀθρόως φύεται, ἀλλὰ συλλέγεται κατ' ὀλίγον.  
b. 654 †προσεῖδε καὶ κ.τ.λ.] εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησεν.  
Δίκη κ.τ.λ.] ἀντὶ <τοῦ> οὐδὲ ἐν μιᾷ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπραξε τι δίκαιον.  
a. 655 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας...] καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ κακώσει τῆς πατρώας χώρας  
ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἡ Δίκη.  
m<sup>1</sup>gl. 656 νιν] αὐτήν.  
a. 665 ὀργῇ] τὸν τρόπον.  
τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ] τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.  
κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ] βλασφημούμενος.  
b. αὐδωμένῳ] ὑπὸ σοῦ.  
gl. 667 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν] †πολέμους ἀνελεῖν.  
a. 667 sqq. αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον κ.τ.λ.] καθαρὸν τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἀλληλοκτονούν-  
των ξένων ἐν πολέμοις, τὸ δ' ἀδελφοκτονεῖν ἀντικρυς φονεῶν ἔργον.  
ὑπερβατὸν δὲ ἔστιν, ἐν' ἣ, αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, ὅταν  
ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοκτόνοι γένωνται καὶ οὕτως αὐτῶν ὁ θάνατος γένηται.  
gl. 668 ἔλλειψις.  
b. 669 οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας...] διαπαντὸς †αἰσθῆσεται τὸ μῖασμα τοῦτο.  
a. 670 εἰπερ κακὸν φέ(ροι): εἰ ὅλως τις ἀτυχεῖ, καλὸν τὸ δίχα αἰσχύνης.  
a. 671 (1) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος: ἡ εὐκλεία.  
(2) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος κ.τ.λ.] ἐν κέρδος τὸ αὐτὸν ἐκδικῆσαι ἀδικούμενον.  
ἐὰν δὲ ἀνεκδίκητος ἀποθάνῃ, ἕνεκά γε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων κακῶν  
καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἄδοξος.  
m<sup>1</sup>b. (1) μόνον γὰρ κέρδος] τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἐν κέρδος.  
(2) ἔστω] τὸ φέρειν κακὸν δηλονότι.  
(3) τότε κακὸν καὶ αἰσχυρόν.  
gl. 672 κακῶν] δειλῶν.  
626 sqq. τούτων οὖν αὐτῶν m, corr. Kirchhoff. m read βίᾳ in his text of Aeschylus.  
629 An ignorant note, and therefore small warrant for εὐθετον.  
638 Written as one note in the MS.  
645 I have added <ὄνομα>.  
665 (a) The three notes (which I have separated) are written as one. βλασφη-  
μουμένῳ schol. rec., but scholiasts sometimes take the nom. direct from a lexicon: cf.  
679, 741.  
667 πολεμίους Wecklein. Qu. πολέμῳ or πολεμοῦντας? or read ἀναλαβεῖν?  
667 sqq. καθάρσιον m for καθάρσιν, and αὐτόκτονες for αὐτοκτόνοι (Dind.).  
The latter part of the note seems to imply that the writer strangely interpreted as  
αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον—(ἀνδροῖν δ'...αὐτοκτόνος)—οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας κ.τ.λ.  
668 Written to 669.  
669 Qu. (ἀνα)νεασθῆσεται?  
671 a (2) Qu. ἄδοξος <ἔσται> or ἀδοξήσει? (1) and (2) are written as one,  
but they are evidently independent in origin.  
m<sup>1</sup>b (3) apparently means '(but) the course proposed is...'. Qu. τότε <δὲ>...?

- b. 677 [τω κ.τ.λ.] οἷον εὐστόχως χειμαῖσθω.  
 a. 678 [τω κατ' οὐρον: ἀπίτω κατ' εὐθείαν τοῦ Κωκυτοῦ κύμα—οὗτος δὲ ποταμὸς εἰς "Αἶδου, οὗ πορθμεὺς ὁ Χάρων—ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ γένος τὸ Δαίου κεκλήρωται τούτῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ "Απόλλωνος μισηθέν· "Απόλλωνος δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν ἴστιν καθαρὸς καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ μὴ κοινωεῖν τῇ γυναικὶ παρήγγειλεν, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παρήκουσαν καὶ <συν>εγένοντο ἀνόμως.  
 a. 679 ὠμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν: ἡ ἄλογος ἄγαν ἐπιθυμία παρορμῆ, ἡ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα, εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀδίκου εἵνεκεν αἵματος, ἢ ἡ, ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλους ἀναιρεῖν.  
 gl. 683 ἀκλαύστοις] ἀσυμπαθέσιν, ἀναλήτοις.  
 a. 684 λέγουσα κέρδος: κέρδος μοι ὑποτιθεμένη τὸ προτερῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα ἢ ὑστερήσαι.  
 a. 685 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ ποτὺ(νον): καλῶς γὰρ πράξας οὐ νομισθῆσθαι φαῦλος. οὐ γὰρ ἡ τὴν φοβερὰν ἔχουσα αἰγίδα Ἐρινύς εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐκείνου εἰσεσιν, οὐ οἱ θεοὶ θυσίας προσδέχονται, ἀντὶ τοῦ καθαρὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντος.  
 b. 686 εὐ κυρήσας] εὐτυχήσας, εὐ πράξας.  
 b. 687 δόμων] κατὰ τῶν δόμων τοῦ ὅσιου ἀνδρός.  
 †οὐτ' ἂν] ὅσιον ἀνδρός, οὐ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς θυσίας δέχονται.  
 a. 690 χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν: τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν ἐν χάριτος μέρει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ μετὰ θάνατον ἴσως εὐκλείας τευξόμεθα. ἄλλως μετὰ θάνατον, φησὶν, αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζονται.  
 a. 691 τί οὖν...] τί οὖν οὐχὶ γενναῖόν τι δράσαντες ἀποθανούμεθα, τὸν Πολυνείκη ὡς ἀσεβῆ ἀνελόντες, ἀλλὰ κολακεύομεν τὸν θάνατον καὶ οὐχὶ χωροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτόν;  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 692 παρέστανεν] ἐκείνος.  
 m<sup>1</sup>extr. 693 †ἀντροπαῖα] ἀνατρεπτικῶς.  
 gl. 696 κατεύγματα] αἱ ἀραί.  
 a. 697 ἐνυπνίων κ.τ.λ.] ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασθεῖς, ὅτι δι' αἵματος αὐτῷ ἔσται ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διανομή.  
 gl. 698 δατήριοι] μερισταί.  
 a. 700 ὦν ἂν τις: ἀνύσιμα καὶ τελεσθῆναι δυνάμενα.  
 gl. 701 ἐφ' ἐβδόμοις] ἐνθα ὁ Πολυνείκης.  
 b. 703 τιμῇ] τιμωρεῖται· ἡ ἐν ἐρωτῇσει ὁ λόγος.  
 a. 704 οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην(ην): ἐμὲ ὀπλίτην ὄντα οὐ χρὴ στέργειν τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔπος. οὐ χρὴ γὰρ ζητεῖν περὶ ἀγαθῆς ἢ κακῆς νίκης.  
 a. 707 πέφρικα τὰν ὠλε(σίοικον): δέδοικα τὴν τοὺς οἴκους ἀφανίζουσιν θεὸν Ἐρινύν, οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν θεοῖς ὅμοιον· πᾶς γὰρ θεὸς ἀγαθοποιός.  
 b. 708 οὐ θεοῖς ὅμοιαν] θεοὶ γὰρ δοτῆρες ἐάων.  
 m<sup>1</sup>b. 709 παναληθῆ κακόμαντιν] ἃ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρεκελεύσατο, καὶ γέγονε.  
 a. 710 παναληθῆ κακόμα(ντιν): τὴν ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀληθεύουσιν. ἃ γὰρ εἶπεν νύκτωρ, ταῦτα ἐγένετο.  
 b. 710 sq. εὐκταῖαν...τελέσαι] ἣν ἐπηύξατο Οἰδίπους τελέσαι τὰς ἀράς.  
 a. 713 παιδολέτρω δ' ἔρις: ταῦτα παρορμῆ. ὅλον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τὰ παιδιά ἀναιρεῖται. ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ τὴν Ἐρινύν Ἐριν εἶπεν.

677 By making a parenthesis the construction is cleared. The schol. makes κύμα the subject.

εἰς "Αἶδου is late Greek for ἐν "Αἶδου.

ἐγένοντο m, <συν>εγένοντο \*ed., ἐγέναντο Wecklein.

679 The schol. here may be a congeries of separate notes, e.g. (1) ὠμοδακῆς ἄγαν [μερος] ἄλογος ἄγαν ἐπιθυμία, (2) ἐξοτρύνει] παρορμῆ, (3) πικρόκαρπον] ἡ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα (a culling from the lexicon without regard to the case, cf. schol. to 665, 741), (4) ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν] εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν. But the whole distinctly suggests that σ' was absent and that πικρόκαρπος was read. m has εἰς ταῦτόν οὖν. I provisionally adopt Headlam's correction.

685 εἰσεσιν m.

697—704 (a) The notes are written in the MS in the wrong order, viz. to 700, 704, 697.

713 ταῦτα παρορμῆ: i.e. the schol. supplies an object to ὀτρύνει.



- a. 714 sqq. ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾶ: ποιητικῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ὁ Αἰσχύλος· τὸν γὰρ Χαλυβαϊκὸν καὶ Σκυθικὸν σιδηρὸν φησὶ ταῦτα πράττειν. σεσωματοποίηκεν γὰρ τὸν σιδηρὸν, ὃν φησιν οὕτως ταῦτα κινεῖν κατὰ τῶν παίδων τῶν τὰ χρήματα δάσασθαι βουλομένων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμούντων. οὕτως οὖν, φησί, μερίζει τοῖς παισὶ τοῦτοις καὶ ὥσπερ ἀποκληροῖ οὐχὶ πεδία μεγάλα, ἀλλὰ παντελῶς μικρά, δυνάμενα μόνᾳ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα χωρῆσαι πεπτωκότα. ὅταν μέντοι αὐτοὺς κτάνωσι καὶ ἡ πατρώα αὐτῶν κόνις πῆν τὸ αἷμα, τίς ἂν τὸ μῦθος αὐτῶν ἀποκαθάραι; ἢ, ὅταν ὁ ἕτερος ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸς ζήσῃ, τίς αὐτὸν καθάρῃ τοῦ μύθους;

a. (721) ἐπειδὴν κ.τ.λ.] ἐάν, φησίν, ἡ πατρία γῆ πῆν τὸ αὐτῶν αἷμα· ἐνθεν καὶ αὐτόχθονας φαμέν.

m<sup>1</sup>gl. 714 ἐπινωμᾶ] μερ(ί)ζει.

m<sup>2</sup>gl. 718 διαπήλας] ἐπικληρώσας.

b. διαπήλας ὅσῳαν κ.τ.λ.] τάφου μοῖραν ἀπομερίσας αὐτοῖς.

m<sup>1</sup>gl. 719 ἐπικεκληρωμένον.

b. 722 (1) αὐτοδαίκτοι] αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσαντες.

(2) τῷ ἑαυτῶν σιδήρῳ ἑαυτοὺς τρώσαντες.

b. 725 τίς ἂν...] τίς ἂν εὐρεθῇ; τίς αὐτοὺς ἐκλύσει τοῦ τοιοῦτου μιάσματος;

b. 728 παλαιγενῆ...παρβασίαν] τὴν παλαιὰν παράβασιν· παρέβη γὰρ τὸν χρησμόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

m<sup>1</sup>gl. 729 ὠκύποινον] τὴν ὀξέως μετελθοῦσαν αὐτόν.

m<sup>1</sup>b. 730 αἰῶνα] γενεάν.

b. αἰῶνα...τρίτον] Λαίου, Οἰδίποδος, Ἑτεοκλέους.

m<sup>1</sup>b. αἰῶνα...μένει] διὰ μέσου.

a. 731 Ἀπόλλωνος εὐτε Λαῖος: τὸ φιλόανθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τούτου. ὅταν, φησίν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων τρίς εἴπῃ τῷ Λαίῳ "μὴ σπείρε τέκνων ἄλσκα, ἐπεὶ κτενεῖ σε ὁ φύς," αὐτὸς δὲ παρωσάμενος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολάς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν αὐτοῦ κατακρατηθεὶς συνήλθεν τῇ Ἰοκάστη. τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς, εὐτε Λαῖος κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν φίλων ἡδονῶν· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικός. κρείσσον γὰρ τὰ πάθη τῶν λογισμῶν.

b. 732 τρίς εἰπόντος] τὸ φιλόανθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ τρίς ἐμφαίνει.

b. 734 σῶξεν] σωθήσεται γὰρ οὕτως ἡ πόλις.

b. 735 ἐκ φίλων] οἷς ἐκινώσατο τὸν χρησμόν.

b. 740 ῥίξαν] ὑπερβατόν, σπείρας ῥίξαν αἱματοέσσαν.

a. 741 (1) ἔτλα, παρ' ἀνοία: ἔτλη δὲ ἀγνοία συναγαγεῖν τοὺς γάμους.

φρενώλης] ὁ τὰς φρένας βλαβεῖς.

(2) † ἀγνοία...φρενώλης] ἡ δὲ ἀγνοία, φησί, τὰς φρένας ἀπολλύουσα συνήγαγεν.

714 παῖδια for πεδία m, corr. m<sup>1</sup>. Later ἀποκαθάρῃ m; I replace the optative (unless ἂν is to be omitted). ζήσει m for ζήσῃ. In the following clause καθάρῃ had perhaps better be left as deliberative. Otherwise it is easy to suggest καθαρεῖ.

719 (m<sup>1</sup>gl.) Apparently for ἐπικεκληρωμένον ἐστίν, explaining ὅπόσαν φθιμένοισιν κατέχουν.

721 (a) This note is written as one with the preceding.

722 I have divided the note into its two parts. The latter suggests a reading αὐτοκτόνοι σιδαροδαίκτοι (see M).

725 It is very improbable that the schol. had before him τίς ἂν καθαροὺς πόροι; He would find no place for his passive verb in this. His note means λείπει εὐρεθῇ. He appears to be wrongly supplying the verb in τίς ἂν καθαροῦ πόρος, τίς ἂν σφε κ.τ.λ. The second part of the note apparently implies λύσειεν.

729 Apparently meant for a reading ὀξύποινον.

731 μὴ σπείρε κ.τ.λ. = Eur. *Phoen.* 18. κρείσσω schol. rec. for κρείσσον.

741 The notes do not correspond either to our text or to that of the lemma (1) given by schol. In the MS the whole runs ἔτλη δὲ ἀγνοία συναγαγεῖν τοὺς γάμους. ὁ τὰς φρ. βλαβεῖς· ἡ δὲ ἀγνοία κ.τ.λ. I have distributed the portions. The gender of φρενώλης is ignored, the explanation being taken directly from a lexicon (cf. 96, 665, 679). I incline to think that the text to which the scholl. were first written was ἔτλα δ' ἄρ' ἀγνοία συνάγειν.

- gl. 742 νυμφίους] γάμους.  
 a. 743 κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θά(λασσα): τὰ κακὰ ὥσπερ θαλάσση ἔοικεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Δαίου γέγονε, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Οἰδίποδος, τὰ δὲ νῦν· ἀτινα βρέμει περὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως.  
 b. 744 τὸ μὲν πίτνον κ.τ.λ.] "πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλα, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα."  
 a. 745 τὸ μὲν πίτνον: οὕτως λέγει, τὸ μὲν πίπτει, τὸ δὲ διεγείρεται, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν ναῦν προσρῖγγνται.  
 a. 747 μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκά: μεταξὺ δὲ ἡμῶν δι' ὀλίγου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας, καὶ τὸ διάστημα ὁ πύργος ὁ διείργων ἐστίν.  
 gl. 748 ἐν εὐρεῖ] ἐν πλάτει, ἐν μεταιχμίῳ.  
 a. 751 τέλεια γὰρ παλαιφ(άτων): τὸ τέλεια ἀντὶ τοῦ τέλειαι· ὑφήκεν δὲ τὸ τ διὰ τὸ μέτρον.  
 a. 752 (1) βαρεῖαι καταλλα(γαί): δυσχερὲς τὸ φιλιωθῆναι αὐτοὺς διὰ τὰς κατάρας.  
 a. (2) τὰ δ' ὀλοά: τὰ δὲ δεινὰ τελούμενα οὐ παρέρχεται ἡμῶν.  
 m<sup>1</sup>b. 753 οὐ παρέρχεται] οὐχ ἴσταιται.  
 a. 754 (1) πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολ(άν): ὅταν δὲ παχυνθῶσιν οἱ ἄνδρες τῷ ὄλβῳ, τότε ὅλου τοῦ φόρτου ἐκβολὴν ποιοῦνται· τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς Ἑτεοκλέα.  
 (2) ἐκβολῶν δέ, τῶν ὕβριστῶν, οἷον δι' ἐκβολῆς ὕβριζόντων.  
 m<sup>1</sup>b. 755 ἀλφηστᾶν] φρονίμων.  
 b. 757 τιν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] παρὰ τοῦτο οὖν <τὸ> "ἦν" Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ.  
 a. 759 †πολύβοτός τ' αἰών: ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατεύμενος ἀνδρῶν. ἡ ὁ ἐπιπολὺ ἐκτεινόμενος.  
 a. 760 ὅσον τότε Οἰδίπου τῶν: ὅσον θαυμασθῆναι καὶ δοξασθῆναι ἐποίησαν· καὶ Εὐριπίδης "<ἦν> Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ."  
 ἀναρπαξάνδραν δὲ τὴν ἀναρπάξασαν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν.  
 a. 761 ἀναρπαξάνδραν] μεταπλάσμος τοῦ ἀναρπάξανδρος.  
 a. 762 κῆρ<sup>1</sup>] κακὴν μοῖραν.  
 a. 763 (1) ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων: ἐπεὶ ἔμφρων ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ συνήκεν ὁ ἔπραξεν κατὰ τῆς μετρός. εὐδαίμων γὰρ ἦν κατὰ πάντα πρὸ τοῦ μαθεῖν τὸ μητρομῆξιον.  
 a. (2) δίδυμα κ.τ.λ.] δίδυμα δὲ κακὰ ἔφη τὸ τῶν δύο ὀφθαλμῶν στερηθῆναι· ἐν γὰρ κακὸν τὸ ἐνὸς στερηθῆναι, δύο δὲ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων· ἡ τοὺς περὶ Ἑτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκη γεννήσας, οἱ ἦσαν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κρείσσονες.  
 (3) ὀμμάτων δ' ἐπλάγχθη ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐστερηθῆ τῶν κραιττόνων ὀμμάτων. λέγει δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἑτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκην.  
 gl. 768 πατροφόνῳ χειρὶ] τῇ τὸν πατέρα φονεύσασθαι χειρὶ.  
 gl. 769 ἐπλάγχθη] ἐχωρίσθη.  
 a. 771 ἐπικότους τροφᾶς: ἐπιβλαβεῖς δὲ ἐντολαὶ περὶ τροφῶν ἐφήκεν αὐτοῖς.

744 i.e. Hom. *Il.* 13. 799.

751 A good illustration of the scholiastic conception of possibilities in Greek.

752 a (2) τελούμενα represents textual *τελόμεν* of m<sup>1</sup>. If ἡμῶν is correct it depends on τὰ δεινὰ.

754 (1) and (2) are written as one note, but they are manifestly incompatible.

757 I supply <τὸ> "ἦν". Eur. *fr.* 157. Oberdick reads παρὰ τὸ "ἦν...", but the passage was written before Euripides.

759 The first part of the schol. was evidently first written to πολύβατος (and probably ἀγών), and the second to αἰών. Nothing could better illustrate the unintelligent method of the later scribes, who both write a note to a lemma to which it has no reference, and also jumble two or more incompatible notes in one.

760—762 These notes are written together, in the order 760, 762, 761. By μεταπλάσμος is meant that the nom. is not found in this fem. form.

763 a (1) μάθη m, μαθεῖν schol. rec.

(1), (2) and (3) are written continuously without distinction of lemma. In (3) the clumsy τῶν κραιττόνων ὀμμάτων = 'those better than eyes.' It is clear that the writer had no ἀπ' before him.

771 τροφᾶς m, but περὶ τροφῶν proves the causal gen. (with rec.).



- a. 773 καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμω: καὶ τοῦτο ἐπηράσατο, διὰ σιδήρου αὐτοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν κτήσασθαι.
- b. 776 καμψίπους] ἡ κάμπτουσα τῶν κολαζομένων τοὺς πόδας· οἰονεὶ ἡ συμποδίζουσα καὶ μὴ ἑῷσα φυγεῖν.
- a. 777 θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες: ἄγγελος ὁ καὶ πρότερον ἀπαγγέλλας περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων ἐφόδου, οὗτος καὶ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλει τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν.
- b. παῖδες μητέρων] συγγενεῖς, ἡ δειλαί, ὑπὸ μητέρων ἀπλῶς τραφείσαι.
- gl. 779 κομπάσματα] τὰ παλαιὰ αὐτῶν κομπάσματα.
- a. 780 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε: ἀλληγορεῖ πάλιν, καὶ λέγει ὅτι πολλῶν προσβαλόντων τῇ πόλει οὐδεὶς εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσέπεσεν.
- b. 781 ἀντλον] τοῦ κύματος τὸ ὕδωρ.
- a. 785 sqq. (1) τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας: ἀξιοπίστως καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πυλῶν εἴρηκεν· ἡ γὰρ ἐβδόμη, φησί, πύλη. ἐβδόμη γὰρ ἐγενήθη Ἀπόλλων· πέπονθεν οὖν οὐχὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πύλη ἡ ἐβδόμη, ἀλλ' ὁ φυλάττων αὐτὴν Ἑτεοκλῆς.
- (2) κραίνων παλαιὰς κ.τ.λ.] ἵνα τὰ μαντεύματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ Δαῖω δοθέντα τέλος λάβῃ.
- b. ἐβδομαγέτης] ἐν ἐβδόμῃ γεννηθείς.
- b. 786 εἴλετ'] ἔσωσεν.
- b. 788 νεόκοτον] νεωστὶ κατεσκευασμένον.
- b. 793 μάντις εἰμὶ] προεῖπον γὰρ αὐτά.
- gl. 794 ἀμφιλέκτως] ἀμφιβόλως.
- a. 795 ἐκεῖθι κηλθον: εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ φονευθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα;
- a. 798 αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ: ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀναλίσκει τὸ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος γένος.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 802 παμπησίαν] τὴν περιουσίαν.
- b. 803 ἔνταφῇ] ὅσον ἐνταφῆναι.
- b. 807 Ζεῦ καὶ...δαίμονες] ὁ τρόπος ἐξοχή· “Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοί.”
- a. 810 πότερον χαίρω: φρονίμως ὁ ποιητὴς μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔδραμεν· καὶ σωθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἄτοπον τὸ θρηνεῖν, καὶ “οὐχ ὅστις κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι.”
- m<sup>1</sup>b. ἐπολολύξω] μετὰ χαρᾶς παιανίσω.
- b. 813 ἀτέκνους] ἐπὶ κακῷ τεχθέντας.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. ἡ τοὺς μὴ τεκνοποιήσαντας.
- a. 814 οἱ δὴτ' ὀρθῶς: ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ ἐπωνύμως Ἑτεοκλῆς καὶ Πολυνεῖκες ἐκληθήσαν.
- a. 817 καὶ τελεῖα γένεος: καὶ τελουμένη ἐπὶ τῷ γένει τοῦ Οἰδίποδος ἀρά.
- gl. 819 περιπίπτει κρύος] περιπίπτει φόβος κακοῦ.
- a. 820 ἔτευξα τύμβω μέλος: τὸ ἐξῆς, κλύουσα αὐτοὺς δυσμῶρος θανόντας ὑπὸ δορός ἀλλήλων ἐπιτυμβίδιον θρήνον ἔτευξα, ὡς Θυιάς.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. τύμβω] ἐπιτάφιον.
- a. 823 ἡ δύσορnis ἄδε: δυσοιώνιστος γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἡ συμφορὰ τῆς μάχης· ἐπὶ κακῷ συνήλθον εἰς μάχην.

777 b ἀπαλῶς Victorius, but ‘entirely’ has its point.

785 In the MS note (2) is interpolated in (1) after πύλη and before ἐβδόμη γάρ. I have divided the two scholl. as above. The gl. does not prove that the writer read ἐβδομαγενής. He quite as probably connected -γέτης with γίγνομαι.

788 This might suggest νεόκοπον.

795 Though τῷ βασιλεῖ might be suggested, the Chor. is primarily thinking of Eteocles.

803 ὅσον in place of ὅσσην shows that the note refers to the supposed single word ἐνταφῇ.

807 i.e. Hom. II. 6. 476.

810 I have punctuated after ἔδραμεν. Not perceiving that καὶ...καὶ... = ‘on the one hand...on the other...’ Robortello adds <ἡγείται> after ἄτοπον. The Homeric passage is Od. 22. 412.

814 Ἑτεοκλῆς is an alteration from Ἑτεοκλείς. Probably the word is a late insertion into the note by one who did not understand the following καὶ.

820 The schol. supports a suggestion Θυιάς ἄτ', αὐτοσφαγείς (\*ed.). See crit. n.

823 ἄδε (sic).

- a. 825 οὐδ' ἀπείπεν: οὐκ ἀπηγόρευσε τὸ ποιῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ <τὰ> παρὰ Οἰδίοποδος.
- b. 827 ἀπιστοι] ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπίσθη Ἀπόλλωνι.
- a. 828 μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτό(λι): ἡ δὲ φροντίς, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Λαῖος περὶ τὴν μίξιν καὶ τὰ θεοσίσματα <τὰ> παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἡσύχασεν· οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀξέως τελείται.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 829 ἀμβλύνεται] ἀπρακτεῖ.
- b. 831 αἰακτά: θρηνητικά.
- b. 832 οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.
- a. 833 τὰδ' αὐτόδηλα: αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα φανερὰ· ὁρᾷ ὁ χορὸς τὰ σώματα βασταζόμενα.
- gl. προὔπτος] ὁμολογούμενος.
- a. 835 κάκ' αὐτοφόνα: ἀλληλοκτόνοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο.
- a. 838 ἡ πόνοι πόνων...] ἡ τὰ κακὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐστία καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις τούτοις.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 841 πίτυλον] κτύπον.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 842 μελάγκροκον] τὴν μέλαν λαΐφος ἔχουσιν.
- b. 843 θεωρίδα] τὴν διαίουσαν τοὺς νεκρούς.
- a. ναυστόλον θεωρίδα: οὕτως· τὴν τοῦ Χάρωνος ναῦν θεωρίδα εἶπεν· κυρίως δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἡ εἰς Δῆλον ἀπερχομένη. λέγει δέ, ὅτι ταύτην ὁδὸν θεωρικὴν ὥσπερ οἶδεν ὁ στόνος τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα. τὴν ἀνήλιον, ἣν μηδὲ ἥλιος ὁρᾷ, ἡ τὴν ἀναπνοήν. ἀγνή γὰρ ἡ εἰς Δῆλον ἀπιούσα. πάνδοκον δέ, ἐπεὶ πάντας δέχεται τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.
- m<sup>1</sup>gl. 845 τὰν ἀνάλιον] ἐφερμηνευτικόν.
- b. 847 (1) ἐπὶ πράγῳ] ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὴν συμφορὰν.  
(2) αἰδ' αἱ ἀδελφαὶ τῶν βασιλέων.
- a. 852 ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότ(ερον): δίκαιον ἡμᾶς προκατάρχεσθαι ὥς προακουσάσας, ὑπακούειν δὲ ἐκέλευς.
- b. 855 ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ παιᾶν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς.
- a. 856 ἰὼ δυσασελφότη(αται): ὡ δυσασελφότηται πασῶν παρθένων αἱ μήτρας κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἐνδύονται. ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς μήτρας καὶ ζώνης νῦν στρόφιον εἶπεν.
- a. 858 στένομαι: ἀντὶ τοῦ στένω Ἀττικῶς. καὶ γὰρ ἰατρεύομαι καὶ ἀλεύομαι φασίν.
- a. 859 μὴ κ φρενὸς κ.τ.λ.] ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ ψυχῆς θρηνώ.
- b. 861 κακῶν ἀτρώμονες] ἐν κακοῖς ἀκμήτες.
- a. 862 πατρώους δόμους ἐλόντ(ες): αἵτιοι τῆς ἀλώσεως γενόμενοι· πορθήσαντες· ἐρήμους ποιήσαντες τῷ ξίφει.
- b. 868 ἥδη διήλλαχθε] τὴν ἴσην μοῖραν λαχόντες.

825 I have added <τὰ>. Kirchhoff writes ἡ ἀρά for παρὰ. Better perhaps <ἡ ἀρά ἡ> παρὰ to answer to πατρόθεν of the text.

828 I have added <τὰ>. καὶ τῆς πόλεως m, corr. Scrof.

843 (b) The explanation may refer generally to the context. Otherwise it might support νεκροστόλον (see Weckl. Appendix).

(a) A note very corruptly written. οὐ m, which I read as οὐ: otherwise ὅτι (i.e. σημειῶσαι ὅτι) Heimsoeth, νῦν Kirchhoff. θεωρητικὴν m, corr. Dind. In λέγει δὲ κ.τ.λ. the sense seems to be 'and he means, because the lament, as it were, knows this as a Theoric way, the way to Acheron' (i.e. γόων κατ' οὖρον implies that the lamentation guided the way). This takes θεωρίδα of the road. ἀναπνοήν is corrupt. Perhaps ἀνάπλεων ('infected').

847 The MS makes the two notes into one. The schol. here made θρηῖνον depend on ἥσειν, and punctuated after Ἰσμήνην.

856 μήτρας m (bis). I read φορὰν for φθορὰν (m) in the sense 'wear.' λύνονται m, corr. Heimsoeth.

858 To the later scholiast almost any unusual Graecitas was to be labelled Ἀττικῶς (sup. 102). The scholl. to 858 and 859 are written as one.

868 (b) If this note really belongs to this line it suggests ἰδόντ', ἴση δὴ in the text (see crit. n.).



- a. 868 ἤδη διήλλαχθε: ἡ διαλλαγή ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει τῇ <διὰ> σιδήρου.
- a. 870 κάρτα δ' ἀληθῆ: τῷ ὄντι ἡ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος Ἑρινὺς ἐτελείωσε τὰς ἐκείνου ἀράς κατὰ τῶν παίδων.
- a. 872 δι' εὐωνύμων: τὸ ἐξῆς, διήλλαχθε δι' εὐωνύμων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἰσταμένοις.
- a. 874 (1) ὁμοσπλάγχχων τε πλε(υρωμάτων): οἷον διαμπᾶξ ἀλλήλων τὰς πλευρὰς τρώσαντες. ἐκάτερος γὰρ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων τὸ ἀριστερόν πλευρόν τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τιτρώσκειν βούλεται.  
(2) οἷον διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῶν καθήκασιν οἱ ὁμόσπλαγχνοι.
- a. 878 διανταίαν λέγεις †πλα(γάν): πληγὴν λέγεις διαμπᾶξ γενομένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν. ἄμφω γὰρ ἔχει κακῶς.
- a. 880 ἀναυδάτῳ μένει: ἀνήρηται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἰσχυρὴ μεγάλη καὶ ἀλαλήτῳ.
- b. ἀναυδάτῳ μένει] ἀκαθέκτῳ ὀργῇ.
- gl. 882 †διχοφρονεῖ] οὐχ ὁμονοοῦντες.
- b. 883 διήκει δέ...] ὁ τούτων στεναγμὸς ἤψατο καὶ τῆς πόλεως.
- a. 885 μένει †κτεάνᾳ τ' ἐπιγό(νους): ἄλλοις ἔσται τὰ χρήματα δι' ἀπώ-  
λοντο. ἡ οὕτως, τὰ κτεάνᾳ ταῦτα, οἷον τὰ δνείδη, διήξει μέχρι τῶν ἐπιγόνων. κτεάνᾳ δὲ εἶπεν ὡς ἐπὶ οὐσίας, οἷον κληρονομήσουσι τῶν παθῶν οἱ παῖδες.
- a. 890 ὀξυκάρδιοι: ὀξύθυμοι ὄντες ἐμοιρήσαντο καὶ διενείμαντο τὰ κτήματα ὥστε ἴσον λαβεῖν. φησὶ δὲ τὰς ταφάς.
- a. 892 διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ ἀμε(μφία): μέμφονται δὲ οἱ φίλοι αὐτῶν τὸν διαλλακτῆρα σίδηρον ὡς μηδετέρῳ χαρισάμενον.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. οὐκ ἀμεμφία] ἀλλὰ μέμψις.
- a. 897 τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι: ὡς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸ εἰπούσης ἐρωτᾷ τίνες αὐτοὺς μένουσιν.
- b. 898 λαχαί] αἱ σκαφαί. τὸ "φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαιεν."
- b. 899 †μάλ' ἀχάεσσα] λείπει τὸ προπομπά.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. †μάλ' ἀχὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς] μάλ' ἤχῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς.
- a. 901 αὐτόστονος: ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν στόνον ἔχων· ὁ δὲ γόος, φησὶν, αὐτοσπῆμων ἔστιν, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ κακὰ ἔχων καὶ τὰ πολέμια <φρονῶν>.
- δαίφρων δέ, δαΐζων τὰς φρένας· <οὐ φιλογαθής>, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρων.
- gl. 903 δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός] ἐκ βάθους θρηνῶν.
- gl. 904 κλαυόμενας... ἀνάκτοι] κλαιούσης τοὺς δύο βασιλεῖς.
- a. 906 πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν: πάρεστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. ὁ μὲν βασιλικῶς ἐκβαλὼν τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὁ δὲ βασιλικῶς ἐπιστρατεύσας.
- b. 907 ὡς ἐρξάτην κ.τ.λ.] ἀντίοι γενόμενοι εἰς τε Θηβαίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους.
- gl. 909 πολυφθόρους] μετὰ φθορᾶς ἐλθούσας.
- b. 910 δυσδαίμων] δυσδαίμων, ὅτι ὃν ἔτεκεν ἄνδρα ἔσχεν.

(a) I have added <διὰ>.

872 Wecklein reads ...δι' εὐωνύμων <τετυμμένοι>. But the schol. is only showing the connection, and uses the fewest words.

874 I have divided the note into two parts. The first evidently belongs to δι' εὐωνύμων κ.τ.λ. (2) καθέκασιν Weckl. (who also corrects αὐτῶν of m).

880 (b) Qu. ἀφθέγκτῳ?

897 ἀνοήτως may be scholiastic for 'incomprehensibly.' Wecklein's αἰνιγμα-  
τωδῶς is too remote. If emendation is required either οὐ νοητῶς or ἀνεγνωστῶς  
would be nearer.

898 i.e. Hom. Od. 24. 241.

899 (b) i.e. the word προπομπή.

901 The note is exceedingly confused in m, viz. καὶ τὰ πολέμια· δαίφρων δέ,  
οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρων. δαΐζων τὰς φρένας. The correction of the order is by  
Wecklein, who also adds <οὐ φιλογαθής>. I have added <φρονῶν>. The note  
thus contains two interpretations of δαίφρων.

906 It seems as if this strange note was written to a construction παρ. (τούτου)  
εἰπεῖν ἐπ. ἀθλ., ὡς ἐρξάτην, i.e. 'they may both be called ἀνακτες in virtue of what  
they did (viz. ὁ μὲν β. κ.τ.λ.).'

907 It is tempting to suggest αἵτιοι.

- a. 917 ὁμόςποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλε(θροι): ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πανώλεθροι γεγόνασιν, ἀλλήλους διατεμόντες ἐν μαινομένη ἐριδι πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς φιλο-  
νείκίας. ἀποθανόντων γὰρ πέπναιται τὸ ἔχθος.
- a. 921 ἐν δὲ γαλα ἱοά: ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν κέχνται ἐν τῇ φονορρύτῳ γῇ.
- b. 923 δμαιοὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ.
- a. 924 (1) καρτα δ' εἰσ' ὅμαι(μοι): ὄντως ἀδελφοὶ εἰσι ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες.  
(2) πικρὸς λυτὴρ νεκεί(ων): πόντιος, ὅτι οἱ Χάλυβες παρὰ λιοὶ εἰσιν.  
(3) ἔθνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ οἱ Χάλυβες, ὅθεν ὁ σίδηρος. πυρὸς δὲ συθεῖς, ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἡ κατασκευή.
- a. 927 (1) κακὸς δατητᾶς: πικρὸς μεριστῆς ὁ σίδηρος τῶν χρημάτων.  
(2) ἀραῖα πατρός] ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆράσατο διὰ ξιφῶν αὐτοῦς τὴν οὐσίαν νεύμασθαι.
- a. 932 γὰς πλοῦτος ἀβυσσος ἔσται: πολλὴ τῆς γῆς ἀφθονία ὑποκείμεται αὐτοῖς. ἡ οὕτως, ὑπὸ γῆς δὲ ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος αὐτοῖς κέκρυνται, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀφανείᾳ.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. 933 πολλοῖς †ἐπανθήσαντες...] οἱ πολλὰ κακὰ ἰδόντες.
- a. 935 τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' ἐπηλά(λαξαν): ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτῶν αἱ ἀραὶ ἐπηλά-  
λαξαν.
- b. 936 θρηνητικὸς χορὸς.  
τὸν ὁξύν νόμον] τὸν ὀρθιον καὶ εἰς μάχην παρακλητικόν.
- m<sup>1</sup>b. a. 937 παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους: οἶον οὐκ ἔτι φέρει τὰς συμφορὰς τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ δέδωκεν νῶτα τοῖς κακοῖς, τῆς δὲ αἵτης τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν.
- b. γένους] τοῦ ἰδίου.
- gl. 941 παιοθεῖς ἐπαιοσας] παταχθεῖς ἐπάταξας.
- a. 942 σὺ δ' ἔθανες: ἀνιέρθησαν οὕτως. ὁ πλήξας ἐπλήγη, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανὼν ἀνελὼν τὸν ἕτερον ἀπέθανεν.
- a. 947 (1) ἴτω γόος, ἴτω δά(κρυα): ποτὲ πρὸς τοῦτον, ποτὲ πρὸς <τὸν> ἕτερον.  
(2) ἴτω: κοιμᾶσθω.
- a. 949 †προκίεσται κατακτᾶς] καὶ ὁ ἀνελὼν τὸν ἕτερον καὶ αὐτὸς προκίε-  
σεται, τούτεστι τέθηγκεν.
- gl. προκίεσται] δηλονότι νεκρός.
- a. 960 (1) ἀχέων τοίων: τοῖς πάθειν ἀγχιστεύουσιν.  
(2) τὰ δ' ἐγγύθεν] ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀλλότρια.
- m<sup>1</sup>extr. a. 961 πέλας δ' αἰδ' ἀδε(λφαι): ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς αἱ ἀδελφαὶ ἔσμεν ὧν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί.
- b. 962 ἰὼ κ.τ.λ.] ἐφύμνιον.
- a. 963 Οἰδίπου σκιά: ὁ ἀσθενὴς Οἰδίπους: ὅτι δοκεῖ νῦν οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν.
- a. 965 sqq. ἡ ἐν δυσθέατα: τοῦτο ὡς πρὸς Πολυνείκη, ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανή-  
κοντες ἔμοι τῇ ἐνταῦθα μεϊνάσῃ ἐδείξατε ὀδύνας.
- a. 969 οὐδ' ἴκεθ' ὡς κατέκτα(νεν): ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς: πρῶτος γὰρ κατέκτανε τὸν Πολυνείκη.
- a. 970 σωθεῖς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλ(εσεν): σωθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀπώλεσεν τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους τὸ πνεῦμα. ἡ τὸ αὐτοῦ: δ καὶ μάλλον.
- gl. 974 τάλανα παθόν] τλητικὰ πεπονθός.

924 It is manifest that there are here two notes, the one explaining πόντιος, the other Πόντιος. (2) ἐκ πυρὸς Kirchhoff.

927 (1) and (2) Again two notes are united by m.

936 θρηνητικὸς m.

947—949 The three scholia are written as one.

960 (1) This note obviously belongs to ἀδελφαί of the next line (see M). Read πέλας δ' αἰδ' τοῖς πάθειν κ.τ.λ. The note on ἀχέων τοίων has fallen out. Wecklein imagines that the schol. of m<sup>1</sup> implies that he read ἀχέω; but he is simply explaining the meaning of the verb.

965 A curious notion of the possibilities of the 2nd pers. plural.

970 τὸ αὐτοῦ m.

974 i.e. with the reading of recc.



- a. 976 δίνυγρα: ζῶντα πῆματα.  
 δίνυγρα] χεόμενα καὶ πολλά. τριπάλτων δέ, σφοδρῶς πηδησάντων.  
 b. 977 ἰὼ κ.τ.λ.] τὸ ἐφύμνιον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει ὡς βαρέως φέρων.  
 a. 980 σὺ τοῖνον οἶσθα: σὺ οἶδας, ὦ Ἑτεόκλεις, τὴν Μοῖραν ὅσον δύνатаι διαβάς αὐτήν.  
 a. 981 σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος: σὺ δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἔμαθες ἀντικρυς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου πολεμήσας.  
 a. 983 ἀντηρέτας] ἀντηρέτης· ὀρθή ἐστιν. ἀντηρέτης τῷ Ἑτεοκλεί.  
 a. 984 ὁλοά λέγειν: οὐ μόνον ταῦτα λέγειν ὁλοά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁράσθαι. κείται γὰρ τὰ σώματα.  
 b. 986 πόνος] ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐξημμένος.  
 gl. 987 ἰὼ κακά] ἃ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν.  
 b. 990 Ἑτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα.  
 gl. 991 πολυπονῶτατοι] ἐπιπονῶτατοι. λείπει τὸ ἀδελφοί.  
 a. πολυπονῶτατοι] πολλοὺς πόνους πονήσαντες.  
 gl. 992 δαιμονῶντες] λυσσήσαντες.  
 a. 993 ποῦ...χθονός] εἰς ποῖον τῆς γῆς τόπον.  
 b. 994 ὅπου τιμῶτατον] ὅπου τιμῶτατον μέρος.  
 b. 995 πατρὶ παρεινον] παρὰ τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ πατρὸς.  
 b. 996 δόξαντ' κ.τ.λ.] τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς προβούλοις ἀπαγγεῖλαι με χρή.  
 a. 998 sqq. ἐπ' εὐνοία] εὐφῆμως τὸν τάφον εὐνὴν εἶπεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς προβούλοις τῶν Θηβαίων τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ τάφου καταθάπτεσθαι.  
 διὰ μέντοι τοῦ θάπτειν Ἑτεοκλέα ἀπαγορεύει καὶ μὴ θάπτεσθαι Πολυνείκην. γῆς δὲ κατασκαφᾶς εἶπεν οἷον τὰς κάτω σκαφάς.  
 ἱερῶν πατρῶων] ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν πατρῶων ὁσῶς μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἀμέμπτως.  
 b. 999 γῆς φίλαις· κατασκαφαῖς] σκάπτοντας καὶ τάφον ποιοῦντας αὐτῷ φίλους.  
 gl. 1000 ἐχθροῖς] ἐργῶν δηλονότι.  
 b. 1001 ἱερῶν] λείπει ἢ ὑπὲρ· ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν.  
 b. 1002 οὐπερ τοῖς νέοις...] παρὰ τὸ "εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι...."  
 a. 1007 ἐμποδῶν] τῷ Πολυνείκει, ὥστε μὴ ἔλιν αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν.  
 a. 1008 ἀγος] ὄνειδος.  
 b. 1014 μῆτ' ὀξυμόλοις...] μῆτε μὴν ὀξυτάτοις θρήνοις τιμᾶν αὐτόν.  
 a. 1016 τέλει] τῷ τάγματι.  
 b. τέλει] πληθῇ.  
 b. 1024 ἀκοντι...κακῶ] ἀδελφῶ δι' ἀνάγκην γεγονότι κακῶ.  
 b. 1026 κοιλογάστορες] μεγαλογάστορες.

976 Two explanations are again combined. The first looks as if *e.g.* χλωρά was the real reading explained, though the lemma δίνυγρα is taken from M.

977 λέγει sc. ὁ χορός. Weckl. proposes ταῦτα.

981 οὐ μετουπολύ m.

983 *i.e.* ἀντηρέτας is not accus. plur.

996 Apparently to prevent some schoolboy from joining ἀπαγγελλειν προβούλοις.

998 sqq. Several scholia are evidently confused in one. The last is easily separable. The sentence διὰ μέντοι τοῦ κ.τ.λ. is unintelligible as it stands. Heimsoeth's δίχα hardly mends matters. I suspect that a note on the true text ran ἐπ' εὐνοία χθονός] διὰ μέντοι τοῦτο (or ταῦτό) θάπτειν Ἑτεοκλέα προαγορεύει, καὶ μὴ θ. Π.

999 Qu. φίλως?

1000 Since δηλονότι either=λείπει or (perhaps more rarely) explains (=‘*i.e.*’), it is not clear what the note implies. Most probably στεγῶν was read in place of συγῶν, and the schol. is supplying a governing participle.

1002 *i.e.* Hom. *Il.* 12. 243 and context. The scholiast is rather displaying his learning than explaining the text. The common element of thought is simply that ‘his duty was clear whatever the result.’ It is, however, just conceivable that he read ὁμφῆς in his MS (for μομφῆς).

1007 and 1008 m writes ὄνειδος τῷ Π. κ.τ.λ.: I have rearranged.

1014 Qu. ὀξυτόνοις?

- gl. 1027 †πάσονται] γέινονται.  
 δ. μὴ δοκῶσάτω] μὴ τοῦτο ἀρεσάτω.  
 α. 1030 κόλπῳ φέροντα...] τῷ τοῦ βυσσίνου πέπλου κόλπῳ τὴν γῆν παρακομίζουσα, ὡς ἐπιβάλλειν μέλλουσα, διὰ τὸ ὀρύττειν μὴ δύνασθαι.  
 δ. 1032 πάρεσται μηχανή...] παρίσται μηχανή δι' ἧς αὐτὸν θαψῶ.  
 β. 1035 τραχὺς γε...] τραχὺς ἔσται ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος.  
 α. 1036 τράχιν] λέγε πολλάκις "τραχὺς ἔσται ὁ δῆμος," ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἀναστελεῖς με θάψαι.  
 δ. 1038 τὰ τοῦδ'...] τὰ περὶ τῆς τιμῆς τούτου ὑπὸ θεῶν κέκριται.  
 α. 1041 εἰς ἀπαντας...] ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους ἀδικηθεὶς πάντας ἐπολέμησε τοὺς Θηβαίους.  
 β. 1044 αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ' ] σὴ γνῶμη δ βούλει πράττει.  
 α. 1045 φεῦ φεῦ: διαιρεῖται ὁ χορός, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ Πολυνείκους τῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑτεοκλέους οὐσῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ μεμέρισται ὁ χορός, οὕτως καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί· καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰσμήνη τῷ Ἑτεοκλεῖ ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἡ δὲ Ἀντιγόνη τῷ Πολυνείκῃ.  
 β. 1046 φθερογενεῖς] αἱ ἐπὶ τὸ φθεῖρειν γεγονυῖαι.  
 gl. 1057 τίς ἂν οὖν...] τίς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ ταύτης τῆς γνῶμης;  
 α. 1058 δράτω πόλις: δ βούλεται ποιείτω εἰς τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη.  
 gl. 1062 πόλις ἄλλως...] οὐ διόλου τὰ αὐτὰ δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ.  
 α. 1064 ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα: ἅμα τῷ Ἑτεοκλεῖ ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐπόμεθα.  
 α. 1066 μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας: μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέθηκεν ἰσχὺν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἡμέτεροι πολῖται καὶ οὐκ εἶασε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὕτως ὑπὸ χειμερινοῦ κύματος κατακλυσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Ἀργείων· ἀκολουθῶς μέντοι τῷ κύματι καὶ τὸ κατακλυσθῆναι ἐπήνεγκεν.  
 β. ἴσως μάκαρας θεῶν.

1036 ἀναστελεῖς m. Qu. οὐ μὴ ἀναστελεῖς?

1044 σὴ βουλὴ καὶ γνῶμη was first written, but corrected by the same hand.

1066 (a) It appears that the writer had before him a corrupt and unmetrical καὶ ἰδίαν (or ἰδίως) in place of καὶ Διὸς (see schol. to v. 10). He may also have had ἄρεξε for ἤρυξε. The following note (b) shows also that something was wrong after μάκαρας, and its ἴσως conveys a suggestion. Διὸς was evidently obscurely written. It is possible that the original reading was Δίαν τ' ἰσχύν, which was corrupted to ἰδίαν in one text and explained by καὶ Διὸς in ours.



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